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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY:

A

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OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,

AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT.

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INTERSPERSED WITH

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND CRITICAL ANNOTATIONS,

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM OLDYS, ESQ.

AND

SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES,

BY

THOMAS PARK, F.S.A.

VOL. VII.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR WHITE AND COCHRANE, AND JOHN MURRAY, FLEET-STREET;
AND JOHN HARDING, ST. JAMES'S-STREET.

1811.

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HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

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Jovis, 16*mo Die Decembris*, 1680.

'Ordered, That Mr. Robert Bolron have Liberty from this House to print and publish the said Oath of Secrecy and Litany. 'William Goldsbrough, Cler. Dom. Com.'

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1 Cor. xii. 19, 20, 21.

'If they were all one Member, where would the Body be?
'But now are they many Members, yet but one Body.
'The Eye cannot say unto the Hand, I have no Need of thee, nor, again, the Head to the Feet, I 'have no Need of thee.'

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.

Juven. Sat.

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A true and plaine Report of the furious Outrages of Fraunce, and the horrible and shamefull Slaughter of Chastillion the Admirall, and divers other noble and excellent Men, and of the wicked and straunge Murther of godlie Persons, committed in many Cities of Fraunce, without any Respect of Sorte, Kinde, Age, or Degree. By Ernest Varamund, of Freseland. Printed at Striveling in Scotland, 1573 336

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Printed, 1643. 461

Articles and Ordinances of War, for the present Expedition of the Army in the Kingdom of Scotland. By the Committee of Estates, and his Excellency the Lord General of the Army. Edinburgh: Printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty. 1643. 475

Magnalia Naturæ: or the Philosophers-Stone, lately exposed to public Sight and Sale. Being a true and exact Account of the Manner how Wenceslaus Seilerus, the late famous Projection-Maker, at the Emperor's Court at Vienna, came by and made away with a very great Quantity of Powder of Projection, by projecting with it before the Emperor, and a great many Witnesses, selling it, &c. for some Years past. Published at the Request, and for the Satisfaction of several Curious, especially of Mr. Boyle, &c. By John Joachim Becher, one of the Council of the Emperor, and a Commissioner for the Examen of this Affair.

Quid igitur ingrati sumus? Cur invidemus etsi veritas divinitatis (quæ per ea quæ sat intelligi potest, Rom. i. 20.*) nostri temporis ætate maturuit.* Minut. Felix.

London: printed by Thomas Dawks, his Majesty's British Printer, living in Black-Friars. Sold also by La Curtiss, in Goat-Court on Ludgate-Hill. 1680. 480

Ovatio Carolina; the Triumph of King Charles; or, the triumphant Manner and Order of receiving his Majesty into his City of London, on Thursday the Twenty-fifth Day of November, *anno Dom.* 1641, upon his safe and happy Return from Scotland. With Mr. Recorder's Speech to his Majesty: and his Majesty's most gracious Answer. London, printed by A. N. 1641 495

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A Diary of the Siege and Surrender of Limerick, with the Articles at large both Civil and Military. Published by Authority. London, printed for R. Taylor, near Stationers-Hall. 1692 508

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The Causes and Manner of Deposing a Popish King in Sweden, truly described. London, printed for R. Baldwin in the Old Bailey. 1688 532

A Disclosing of the great Bull, and certain Calves, that he hath gotten, and specially the Monster Bull, that roared at my Lord Byshop's Gate. Imprinted at London, by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate 535

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The King's Cabinet opened; or certain Pacquets of secret Letters and Papers. Written with the King's own Hand, and taken in his Cabinet at Naseby Field, June 14, 1645, by victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax; wherein are many Mysteries of State, tending to the Justification of that Cause, (for which Sir Thomas Fairfax joined Battle that memorable Day) clearly laid open; together with some Annotations thereupon. Published by special Order of the Parliament. London: Printed for Robert Bostock, dwelling in St. Paul's Church-yard, at the Sign of the King's-head. 1645 544

An Account of the late Scotch Invasion; as it was opened by my Lord Haversham in the House of Lords, on Friday, the Twenty-fifth of February, 1708-9. With some Observations that were made in the House of Commons, and true Copies of Authentick Papers. In a Letter from a Gentleman in South-Britain to his Friend in North-Britain.

'The Princes of Zoan are become Fools, the Princes of Noph are deceived; they have also reduced 'Egypt, even they that were the Stay of the Tribes thereof.' ISAIAH xix. v. 13.

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The Quakers' Remonstrance to the Parliament, &c. touching the Popish Plot, and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Murder. Much of which being not unseasonable at this Juncture, it is now reprinted; as also to shew, that the Quakers were formerly as zealous against Popery, as any others; notwithstanding they have so much appeared to the contrary of late. Licensed, the Fifteenth of June, 1689. London, printed 1689, and sold at several Booksellers 608

A Voice from the Dead; or, the Speech of an old noble Peer; being the excellent Oration of the learned and famous Boetius, to the Emperor Theodoricus. London, printed, and sold by Richard Janeway. 1681 614

A Narrative of the late Proceedings at White-hall, concerning the Jews; who had desired by Rabbi Manasses, an Agent for them, that they might return into England, and worship the God of their Fathers here in the Synagogues, &c. Published for Satisfaction to many in several Parts of England, that are desirous and inquisitive to hear the Truth thereof. London, printed for L. Chapman, at the Crown in Pope's-head Alley. 1656 617

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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

The History of England. The First Book: declaring the State of the Isle of Britain under the Roman Empire.[1]

London: Printed by Valentine Simmes, for John Barnes, dwelling in Fleet-street, at the Sign of the Great Turk, 1602.

[Quarto; containing One-hundred and Sixteen Pages.]

The Preface.

I HAVE oftentimes wished, that amongst so many large volumes, and abridgments of our English Chronicles, as are now extant, we might have one continued history collected out of approved writers, and digested in such a manner, as the reader might neither be tired with the length of fabulous and extravagant discourses, nor left unsatisfied in any material points or circumstances worth his knowledge. And, although truth in her nakedness and simplicity ought, for her own sake, to be desired and preferred above all other things; yet we see, that the nature of man, affecting, for the most part, rather pleasure than profit, doth more willingly embrace such things as delight the sense, than such as confirm the judgment: though to satisfy both the one and the other, is accounted, in matters of this kind, the mark at which the best writers have aimed; as being the very type of perfection itself. In which respect, I am persuaded that such a work would be the better accepted, if the writer thereof should observe that method which hath been used in former times, by the best historiographers amongst the Greeks and Romans, who to shew their own wits, and to refresh their readers, devised set speeches and orations, to interlace, with their true histories, as things both allowable and commendable; so far forth as they were grounded upon probable conjectures, fitting the speakers, and void of absurdity. Which course hath been held also in our own stories, by some of our countrymen, in writing upon particular subjects, which they have chosen as most agreeable to their own humours, and ministering best matter of discourse. Amongst all which, of this kind, that excellent story of Richard the Third, written by Sir Thomas More, (if my judgment fail me not,) may worthily challenge the first place.

[1] [The Editor's researches have not enabled him to supply any information concerning the author of this work: but its merits are sufficient to entitle it to respectful notice among our detached pieces of history.]

To write much in commendation of histories were, I suppose, but to spend time, as the sophister did in praising of Hercules, whom no man, in his right wits, ever dispraised: and the proems of historical books are already filled with discourses of the profitable use that may be made of them, considering, that examples (as the most familiar and pleasing kind of learning) are found, by common experience, to be much more available to the reforming of manners, than bare rules and precepts. If then the knowledge of histories in general, be so commodious and commendable a thing, as learned men, in all ages have esteemed it; I make no doubt, but it will be easily confessed, that there is no history so fit for Englishmen, as the very History of England; in which, if the affection I bear to my native country deceive me not, there are many things, besides the necessary use thereof, very well worthy to be remembered and observed: howsoever, our chronicles have been a long time condemned for barbarous, as wanting that purity of language, wherewith the histories of many other nations are adorned: and, indeed, I could wish, that they were so set forth, as our gentlemen of England might take no less pleasure in reading the same, than they do now in reading the English translations of the Roman, French, and Italian histories; which, though they may be delightful, and, in some kinds, profitable, yet is not the knowledge of them altogether so pertinent and proper to us, as of the other, except we would desire to seem citizens of another country, and strangers in our own.

And although to some, perhaps, it may seem a labour unnecessary, to begin with such ancient things as were done here by the Romans, especially, considering the difference of time itself, which, in every age, bringeth forth divers effects, and the dispositions of men, that, for the most part, take less pleasure therein, than in the relation of the occurrents of their own, or later times: yet I think it fit, for order's sake, there to begin, whence we have the first certain direction to proceed; and I doubt not, but some good use also may be made, even of those ancient things, howsoever they may be accounted impertinent to us, either by imitation, or by way of comparison.

As for the story of Brute, from his first arrival here until the coming of the Romans, divers writers hold it suspected; reputing it, for good causes, rather a poetical fiction, than a true history; as, namely, Joannes de Whethamsted, abbot of St. Albans, a man of great judgment, who lived about the year of Christ 1449; and Gulielmus Nubrigensis, with others, as well modern as ancient, who have, in like manner, delivered their censures thereof. Besides, Venerable Bede makes no mention of it at all, but begins his history with the Romans entrance into the island. Howbeit, seeing it hath been for so long time generally received, I will not presume, knowing the power of prescription in matters of less continuance, absolutely to contradict it: though, for my own opinion, I suppose it to be a matter of more antiquity, than verity. I write not this to detract from those, that have heretofore written thereof, in their books of our English chronicles, continued to these times; as, namely, Stowe, Hollinshed, Grafton, and others, that have employed themselves and their travel, in searching out antiquities and memorable things touching the affairs of this realm. That which they have done already deserveth thanks and good acceptance, in that, of a good meaning, they have done their endeavours. But, as in the building of an house, divers workmen are to be used for divers purposes; namely, some to provide timber and rough-hew it, others to carve and polish it; so I think it meet, that some man of knowledge and judgment, requisite for the accomplishing of such a work, should advisedly peruse our English chronicles, the substance and matter (though laid up in divers publick and private storehouses) being already provided, and thereof to frame an history, in such a manner, as the reader might reap both pleasure and profit thereby. Howbeit, I see small likelihood that any thing will be done herein, while such, as are best able to perform it, are content to look on, straining courtesy who should begin; some refusing the labour, in respect either of the labour itself, or of the small recompence that followeth it; considering, withal, the carelessness and thanklessness of this age, wherein the best works, contrived with many years travel, are,

for the most part, either scarcely vouchsafed the reading, or else read with a full stomach and a kind of loathing.

Others there are that prefer silence as the safest way, in that it is free from censure and danger, which a man may easily incur by writing: whereas, for doing nothing no man is either blamed, or constrained to render an account. For there are many that think they cannot shew their wits so well in any thing, as in finding faults with other men's doings; themselves, in the mean time, doing nothing. And, though sometimes there may be just causes of reproof, yet many times we see that exceptions are taken, either upon dislike of the writer, or envy of the thing itself deserving commendation; or (as it falleth out many times) upon ignorance, the professed enemy of art and industry, which causeth some to condemn what they understand not. For the learned and industrious sort of men, as they are best able to judge what is done well or ill, so they are most sparing in reproving other men's labours, or making bad constructions of good meanings. To the censure of these men, as of indifferent judges, I do freely submit myself; not doubting, but such as have travelled heretofore in matters of this kind, being also experienced in others, will confess it a work of no less trouble, to alter and repair an old decayed house with the same timber, than to erect a new one at the builder's pleasure.

Again, there are some that will not stick to call in question the truth of all histories, affirming them to be vain and fabulous; both, for that they are, for the most part, grounded upon conjectures, and other men's reports, (which are more likely to be false than true,) and also, for that the writers themselves, as well as the reporters, might be partially affected. Whereto I answer, that many things are left to the writer's discretion; and that it is impossible for any man, though never so great a lover of truth, to relate truly all particular matters of circumstance, but that he may fail in many things, and yet carefully observe the principal points; which we are so far forth to allow, as we find them not unlikely nor improbable: otherwise, in detracting from the credit of ancient histories, either upon uncertain surmises, or by rejecting probable conjectures, we should deprive the world of a very great portion of human learning.

For my own part, although I might be discouraged in respect both of these inconveniencies, which haply wiser men foresee and avoid, and also in regard of myself, (being, amongst many others, the most insufficient to perform the task, as a man wanting both judgment and health of body, to go thorough with so weighty and laborious a work,) yet have I undertaken to make a proof, as you see, in setting down the state of this isle, under the Romans government, according to the report of Cæsar, Tacitus, Dio, Cassius, and other approved writers of our own; out of whom I have collected so much, as I thought necessary to be remembered touching this subject, and digested the same into the form of an history: and namely, out of the English translation of Tacitus, upon the life of Julius Agricola, I have taken, and appropriated to the context of this treatise, not only the substance, but the orations themselves of Galgacus and Agricola, with other things there mentioned; as a choice piece of marble already polished by an exquisite workman, and fit for a much fairer building than I was likely to rear upon this old and imperfect foundation. The phrase thereof only in some few places I have (I hope without offence) altered; fashioning it to our own tongue, as taking myself not necessarily tied to so precise an observation in the exposition of words, as is required in a translator. And I thought it better to set these things down in this manner, and to acknowledge whence I had them, than, by marrying them, to make them seem my own: for I have ever esteemed it a sign of an illiberal nature, either to detract, in any sort, from another man's labour, or to affect the praise of another man's merit. Touching the affairs of the empire, although I have interposed them, here and there, throughout this book, yet have I touched them sparingly; taking only so much, and no more, than might well serve to explain the matter in hand.

It may be, some fault will be found, that, in the style, I have not kept one and the same course from the beginning to the end, but that I have staid too long on some points, and passed over others too briefly; that many things are handled confusedly

and abruptly, without due observation of circumstances required in a well composed history.

Indeed, I must confess, that, herein, the success hath not answered my expectation in the beginning. Howbeit, (if I may be my own judge,) I ought to be excused by such as shall consider, first, the subject itself; which is, for the most part, more proper for annals, than for a continued history: next, the variety of authors, like so many divers soils, out of which these fruits are collected: then, the imperfect relations of former times, wherein the affairs of this isle, for many years together, were either passed over in silence by writers, or else but darkly and imperfectly reported: and, lastly, the often change of emperors and governors here, during the space of above four-hundred years. By reason of which inconveniencies, I was forced, in divers places of this book, especially towards the latter end, to set down a bare collection of the actions themselves, without circumstances; wherein, if the method seem differing from the former, let the cause thereof be imputed, partly to my love of truth, in delivering things, as I received them from others; and partly to my desire to contain the work within some reasonable proportion: which, otherwise, in dilating the acts of every particular governor, would have grown to a far greater volume; and myself, thereby, should have run into that error, which I dislike, and wish to be reformed.

Others, perhaps, will alledge, that I have done some wrong to antiquity in disguising it with modern terms and phrases, affirming those of ancient time to be more proper for our story, as being more free from the mixture of other languages, than the dialect now current among us. But herein, as I dislike affection of foreign and new-coined words, when we have good and sufficient store of our own; so, considering that our language, of itself, is none of the fruitfullest, I see no reason that it should be debarred from communicating with the Latin and French words, which are now in a manner become denizens among us, to the inriching and polishing of our English tongue. And although I esteem antiquity (as the preserver of things worthy to be remembered, for the benefit of posterity) yet I must confess, that I am not so stiffly bent to maintain it, as some kind of men, that had rather dwell in old smoaky houses, for that their ancestors built them; than to alter the fashion of them, for conveniency and decency.

Touching the ancient names of the inhabitants of this isle, I have set them down, as congruent to those times, whereof I write; according to the ancient Roman historiographers. In other matters of antiquity, I have, for the most part, followed master Camden, whose learning and judgment therein I do especially reverence. What pains he hath already taken, and with what good success, in the chorographical part, the present time (to his deserved praise, both at home and abroad) can openly testify; and succeeding ages, to the honour of our nation, shall for ever hereafter remember. For, by his means, this flourishing island, which heretofore was scarce known to her own inhabitants, is now both known and had in estimation among strangers, who take pleasure to read and understand what he hath written thereof. And, were the historical part as exactly set forth in English, as his description in Latin, I suppose, that few nations might then match us for an history; whereas now, in that one point, we come short of all others, that are not merely barbarous. For, like unnatural children, altogether careless of those duties we owe to that place where we first received our being, we spend our time either in catching flies with Domitian, or else in decking foreign stories with our best English furniture; suffering our own, in the mean time, to sit in rags, to the blemish of our country, which (having been heretofore famous for arms, and honoured with the presence and residence of many worthy emperors, kings, and captains; and at this day renowned for arms and arts, under the happy government of a virgin-queen[2] admired in all parts of the world) can yet hardly find any man, in so long a time of civility and peace, to take pity on her, and to attire her like herself.

If this my attempt may give occasion to the gentleman before-named, or some others

[2] [Queen Elizabeth.]

that are best able to effect it, either to reform that which I have already written as an introduction to our English history; or else to begin a-new, and proceed with the continuation of it to these times; I shall then have my desire, and think my pains taken in this work, howsoever it may be censured, not bestowed in vain.

The Lieutenants and Deputies in Britain, under the Roman Emperors.

Roman Emperors.	Lieutenants in Britain.
Julius Cæsar. Octavianus Cæsar Augustus. Tiberius. Caius Caligula.	After Julius Cæsar's arrival here, till the time of Claudius, the Romans had no lieutenants in Britain.
Claudius Britannicus.	Aulus Plautius (under whom Vespasian served, with Titus his son). Ostorius Scapula. A. Didius Gallus Avitus.
Nero.	Veranius. Sutonius Paulinus. Petronius Turpilianus. Trebellius Maximus.
Galba.	Trebellius Maximus.
Otho.	Trebellius Maximus.
Vitellius.	Vectius Bolanus.
Vespasianus.	Petilius Cerealis. Julius Frontinus. Julius Agricola.
Titus.	Julius Agricola.
Domitianus.	Julius Agricola. Salusticus Lucullus.*
Nerva.	———
Trajanus.	———
Adrianus Britannicus.	Julius Severus. Priscus Licinius.
Antoninus Pius.	Lollius Urbicus Britannicus.
Antoninus Philosophus.	Calphurnius Agricola.
Commodus.	Ulpius Marcellus. Helvius Pertinax.* Clodius Albinus. Junius Severus.
Helvius Pertinax.	Clodius Albinus.
Didius Julianus.	Clodius Albinus.*
Septimius Severus Britannicus.	Heraclianus. Virius Lupus.
Ant. Bassianus Caracalla. Popilius Macrinus. Varus Heliogabalus. Alexander Severus. Maximinus. Gordianus I, II, III. Philippus Arabs. Decius.	From the time of Caracalla to Constantine the Great, *viz.* for the space of one-hundred years or thereabouts, the names of lieutenants are not extant; neither is there any mention at all made, in histories, of the affairs in Britain, until the time of Gallienus, who held the empire about fifty years after Caracalla.

Valerianus.	
Gallienus.	
Flavius Claudius.	
Valerius Aurelianus.	
Tacitus.	
Valerius Probus.	
Carus Narbonensis.	
Diocletianus.	
Maximianus Herculius Cæsar.	
Galerius Maximianus Cæsar.	
Fl. Constantinus Chlorus Cæs.	
Constantius Magnus.	*Pacatianus Dep.*
Constantinus.	———
Constans.	———
Constantius.	*Martinus.* / *Alipius.*
Julianus Apostata.	———
Jovinianus.	———
Valentinianus Primus.	———
Gratianus.	———
Valentinianus Secundus.	———
Honorius.	*Chrysanthus.* / *Victorinus.*
Theodosius Junior.	———

I have, both in this table, and in the book following, used the word *Lieutenant* instead of *Legatus*, or *Proprætor*, as he is commonly called in the Roman stories.

In the time of Constantine the Great, the chief officer was called *Vicarius*, as being *Deputy* under the *Præfectus Prætorius* of Gallia; and, in the declining of the empire, divers officers, both for civil and military causes, were instituted by divers names, and employed in this isle; though, because their authority cannot be precisely set down by any records of approved histories, I forbear to place them here among Lieutenants and Deputies.

I have drawn *lines* only against the names of divers emperors, instead of *blanks*, to supply the defect of Lieutenants and Deputies, whose names are not known.

IT is recorded by the most true and ancient of all histories, that the isles of the Gentiles, after the universal flood, were divided and inhabited by the posterity of Japhet; from whose eldest son, called Gomer, the Cimbrians (as writers report) derived their name and descent; imparting the same to the Gauls and Germans, and consequently to the inhabitants of this isle, as being originally descended from the Gauls, that came over hither at the first, either upon a natural desire (which men commonly have to discover places unknown) or to avoid the assaults of other nations encroaching upon them; or perhaps to disburden their native soil, by seeking new habitations abroad. And this opinion of the Britons first coming out of Gallia seemeth the more probable, in regard both of the situation of this island, in nearness to that continent, and also of the uniformity in language, religion, and policy, between the most ancient Gauls and Britons.

Touching the name of Britain, with the governors and state thereof before the Romans arrival, as they are things not to have been neglected, if any certain knowledge of them had been left us, by approved testimonies of former ages; so I think it not now requisite therein, either to recite the different conjectures of other men, or of myself, constantly

to affirm any thing; as well for that those matters have been already handled at large by our modern writers, as also for that, I suppose, in aiming at such antique originals, (there being but one truth amidst many errors,) a man may much more easily shoot wide than hit the mark. I purpose, therefore, (omitting etymologies of words, and variety of opinions concerning the first inhabitants and their doings,) to take the names and affairs of this isle, in such sort as they were first known to the Romans, in the time of Julius Cæsar, when the Roman state, which had tried all kinds of government, (as, namely, that of kings, then consuls, decemvirs, and tribunes,) began to be usurped by a few, and soon after submitted itself to one. For, about the fifty-fourth year before the birth of our Saviour Christ, Cæsar being then governor of Gallia for the senate and people of Rome, and having brought some part of that country under obedience, intended a voyage with an army into Britain, partly upon pretence of revenge, (for that the Britons had divers times aided the Gauls in their wars against the Romans,) and partly to satisfy himself with the sight of the island, and the knowledge of the inhabitants and their customs; whereto he might, perhaps, be the more readily induced, by reason of his own natural inclination to undertake great and difficult attempts, and, with the increase of his own glory, to enlarge the limits of the Roman empire; unto which, at that time, the sovereignty of the whole world was, by Divine Providence, allotted. And to this end, he thought good to be first informed of the nature of the people, and of such havens in the isle, as were most commodious to receive any shipping that should come thither; which things were in a manner unknown to the Gauls, by reason the islanders suffered none to have access to them, but merchants only; neither knew, even they, any other places than the sea-coasts, and those parts of the isle that confronted the continent of Gallia. Whereupon Cæsar, supposing it necessary to make some discovery, before he ventured himself in the action, sent Caius Volusenus, in a long-boat, with instructions, 'To inquire of the quantity of the island, of the condition of the 'inhabitants, of their manner of making war, of their government in peace, and what 'places were fittest for landing.' After which dispatch made, himself, with all his forces (which were newly returned from making war beyond the Rhine) marched into the country of the Morini, from whence was the shortest cut into Britain; for there he had appointed his shipping to meet him.

In the mean time, his purpose being known to the Britons, by report of the merchants that traded with them; divers states of the isle, (either fearing the greatness of the Roman power, or affecting innovation for some private respects,) sent over ambassadors, who promised, in their names, to deliver hostages, for assurance of their obedience to the people of Rome: but Cæsar, though he was fully resolved to enter the island, yet he courteously entertained their offer, exhorting them to continue in that good mind, as a means to draw on the rest, in following the example of their submission. For the better effecting whereof he appointed Comius, the chief governor of the Atrebates, (as a man whose wisdom and faith he had tried, and whom he knew to be respected of the Britons,) to accompany the ambassadors in their return; giving him in charge to go to as many cities as would permit him access, and to persuade the rulers to submit themselves, as some of their nation had already done; and further, to let them know, that himself, with all convenient speed, would come thither. The princes of the isle, being as yet unacquainted with any civil kinds of government, maintained quarrels and factions among themselves; whereby, one sought to offend another, and to enlarge his own part, by encroaching upon his neighbours; not observing, that what they gained in particular one of another, they lost all together in the general reckoning, they made an open passage in the end for the Romans to conquer the whole: a thing common to them with other nations, who have found the like effects to proceed from the like causes. For the most part of the Britons, in those days, delighted in war, neglecting husbandry, or perhaps not then knowing the use of it. Their manner of living and customs were much like to those of the inhabitants of Gallia. Their diet was such as Nature yielded of herself, without the industry of man; for, though they had great store of cattle, yet they lived, especially in their inland countries, on milk. It was held among them, as a thing unlawful to eat of a hare, a hen, or a goose; and yet they

nourished them all for recreation's sake. Their apparel was made of the skins of beasts, though their bodies were, for the most part, naked and stained with woad, which gave them a bluish colour, and, as they supposed, made their aspect terrible to their enemies in battle. Their houses were made of stakes, reeds, and boughs of trees, fastened together in a round circle. They had ten or twelve wives a-piece common among them, though the issue were always accounted his that first married the mother, being a maiden. They were, in stature, taller than the Gauls; in wit more simple, as being less civil.

By this time Volusenus, who durst not set foot on land to hazard himself among the barbarous islanders, returned to Cæsar, (namely the fifth day after his setting forth,) and made relation of such things as he had seen and heard, by report, in roving up and down the coast, in view of the island. Cæsar, having composed some tumults in the hither part of Gallia, that he might leave no enemy behind his back to annoy him in his absence, pursued the enterprize of Britain; having to that end prepared a navy, which consisted of about eighty ships of burden; a number sufficient, as he thought, for the transportation of two legions, besides his long-boats, wherein the quæstor, the lieutenants, and other officers of the camp were to be embarked. There were also eighteen ships of burden, that lay wind-bound, about eight miles from the port, appointed to waft over the horsemen. P. Sulpitius Rufus, a lieutenant of a legion, was commanded to keep the haven itself, with such a power as was thought sufficient. These things being thus ordered, and a good part of the summer spent, Cæsar put now out to sea, about the third watch of the night, having given directions that the horsemen should embark in the upper haven, and follow him; wherein, while they were somewhat slack, Cæsar, with his shipping, about the fourth hour of the day, arrived upon the coast of Britain, where he beheld the cliffs possessed with a multitude of barbarous people, rudely armed, and ready to make resistance.

The nature of the place was such, as, by reason of the steep hills inclosing the sea on each side in a narrow strait, it gave great advantage to the Britons, in casting down their darts upon their enemies underneath them. Cæsar, finding this place unfit for landing his forces, put off from the shore, and cast anchor, expecting the rest of his fleet; and in the mean time, calling a council of the lieutenants, and tribunes of the soldiers, he declared unto them what he had understood by Volusenus, and directed what he would have done; warning them, that the state of the war, and especially the sea-service required, they would be ready to weigh anchor, and to remove to and fro, upon occasions, at a beck, and in an instant.

This done, having advantage both of wind and tide, he set forward with his navy, about four leagues from that place, and then lay at anchor, in view of the open and plain shore. But the islanders, upon the intelligence of the Romans purpose, had sent thither, before Cæsar's coming, a company of horsemen and chariots, called *esseda*, (which they then used in their wars,) and, following afterwards with the rest of their forces, impeded their enemies from landing; whose ships, by reason of their huge bulks drawing much water, could not come near to the shore: so that the Roman soldiers were thereby forced in places unknown, their bodies being charged with their armour, to leap into the water, and encounter the Britons, who assailed them nimbly with their darts, and drove their horses and chariots, with main force, upon them. The Romans, being therewith terrified, (as men unacquainted with that kind of fight) failed much of the wonted courage which they had shewed in their former land-services; and Cæsar, perceiving it, caused the long-boats which seemed more strange to the barbarous people, and were more serviceable, by reason of their swiftness in motion, to put off, by little and little, from the greater ships, and to row towards the shore, from whence they might more easily charge the Britons with their arrows, slings, and other warlike engines; which, being then unknown to the islanders, (as also the fashion of the ships, and motion of the oars in the long-boats, having struck them with fear and amazement,) caused them to make a stand, and afterwards to draw back a little.

But the Roman soldiers making no haste to pursue them, by reason of the water, which they suspected in some places to be deep and dangerous; the standard-bearer of the eagle

for the tenth legion, praying that his attempt might prove successful to the legion, cried out with a loud voice, in this manner:—" Fellow soldiers, leap out of your boats, and follow me, except you mean to betray your standard to the enemy. For my own part, I mean to discharge the duty I owe to the commonwealth, and to my general." This said, he cast himself into the water, and carried the standard boldly against the Britons. Whereupon the soldiers, (exhorting one another to follow the ensign, what fortune soever might befall,) with common consent leaped out of their long-boats, one seconding another; and so, wading through the water, at length got to shore, where began a sharp and bloody fight on both sides. The Romans were much incumbered, by reason that they could neither keep their ranks, nor fight upon firm ground, nor follow their own standards; for every one, as he came on land, ran confusedly to that which was next him.

Some of the Britons (who knew the flats, and shallow places,) espying the Romans as they came single out of their ships, pricked forward their horses, and set upon them, overlaying them with numbers, and finding them unwieldy and unready to make any great resistance, (by reason of the depth of the water and weight of their armour,) while the greater part of the barbarous people with their darts assailed them fiercely upon the shore, which Cæsar perceiving, commanded the cock-boats and scouts to be manned with soldiers, whom he sent in all haste to rescue their fellows. There was a soldier of Cæsar's company, called Cassius Scæva, who (with some others of the same band,) was carried, in a small boat, unto a rock, which the ebbing sea, in that place, had made accessible. The Britons espying them, made thitherward: the rest of the Romans escaping, Scæva alone was left upon the rock, to withstand the fury of the enraged multitude that assailed him with their darts, which he received upon his shield, and thrust at them with his spear, till it was broken, and his helmet and shield lost; then, being tired with extreme toil, and dangerously wounded, he betook himself to flight; and, carrying two light harnesses on his back, with much difficulty recovered Cæsar's tent, where he craved pardon, for making so bold an attempt without commandment of his general. Cæsar did both remit the offence, and reward the offender, by bestowing upon him the office of a centurion. This was that Scæva who afterwards gave good cause to have his name remembered in the Roman story, for the memorable service he did to Cæsar, in the time of the civil wars between him and Pompey, at the battle near Dyrrachium.

The Romans, having at length got footing on dry land, gave a fresh charge upon the Britons; and, in the end, forced them to turn their backs, and leave the shore; though they could not pursue them far into the land, for want of horsemen, Cæsar's accustomed fortune failing him in this one accident. The Britons, after this overthrow, assembling themselves together, upon consultation had amongst themselves, sent ambassadors to Cæsar; promising to deliver in pledges, or to do whatsoever else he would command them. With these ambassadors came Comius of Arras, whom Cæsar had sent before out of Gallia into Britain; where, having delivered the message he had then in charge, he was apprehended, committed to prison, and now, after the battle, released. The chief states of the Britons, seeking to excuse their attempts, laid the blame upon the multitude, who, being the greater number, and wilfully bent to take arms, could neither by persuasion, nor authority, be restrained: and they pretended their own ignorance, as being a free people, and not experienced in the customs of other nations. Cæsar, although he reproved them for making war in that manner; considering that of their own accord they had sent ambassadors to him, before his arrival in Britain, to desire peace; yet was content to pardon them, upon delivery of pledges, whereof some he received presently, and the rest, being to come from remote places, he appointed to be sent in by a certain day. So the Britons were dismissed, to return into their countries; and in the mean time there came divers princes from other parts of the island, to submit themselves and their cities to Cæsar. The fourth day after the Romans landing, the ships before-mentioned, appointed for transportation of Cæsar's horsemen, having a favourable gale of wind, put out to sea from the upper haven; and, approaching near the island, in view of the Roman camp, a sudden storm arose, and scattered them; driving some of them back again to the port from

whence they came, and some others upon the lower part of the island westward, where, after they had cast anchor, (their keels being almost overwhelmed with the waves,) they were carried by violence of the storm in the night into the main, and with very great peril, recovered a harbour on the continent. The same night, the moon was at the full, at which time commonly the sea in those parts is much troubled, and overfloweth the banks, by reason of the high tides, (a matter unknown to the Romans,) insomuch as the long-boats, which transported the army then lying upon the shore, were filled with the flood, and the ships of burden, that lay at anchor, were beaten with the storm, and split in pieces; the greater number of them perishing in the water, and the rest being made altogether unserviceable, their anchors lost, and tacklings broken; wherewith the Romans were much perplexed, for that they neither had any other ships to transport them back again, nor any means to repair what the tempest had ruined. And Cæsar had formerly resolved to winter in Gallia, by reason he was unfurnished of victuals to maintain the army during the winter season: which being known to the chief states of the Britons, (who had met together about the accomplishment of such things, as Cæsar had commanded them,) they supposed a fit opportunity was offered them to revolt, while the Romans wanted horsemen, shipping, and all manner of provisions: the number of their forces seeming also the less, in respect of the small circuit of their camp, Cæsar having transported his legions without any carriages, or such like warlike necessaries. Whereupon they concluded to keep them from victuals, and to prolong the war till winter; assuring themselves, that if they could either vanquish the Romans, or bar them from returning thence, there would no foreign nation after them adventure to set foot again in Britain. Hereupon they entered into a second conspiracy; conveying themselves by stealth out of the Roman camp, and gathering company to them privily from divers parts, to make head against their enemies. Cæsar, albeit he was ignorant of the Britons purpose, yet supposing that the state of his army and the loss of his ships were known to them, and considering that they had broken day with him, in detaining their pledges contrary to the contract; he suspected that, which afterwards proved true. And therefore, to provide remedies against all chances, he caused corn to be brought daily out of the fields into his camp; and such ships, as could not be made fit for service, were used to repair the rest; and such other things as were wanting thereto, he appointed to be brought out of the continent; by which means, and the diligence of his soldiers, with the loss of twelve ships, the rest of his navy was made able to bear sail, and brook the seas again.

While these things were in doing, the seventh legion, according to custom, was sent forth a foraging; till which time, the Britons revolt was not certainly known, for that some of them remained abroad in the fields, and others came ordinarily into the Roman camp The warders, in the station before the camp, gave notice to Cæsar, that the same way which the legion went, there appeared a greater dust, than was wont to be seen. Cæsar, mistrusting some new practice of the Britons, commanded the cohorts, that kept ward, to march thither; appointing two others to supply their rooms, and the rest of his forces to arm themselves with speed and follow him. When he approached near the place descried, he perceived his soldiers to be overcharged with the Britons, who assailed them on all sides with their darts. For, the Britons having conveyed their corn from all other parts, this only excepted; and suspecting that the Romans would come thither, they did lie in the woods, all night, to intercept them; and, finding them dispersed and unready, they suddenly set upon them as they were reaping, killing a few of them, and disordering the rest with their horses and chariots. The manner of their fighting in chariots was thus: First they used to ride round about their enemies forces, casting their darts, where they saw advantage; and oftentimes with the fierceness of their horses, and whirling of their chariot wheels, they broke their enemies ranks; and, being gotten in among the troops of horsemen, they would leap out of their chariots, and fight on foot. The chariot-drivers, in the mean time, withdrew themselves by little and little out of the battle, and placed themselves in such sort, as their masters, being overmatched by their enemies, might readily recover their chariots; so that in their fighting they performed the offices, both of horse-

men in swiftness of motion, and also of footmen in keeping their ground; and, by daily use and exercise, they were grown so expert in managing their horses, as, driving them forcibly down a steep hill, they were able to stay or turn them in the mid-way; yea, to run along the beam, to stand firm upon the yoke, and to return thence speedily into their chariots again.

The Romans being much troubled with this new kind of fight, Cæsar came in good time to the rescue. For, upon his approach, the Britons gave over the skirmish; yet keeping still their ground as masters of the field; and the Romans, for fear, retired themselves to their general, who thought it no point of wisdom to hazard his forces in a place unknown: but, having staid there a while, conducted the legions back again to his camp, and in the mean time, the Britons, that were in the field, dispersed themselves, and shrunk away. After this, there were, for many days together, continual tempests, which kept the Romans in their camp, and hindered the Britons from making any open attempt; though they sent messengers secretly into divers parts of the island, publishing abroad, what a small number of their enemies was left, what great hope there was of a rich booty, and what apparent likelihood of recovering their liberty, if they could drive the Romans from their camp. Hereupon in a short time they assembled a great number of horse and footmen, to put their purpose in execution. Cæsar, understanding thereof, made preparation for defence, having gotten also about thirty horsemen (which Comius of Arras brought over with him) whose service he supposed very necessary, if the Britons, according to their wonted manner, should seek to save themselves by flight. The legions were placed in battle array before his camp. Then the Britons began the fight, which had not long continued when they gave back, and fled; the Romans pursuing them as far as they durst, killing many whom they overtook, and burning houses and towns, as they returned to their camp. The same day, the Britons sent ambassadors to Cæsar, desiring peace; which, after a long sute, was granted; upon condition, that the number of the pledges, which was before imposed, should be now doubled, and speedily sent over into Gallia: for, the Æquinoctial drawing near, Cæsar made haste thither, doubting his crased ships would not be well able to brook the seas in winter. Whereupon, taking advantage of the next fair wind, he embarked his forces about midnight, and, with the greatest part of his fleet, arrived in the continent. The Roman senate, upon relation of these his services, decreed a supplication for him, for the space of twenty days.

In the spring of the year following, Cæsar, having pacified some tumults in Gallia, prosecuted the enterprize of Britain; and to that end he had prepared a fleet of new ships, well appointed, and commodiously built for landing his forces, (the want whereof he had found before, to his great loss,) and a sufficient army consisting of five legions, and a proportional number of horse, which he embarked at Portus Iccius about the sun-setting, having a fair southern wind to set them forward; which failing them about midnight, the tide diverted their course, so that in the morning he discovered the island on his left hand; and then, following the turning of the tide, he commanded the soldiers to use their oars, that they might reach that part of the island, where they had found best landing the summer before; wherein they took such pains, that their ships of burden kept way with their long boats and lighter vessels. About noon they landed on the shore, where there appeared no man to make resistance: the cause whereof was (as Cæsar afterwards learned by such prisoners, as he took) for that the Britons, having assembled themselves together in arms at the sea-side, were so terrified with the sight of the ships, (which of all sorts were esteemed above eight-hundred sail,) that they left the shore, and ran to hide themselves in the upland country. Cæsar, upon intelligence by fugitives where the British forces lay, leaving, at the sea-side, ten cohorts and three-hundred horse to guard the ships then lying at anchor, whereof Quintus Atrius had the charge, marched forward, with the rest of his army in the night, about twelve miles into the land, where he espied a multitude of Britons flocked together near a river, having gotten the upper ground, from whence they began to charge the Romans with their horse and chariots; but, being repulsed by Cæsar's horsemen, they fled and hid themselves in the woods, in a

place, which, being notably strengthened both by nature, and art, they had used as a fortress in their civil wars among themselves. For, by reason there were many great trees cut down, and laid overthwart the passages round about, there could hardly any entrance be found into the wood: howbeit the Britons themselves would oftentimes sally forth upon advantage, and impede the Romans, where they attempted to enter. Hereupon Cæsar commanded the soldiers of the seventh legion to make a testudo[2], and to raise a mount against the place; by which means, after loss of men on both sides, the Romans, in the end, got the fort, and chaced the Britons out of the wood: but Cæsar would not suffer his soldiers to pursue them far, in regard the place was unknown; and a great part of the day being then spent, he thought it fit to bestow the rest in fortifying his camp. The next day in the morning, he sent out horsemen and footmen three several ways to pursue them that fled; but, before they had gotten sight of the Britons, certain horsemen sent from Quintus Atrius, who had charge of the shipping, brought news that a great tempest the night before had distressed his ships, and beaten them upon the shore; their anchors and cables being not able to hold them, nor the mariners to guide them, or to endure the force of the storm. Whereupon Cæsar caused the legions and horsemen to be sent for back again, and marched with speed towards the sea-side, where he found his navy in an ill plight; forty of his ships being clean cast away, and the rest with great difficulty seeming likely to be recovered. For effecting whereof he took some shipwrights out of the legions, and sent for others out of the continent; writing to Labienus (who had the charge of certain legions there, and the guard of Portus Iccius) that he should prepare as many ships as he could, to be sent over unto him with expedition. And though it was a work of great toil, yet he thought it necessary to have all the ships haled a-shore, and to be brought into the camp, where his land forces lay; that one place might be a safeguard to them both. In the accomplishment hereof he spent ten days; the soldiers scarce intermitting their labour in the night-time, till all was finished. And then having fortified his camp, and left there the same forces which were before appointed to keep the harbour, he returned to the place, whence he dislodged upon Atrius's advertisement; where he found the number of Britons much increased by confluence of people from sundry parts within the island. The chief commandment and direction for the war was by publick consent of the states of the island assigned to Cassibilin; the bounds of whose territory were divided from the maritime cities, by the River Thames, and were distant from the sea about fourscore miles. There had been of a long time continual war between him and some other princes of the countries near adjoining: but now both parts (fearing to be over-run by a foreign enemy) neglected private respects, and joined their forces together; appointing him to be their leader, as a man of whose valour, and sufficiency in military affairs, they had got experience. The Roman army being come in view of their enemies camp, the Britons pressed forward to begin the fight with their horsemen and chariots, and Cæsar sent out his horsemen to encounter them; so that the battle was maintained with great resolution on both parts, and the event thereof seemed doubtful; till, in the end, the Britons gave ground, and fled through the woods to the hills, many of them being slain in the chace, and some of the Romans also, who adventurously pursued them too far. Not long after, while the Romans (suspecting no danger) were occupied in fortifying their camp, the Britons sallied suddenly out of the woods, and made an assault upon the warders, that kept station before the camp; to whose aid Cæsar sent out two cohorts, (the chief of two legions,) which, making a lane through the midst of the British forces, joined themselves with their distressed fellows, and rescued them from the peril; though Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune of the soldiers, was slain in that enterprise. But, new cohorts coming to supply the former, the Britons were repulsed, and sought to save themselves by flight. By the manner of this battle (which was fought in view of the

[2] [*Testudo militaris*, a military covering or screen made by joining their targets above their heads, to defend them from the missive weapons of an enemy: also an engine made of boards and wattles, &c. to shelter under during a siege.]

Roman camp) the Romans perceived the advantage which the Britons had of them, and how ill themselves were appointed for such a kind of fight; when, by reason of the weight of their armour, they could neither pursue such as fled, nor durst leave their ensigns, nor were able, without great disadvantage, to encounter the British horsemen, which oftentimes gave ground on purpose, and having withdrawn themselves by little and little from the legions, would leap out of their chariots and fight on foot: the manner of their fighting with horses and chariots being alike dangerous to those that retired and those that pursued. Besides, they divided their forces into companies, when they fought; and had several stations, with great distances between them; one troop seconding another, and the sound and fresh men yielding supplies to the wounded and weary. The day following, the Britons were descried upon the hills afar off, scattered here and there in great numbers together, being not very forward to begin a new fight; till Cæsar having sent out three legions, and all his horsemen, under the conduct of C. Trebonius the lieutenant, to go a foraging, they flocked suddenly together from all parts, and set upon the foragers; not sparing to assail the ensigns and legions themselves, who strongly resisted them, and made them turn their backs; when the Roman horsemen also eagerly pursued them, never giving over the chace (as being confident in the aid of the legions that followed them) until they had driven them headlong before them; killing all those they overtook, and giving the rest no time, either to gather themselves together, or to make a stand, or once to forsake their chariots.

After this overthrow, many of the barbarous people (who had come from divers parts to aid their countrymen) shrunk away; and Cæsar understanding, what course the rest of the Britons meant to hold in prosecuting the war, led his army to the bounds of Cassibelin's country upon the River Thames; which was passable on foot, in one place only, and that with some difficulty. When he came thither, he perceived that the Britons had great forces in readiness on the further side of the river, the banks whereof were fortified with sharp-pointed stakes or piles (about the bigness of a man's thigh, and bound about with lead) pitched near the shore, to impede their passage; and some others of the same kind (the remnants whereof are to be seen at this day) were planted covertly under water in the main river. Whereof Cæsar having intelligence (by some fugitives, and prisoners that he had taken) commanded the horsemen, first, to enter the river, and the legions to follow; so that, the dangerous places being discovered, the Romans waded through, their heads only appearing above water, and charged the Britons with such violence, that they forced them to forsake the shore, and betake themselves to flight.

Cassibelin, seeing no likelihood to maintain the war any longer by force, dismissed the greater part of his power, and keeping with him about four-thousand chariots only, retired into the woods, and places of most safety; driving men and cattle before him out of the fields, all that way, by which he knew the Romans should pass with their army, whose horsemen (as they roved up and down to take booties) he surprised with his chariots, and distressed them in such sort, that they durst not march forward; but, keeping themselves in their strength, gave over their former purpose, and from thenceforth sought only to annoy the Britons, by spoiling and burning their houses and towns.

In the mean time, the Trinobantes (one of the chief states in those parts) sent ambassadors to Cæsar, promising to submit themselves, and to be at his commandment. There was also one Mandubratius, who had fled over to Cæsar, when he was in Gallia, and was now become a follower of his fortune; while, preferring the satisfaction of his own discontented humour, before the advancement of the common cause, he served as an instrument to betray his native country; abusing the credit he had with his countrymen, by working their submission, to his own dishonour, and the advantage of a foreign enemy. His father Imanentius (having been some time chief ruler of the city of the Trinobantes, and well esteemed among them) was slain by Cassibelin, the present governor, against whom the citizens desired Cæsar to protect Mandubratius, and to commit unto him the government of their city; which Cæsar granted upon delivery of a certain number of pledges, and a sufficient proportion of victuals for provision of his army. Hereupon the Ceni-

magni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi, (petty states thereabouts,) sent ambassadors, and yielded themselves to Cæsar; who understood by them, that Cassibelin's town, being well stored with men and cattle, was not far from thence. This town (as all others so called of the Britons in those days) was only a circuit of ground inclosed with woods and marshes, or else intrenched with a rampire of earth about it. Cæsar, coming with his legion to this place, (which he found very strong, as being fortified, both naturally and also by the industry of man) began to assail it on both sides. The Britons, having expected, a while, the event of the enterprise, and perceiving themselves unable to withstand the assault, issued out at a back way; where many of them being slain, and some taken, as they fled, the town itself, and all the provisions within it, were left as a spoil to the Romans.

While these things were in doing among the Trinobantes, Cassibelin dispatched messengers into the country of Cantium, that lies upon the sea. The inhabitants of those parts were then more civil, and better furnished to make war than any others of the island. The country, at that time, was governed by four kings, as Cæsar himself calleth them; either, for that they had among them a kind of absolute government in several, or else, for that, being the register of his own acts, he supposed it would be more for his glory to be reputed a conqueror of kings. Their names were Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax; whom Cassibelin then required to raise all the power they could make, and on the sudden to assail the Roman forces that guarded their ships at the sea-side. This was attempted accordingly, but with ill success; for that the Romans, having timely advertisement of their purpose, prevented the execution thereof, by setting upon them as they drew near the Roman army; and so, after a great slaughter made of the Britons, (Cingetorix, a noble captain, and one of their princes, being taken prisoner,) the Romans returned in safety to their camp.

Cassibelin, hearing of the unhappy issue of this enterprise, after so many losses sustained on his part, (his country being wasted with war, and himself in a manner forsaken by the revolt of the cities round about, which most of all discouraged him,) sent ambassadors to Cæsar by Comius of Arras, offering to submit himself upon reasonable conditions. Cæsar, determining to winter in Gallia, (the state of his affairs there requiring it,) and the summer being almost spent, commanded that he should deliver certain pledges for assurance of his obedience; and that he should offer no wrong, nor give cause of offence to Mandubratius, or the Trinobantes, whom he had taken into special protection. And then, having imposed a tribute, to be paid yearly by the Britons to the people of Rome, he marched towards the sea-side, where he embarked his forces, and arrived with them safely in the continent. Thus Cæsar, having rather shewed some part of Britain to the Romans, than made a conquest of the whole, supposed he had done sufficiently for his own glory, in undertaking a matter so rare and difficult in those times. At his coming to Rome, he presented there certain captives, which he had taken in the British wars, whose strangeness of shape and behaviour filled the people's eyes both with wonder and delight. He offered also, in the temple of Venus Genitrix, a surcoat embroidered with British pearl, as a trophy, and spoil of the ocean; leaving to posterity a perpetual remembrance of his enterprise in this island, to the honour both of his own name and of the Roman nation.

After the death of Julius Cæsar, by reason of the civil wars among the Romans, the island of Britain was for that time neglected, and Augustus Cæsar being settled in the empire, (which was then grown to such greatness, as it seemed even cumbered therewith,) accounted it good policy to contain the same within its known bounds. Besides, the attempt was like to prove dangerous, and a matter of very great expence, to send an army so far off, to make war with a barbarous nation for desire of glory only; no special cause besides moving thereto. Howbeit, as some writers report, about twenty years after Julius Cæsar's first entrance, Augustus intended a voyage hither, in person; alledging, for pretence of the war, the wrong offered to the Roman state by such princes of the island as had, for certain years, with-held the tribute which Cæsar, his predecessor, had

imposed. Upon intelligence whereof, the Britons sent over ambassadors, who meeting the emperor in Gallia Celtica, declared their submission, and desired pardon; and the better to win favour, they had carried over certain gifts of good value, to be presented as offerings in the Roman capitol; having already learned the art to flatter for advantage, and to appease princes by rewards. Hereupon, a conditional peace was granted them, and the emperor, having pacified some troubles in Gallia, returned to Rome. Then began the islanders to pay tribute and custom for all kinds of wares which they exchanged with the Gauls; as, namely, ivory boxes, iron chains, and other trinkets of amber and glass, which were transported to and fro both out of Gallia and Britain.

The year following, the Britons having failed in performance of conditions, he prepared for another expedition; but, being set forward on his voyage, the revolt of the Cantabrians and Austrians prevented him from proceeding any further therein. After which time the Britons were left to themselves, to enjoy their liberty, and use their own laws, without interruption by foreign invaders; for that the Romans, having found the sweetness of peace, after long civil wars, sought rather to keep in obedience such provinces as had been before-time brought under subjection, than by attempting new conquests, to hazard the loss of that they had already gotten.

In those days, the country of the Trinobantes, in Britain, was governed by Cuno-belin, who kept his residence at Camalodunum. He begun first to reclaim the Britons from their rude behaviour; and, to make his estate more respected, he afterwards caused his own image to be stamped on his coin, after the manner of the Romans; a custom never used among the Britons before his days, and but then newly received by the Romans themselves; for, before that time, the Britons used rings of iron, and little plates of brass, of a certain weight, instead of coin. During the time of his government, the divine mystery of human redemption was accomplished by the birth of our Saviour Christ; Augustus Cæsar then possessing the Roman empire, which he afterwards left to Tiberius his adopted son; a wary and politick prince, who following the advice and example of Augustus, did neither attempt any thing in Britain, nor maintain any garrison there.

But Caius Caligula, his successor, had a design to have invaded the island, had not his rash entrance into the action, and his ill success in the German war, overthrown the enterprise; by reason whereof he brought nothing to effect, but only made a ridiculous expedition, answerable to the vanity of his humour, bringing an army into the hither parts of Belgia; and there, having received into protection Admimus, (whom Cuno-belin, his father, had banished,) and certain other British fugitives that came with him, he wrote vaunting letters to the senate, as though the whole island had yielded itself; having given special charge to the messenger, that his letters should be carried in a chariot to the forum, and not delivered to the consuls, but in a full senate, and in the temple of Mars. Afterwards, drawing his forces down to the sea-coasts of Belgia, whence, with wonder, he beheld the high cliffs of the island, possessed with barbarous people, he placed his soldiers in battle array upon the shore, and himself, entering into a long-boat, was rowed a little way upon the sea. But not daring to adventure further, he returned speedily to land, and then commanding a charge to be sounded, as though he would have begun a fight, he appointed his soldiers to gather cockles and muscles in their helmets, terming them spoils of the ocean, and meet to be preserved, as offerings due to the capitol. For this exploit, he afterwards, at his coming to Rome, required a triumph, and divine honours to be assigned him; but finding the senators, for the most part, unwilling to give their assent, he burst out into threats, and had slain some of them in the place, if they had not speedily avoided his fury. After this, himself, in open assembly, made a declaration of his journey, and what adventures he had passed in the conquest of the ocean, as himself vainly termed it; whereat the common people, either for fear or flattery, gave a general applause; which he, taking it as a testimony of their desire, to have him placed among their gods, rewarded in this manner. He caused a great quantity of gold and silver to be scattered on the ground, and certain poisoned caltrops of iron to be cast among them, whereby many were killed; partly with those invenomed engines, and partly with the press one of another;

each man being earnest in gathering, and supposing another man's gain his own loss. So naturally was he inclined to all kinds of mischief, that he spared not the lives even of those whom he thought to deserve best at his hands.

But Claudius the Emperor, with better advice and success, undertook the matter of Britain; and first by persuasion of Bericus, a British fugitive, and others, whom the Romans had received into their protection, (a matter that much discontented the Britons, and stirred them up to revolt,) he sent Aulus Plautius, a Roman senator, a man well experienced in military affairs, to take charge of the army then remaining in Gallia, and to transport it into the island; whereat the soldiers grudged, complaining that they should now make war out of the world; and, by protracting time with unnecessary delays, they discovered openly their unwillingness to enter into the action; till Narcissus, a favourite of Claudius, being sent to appease them, went up into Plautius's tribunal-seat, and there, in an oration, declared to the soldiers the causes of his coming, and exhorted them "not to shrink for fear of uncertain dangers; that the enterprise itself, the more perilous it seemed, the more honourable it would be to atchieve it; that themselves were the men whom the heavens had ordained to enlarge the bounds of the Roman empire, and to make their own names famous in the utmost parts of the earth." But the soldiers, at first, being moved with disdain, cried out, in a seditious manner, "*Io Saturnalia;*" as though they had been ready to solemnise a feast, at which the custom was, that servants should wear their masters apparel, and represent their persons. Howbeit, Narcissus, giving way to their fury for the present, did afterwards prevail so far with them, as partly for shame and partly for hope of reward they seemed content to follow Plautius, whithersoever he would conduct them. Then were the legionary and auxiliary soldiers divided into three parts, so to be embarked; to the end that if they should be impeded in one place, they might land in another. In crossing the sea, their ships were shaken, and beaten back with a contrary wind; albeit their courage failed not, but rather increased, by reason of a fiery leam, shooting from the east towards the west, the self-same way that they directed their course; which they interpreted as a token of good success. And thereupon hoisting sail, they set forward again, and with some difficulty (through the contrariety of the wind and tide) arrived in the island, without any resistance, by reason that the Britons expected not their coming; but then, finding themselves surprised on a sudden, they ran dispersedly to hide themselves in woods and marshes; holding it their best course, rather to prolong the war, and weary their enemies by delays, than to encounter them in the open field. But Plautius, with much labour and hazard, found out, at length, their chief place of retreat; where he killed many of them, and took prisoner Cataratacus, their captain; one of the sons of Cuno-belin, not long before deceased. For this exploit, the Roman senate did afterwards grant him a triumph, which the Emperor Claudius honoured with his own person, accompanying him as he went up into the capitol.

The Boduni, then living under the government of the Cattienchlani, betook themselves to the protection of Plautius, who, leaving garrisons in those parts, marched towards a river, over which the Britons supposed that the Romans could not pass without a bridge, and therefore imagined themselves safe; having pitched their camp on the other side of the water. But Plautius sent over certain Germans, who, being accustomed to swim over rivers with swift currents, even in their armour, found an easy passage to the further bank, and there set upon the Britons; wounding the horses which drew their chariots, and by that means overthrowing their riders, and disordering their whole power. Then was Flavius Vespasian, who had the leading of the second legion, and Sabinus his brother, appointed to pass over, and to charge them on a sudden, as they were dispersed. Some of the Britons being slain, and some taken prisoners, the night made an end of the skirmish. The next morning, the rest of the dispersed rout shewed themselves upon the shore, and gave occasion of a new fight, which continued a long time, with equal advantage; till C. Sydius Geta, being in danger to have been taken, recovered himself, and at last forced the Britons to retire; for which service he had afterwards triumphal honours assigned him, although he were no consul. In this conflict Vespasian, being beset round about by

the barbarous people, was in great danger, either to have been slain or taken, if he had not been timely rescued by Titus, his son; who then exercised the office of a tribune of the soldiers, and began, in his tender years, to give some proof of his valour. After this battle the Britons withdrew themselves to the mouth of the river Thames, near the place where it falls into the sea; and, being skilful in the shallows and firm grounds, passed over in safety, whilst the Romans, that pursued them, not knowing the dangerous places, were oftentimes in great hazard. Some of the Germans, that were most forward to adventure, by reason of their skill in swimming, as soon as they had got to the further shore, were compassed about, and killed by the barbarous people; and the rest of the Roman army that followed, was much distressed in the passage, and sharply assailed at their coming on land: where began a bloody fight, in which Togodumnus, a British prince, one of Cunobelin's sons, was slain; whose death did nothing abate the courage of the Britons, but rather inflamed them with desire of revenge; for the effecting whereof, they gathered together new forces from divers parts of the island. Plautius, fearing the greatness of their power, and being straitened in a place of disadvantage and danger, proceeded no farther at that time; but, fortifying only such towns as he had already taken, advertised Claudius of the doubtful state of his affairs.

In the mean time Vespasian was employed in other places of the island, where fortune seemed to lay the foundation of that greatness unto which he afterwards attained; for in a short space he fought thirty times with the Britons, overcoming two warlike nations, and taming the fierce Belgæ; whose ancestors coming hither at the first out of Gallia Belgica, (either to take booties, or to make war,) gave the name of their own country to such places as they had subdued; a custom commonly used among the Gauls, when they had seated themselves in any parts of this island. With like fortunate success Vespasian proceeded in attempting and conquering the isle Vectis, that lieth on the south-side of Britain; when Claudius the emperor, being now furnished with all things necessary for the British expedition, set forward with a mighty army, consisting of horsemen, footmen, and elephants. He marched first to Ostia, from thence to Massilia; the rest of the voyage he made by land to Gessoriacum in Gallia, where he embarked. His forces, being safely transported into the island, were led towards the river Thames, where Plautius and Vespasian, with their power, attended his coming, and so the two armies, being joined together, crossed the river again. The Britons, that were assembled to encounter them, began the fight, which was sharply maintained on both sides; till, in the end, a great number of the islanders being slain, the rest fled into the woods; through which the Romans pursued them, even to the town of Camalodunum, which had been the royal seat of Cunobelin, and was then one of the most defensible places in the dominions of the Trinobantes. This town they surprised, and afterwards fortified; planting therein a colony of old soldiers, to strengthen those parts, and to keep the inhabitants there in obedience. Then were the Britons disarmed; howbeit Claudius remitted the confiscation of their goods; for which favour the barbarous people erected a temple and an altar unto him, honouring him as a god.

Now the states of the country round about, being so weakened by the loss of their neighbours, and their own civil dissensions, that they were unable to resist the Roman power any longer, began to offer their submission; promising to obey, and live peaceably under the Roman government; and so, by little and little, the hither part of the isle was reduced into the form of a province. In honour of this victory, Claudius was divers times saluted by the name of *Imperator*, contrary to the Roman custom, which permitted it, but once, for an expedition. The senate of Rome also, upon advertisement of his success, decreed, that he should be called *Britannicus*, and that his son should have the same title, as a sirname proper, and hereditary to the Claudian family. Messalina, his wife, had the first place in council assigned her, (as Livia, the wife of Augustus, some time had,) and was also licensed to ride in a chariot. At his return to Rome, which was the sixth month after his departure thence, having continued but six days only in the island, he entered the city in a triumph, performed with more than usual ceremonies of state; whereat certain presidents of provinces, and banished men, were permitted to be present. On the

top of his palace was placed a crown set with stems, and fore-parts of ships, which the Romans called *Corona navalis*, as a sign of the conquest of the ocean. Divers captains that had served under him in Britain, were honoured with triumphal ornaments. Yearly plays were appointed for him, and two arches of triumph, adorned with trophies, were erected, the one at Rome, the other at Gessoriacum, (where he embarked for Britain,) to remain to succeeding ages, as perpetual records of his victory. So great a matter was it then accounted, and a work of such merit, to have subdued so small a part of the island.

In these terms stood the state of Britain, when the prosecution of the war was committed to P. Ostorius Scapula, who, at his landing, found all in an uproar; the Britons, that were yet unconquered, ranging the confederates country, and using the greatest violence, for that they supposed the new captain, (as unacquainted with his army, the winter also being then begun,) would not come forth to encounter them; but he knowing well, that in such cases, the first success breedeth either fear or confidence, drew together, with speed, his readiest cohorts, and made towards them; slaying such as resisted, and pursuing the residue, whom he found straggled abroad, lest they should make head again. And, that a faithless and cloaked peace might not give, either the captain or soldiers, any time of idle repose, he disarmed all those whom he suspected, and hemmed them in with garrisons between Antona and Sabrina.

The first that began to stir were the Icenians, (a strong people, and unshaken with wars,) as having of their own accord, in former times, sought the Romans alliance and amity. The countries also adjoining near unto them, following their example, prepared themselves to fight; choosing a place, that was compassed about with a rude trench, which had a narrow entrance, to impede the coming in of horsemen. That fence, the Roman captain, although he wanted the strength of the legions, went about to force, with the aid of the confederates alone; and having placed his cohorts in ranks, he set his troops of horsemen also in like readiness. Then, giving the sign of battle, he assailed the rampire, and broke it; disordering the Britons, who being struck with a kind of remorse for their rebellious attempts, and seeing the passages stopped up on all sides, shewed very great courage and valour in defending themselves; as it falleth out oftentimes, where extremity of danger itself takes away all fear of danger. In this fight, M. Ostorius, the lieutenant's son, was crowned with an oaken garland, as an honourable reward for saving a Roman citizen.

Now, by the slaughter of the Icenians, the residue of the Britons (who stood upon doubtful terms, as wavering between war and peace) were well quieted, and Ostorius led his army against the Cangi, whose country he spoiled and wasted; while the inhabitants durst not come into the field, but privily surprised such as they found straggling behind the Roman army, which was now come near the sea coast, that looks towards Ireland; when certain tumults, stirred amongst the Brigantes, brought back the general, who thought it best not to enter into any new action, before he had made all sure in those parts. Yet, upon his coming thither, some few of the Brigantes, that first began to take arms, being put to death, the residue were pardoned, and the country quieted. For the general wisely considering, that, in such cases, lenity sometimes prevaileth, where force and rigour cannot, did seek to win favour of the Britons, by courteous usage of such, as either fled unto him for protection, or else, by the fortune of war, fell into his hands; sometimes pardoning them, sometimes rewarding them, and sometimes using them in service against their own nation; as he did Cogidunus, a British prince, upon whom he had bestowed certain cities in free gift, according to an ancient custom amongst the Romans, who used kings themselves for instruments of bondage. But the Silures could neither by cruelty, nor fair means, be held in; so that the general saw there was no way to keep them under, but with a garrison of legionary soldiers; and, to that end, the colony at Camalodunum, consisting of a strong company of old soldiers, was brought into the subdued country, to defend it against such as should rebel, and to make the confederates more willing to live in obedience.

Then the army marched against the Silures, who, besides their natural boldness, relied

much upon the strength of Caractacus, their leader; a man that had waded through many dangers, and had been fortunate in many adventures; having gotten thereby such reputation, that he was preferred before all the British captains. But, as in policy and knowledge of the country, he had an advantage of the Romans; so, perceiving himself to be unequally matched in strength, he removed the war to the Ordovices; who, entering into the action with him, as fearing alike the Roman power, resolved jointly, to hazard the chance of war. And, hereupon, they prepared for battle; having chosen a place very commodious for themselves, and disadvantageous for their enemies. Then they went to the top of an hill, and where they found any easy passage up, they stopped the way with heaps of stones, in manner of a rampire. Not far off, ran a river with an uncertain ford, where, upon the bank, a company of the best soldiers were placed, for a defence in the fore-ward. The leaders went about, exhorting and encouraging the common soldiers; using such persuasions as might best fit their humours, and the present occasion; and Caractacus himself, coursing up and down, protested, "That that day, and that battle, should be either the beginning of recovery of liberty, or of perpetual servitude." Then he called upon "the names of his ancestors that had chaced Cæsar the dictator out of the island, and had delivered them from hatchets and tributes, and protected their wives and children from shame and violence." While he uttered these or the like speeches, the people, round about him, made a noise; and every man swore, according to the religion of his country, "That neither their enemies weapons, nor their own wounds, should make them to give over." That cheerful cry terrified and astonished the Roman general; and the rather, when he considered how he was couped in; having the river beneath him, the fort before him, the high hills hanging over it, and all things, on every side threatening danger and destruction to the assailers. Howbeit, his soldiers demanded the battle, crying, that "There was nothing which valour could not overcome." The prefects and tribunes, using the like speeches, added courage to the rest. Then Ostorius, having viewed the places of difficult access, led his soldiers (being hot and eager for the fight) unto the further side of the river, and from thence to the rampire: where, while they fought with their darts, they had the worst, but having broken down the rude compacted heap of stones with a testudo, and both armies coming to handy strokes upon equal advantage, the Britons turned their backs, and ran to the hill-top, the Romans pursuing them both with their light and heavy-armed soldiers; the one assailing with darts, and the other, as they marched thick together, breaking the ranks, and beating down the barbarous people, who had neither head-piece nor armour to defend themselves: so that, being hedged in between the legionary soldiers and the auxiliaries, the greatest part of them were slain in the place.

At this assault, Caractacus's wife and daughter were taken prisoners, and his brethren yielded to the enemies; but himself, driven to extremity, escaped by flight into the country of the Brigantes; hoping to receive some aid of Cartismandua, the queen there. But, as it falleth out commonly with men in adversity to be forsaken and left succourless; so, instead of finding the relief which he expected, he fell into the danger which he little expected. For Cartismandua, either fearing her own estate, or thinking to win favour of the conqueror (as princes oftentimes make use of one another's misfortunes to serve their own turns) detained him in prison a while, and afterwards delivered him to Ostorius; who was exceeding glad that he had gotten him, and forthwith sent him to Rome as a prize of great worth, and the happy fruits of nine years service in the wars. The report of him was spread throughout the islands and provinces adjoining, and his name was renowned in most parts of Italy; each man desiring to see him, who had, so long time, withstood and contemned that power, which held all the world in awe and obedience. The city of Rome, for many days together, was filled only with talk of him, and expectation of his coming; and the emperor himself, as a conqueror, by extolling his own worthiness, covertly added more glory to the conquered. The people assembled together, as it were to see some notable and rare spectacle. The emperor's guard in arms were orderly placed in the field before the camp. After this preparation made, the prisoners and tro-

phies were presented in this manner: First, the vassals of Caractacus, going foremost, bowed their bodies to the people as they passed, and seemed, by their rueful countenances, to discover their fear: the caparisons, chains, and other spoils, taken in the war, were carried after them. Then Caractacus's brethren, his wife, and daughters followed; and, last of all, came Caractacus himself. His body was naked, for the most part, and painted with the figures of divers beasts: he wore a chain of iron about his neck, and another about his middle: the hair of his head hanging down in long locks, curled by nature, covered his back and shoulders; and the hair of his upper lip, being parted on both sides, lay upon his breast: the rest of his body was shaven all over. Neither was his behaviour less noted, than the strangeness of his habit; for he neither hung down his head, nor craved mercy, as the rest did; but went on boldly, with a settled and stern countenance, till he came before the emperor's tribunal-seat; and there standing still a while, he after spoke these, or the like words: "If either my virtues in prosperity had been answerable to the greatness of my state, or the success of my late attempts to the resolution of my mind, I might have come to this city, to have been entertained rather as a friend, than as a captive to be gazed upon; for it should have been no disgrace for the Romans to have admitted into society with them a man royally descended, and a commander of many warlike nations. But what cloud soever fortune hath cast over my state, she is not able to take from me those things, which the heavens and nature have given me; that is, the dignity of my birth, and the courage of my mind, which never failed me. I know it is a custom amongst you, to make your triumphs the spectacles of other men's miseries; and, in this calamity, as in a mirrour, you do now behold your own glory. Yet know, that I was sometimes a prince, furnished with strength of men, and habiliments of war: and what marvel is it, that I have now lost them; since your own experience hath taught you, that the events of war are variable and uncertain? I thought that the deep waters, which, like a wall, inclose us (whom the heavens seem to have placed far off in another world by itself) might have been a sufficient defence for us against foreign invasion: but I see now, that your desire of sovereignty admits no limitation; since neither the danger of an unknown sea, nor the distance of place, can any longer warrant our safety and liberty. If you would needs command the whole world; then must all men become your vassals, and live under a forced obedience. For my own part, as long as I was able, I made resistance; being unwilling to submit my neck to a foreign yoke. The law of natural reason alloweth every man to defend himself, being assailed; and to withstand force by force. Had I yielded at the first, thy glory and my mishap had not been so renowned, but both of them would soon have been forgotten. Fortune hath done her worst, and we have now nothing left us but our lives; which if thou spare, having power to spill, thou shalt do that which best becometh a great mind, and a noble nature."

The emperor hearing this speech, and wondering to see such boldness and constancy of mind in a dejected estate, pardoned both him, and the rest of his company; commanding them to be unbound, and so dismissed them. For many days together, Caractacus's fortune ministered matter of discourse to the lords of the senate, who affirmed the spectacle of his captivity to be no less honourable, than that of Syphax the Numidian king, ever whom P. Scipio triumphed; or that of Perses, whom Paulus Æmilius vanquished; or of any other kings, that had in former times been taken in war, and shewed to the people. Then public honours of triumph were decreed for Ostorius, whose fortunes, being now at the highest, began afterwards to decline; by reason that either Caractacus, the object of his valour, being removed, he supposed he had made a full conquest, and therefore followed the service more carelessly; or else for that the residue of the Britons, having compassion of the misfortune of so mighty a prince, and being eager for revenge, renewed the war: for they assailed the legionary cohorts, which were left behind to build fortresses in the Silures country, killed the camp-master and eight centurions, besides some of the forwardest soldiers; and they had put all the rest to the sword, if speedy rescue had not come from the villages and forts adjoining. Divers other sallies they made, as time and place gave them advantage; prevailing sometimes by strength, sometimes by

policy, and sometimes by chance. The principal motive, that induced the rest to take arms, was the example of the Silures; who were most resolutely bent, as being exasperated, by reason of a speech that the Roman emperor had used, which was: "That he would root out the name of the Silures, as the Sicambrians had been in former time." This made them bold and desperate to adventure; as men knowing their destiny before-hand. Many skirmishes they had, in surprising the scattered troops of the Roman soldiers, and oftentimes with good success, in taking rich booties and prisoners, and distributing the spoils among their neighbours; by which means they drew them all to revolt.

In the mean time, Ostorius, wearied with care and travel, ended his life. Whereof Claudius the emperor being advertised, sent Aulus Didius to take charge of the army in Britain; where, notwithstanding all the haste he made, he found all out of frame: Manlius Valens with his legion having encountered the Britons will ill success, which (by report of the islanders) was made greater than indeed it was, to terrify the new governor, who also made use of the same policy to serve his own turn: for by encreasing the fame of that which he heard reported, he supposed either to win greater praise, if he prevailed; or to purchase a more favourable censure of his actions, if he miscarried. The Silures had made many roads into the subdued country, wasting and spoiling round about, when Didius the lieutenant, upon his first arrival, entering into the field, restrained their outrage, and for a while kept them in some awe. After Caractacus was taken, Venutius, a prince, faithful to the Romans, and protected by them, (so long as Cartismandua, his wife, and he agreed together) upon private discontentment began a new rebellion. For Cartismandua (whom the Romans specially favoured for the delivery of Caractacus,) abounding now in peace, wealth, and plenty, which are the nurses of licentious living, fell in love with Velocatus, one of her husband's servants; and, forgetting, in the end, her own honour, preferred him before Venutius, who, being deeply touched with such an open injury and disgrace, raised a power, to expel her and her paramour out of the kingdom. The war seemed, at the first, to have been maintained between themselves and their private followers only, till Cartismandua, by policy, had taken Venutius's brother, and certain of his kinsmen: and then the inhabitants round about, fearing the event, and disdaining to be brought under the servile yoke of a woman, declared themselves for Venutius; and, with a choice number of youthful and well experienced soldiers, invaded the country: whereof Didius having timely intelligence, sent certain cohorts to encounter them. Hereupon ensued a sharp conflict; the success whereof was much doubted in the beginning, but in the end the Romans prevailed. The like fortune also had Cæsius Nasica with his legion: for Didius himself, as a man stricken in years, and fitter to direct than execute, used, for the most part, the ministry of other men; keeping that which his predecessors had gotten, and building only some few castles and places of defence within the land to win, thereby, a fame of augmenting the office.

This was the state of the affairs in Britain; when Claudius the emperor died; leaving the Roman monarchy to Nero, his adopted son, who, after his first five years spent, (being given over to all kinds of vice,) neglected the government both at home and abroad, not daring to enter into any military actions; and it was thought that he would have revoked the army out of Britain, if very shame (in detracting from his father's glory, and losing that, which he had won) had not with-held him. About that time Veranius was governor in Britain, where the shortness of his continuance suffered him not to effect any great matter; for he died in the first year of his government: and then was the province assigned to Suetonius Paulinus, one of the most famous men of that age for military matters. His good success at his first entrance, in subduing nations and establishing garrisons, where need required, made him bold to assail the Isle of Mona, lying in the west part of Britain, as having been a common receptacle of fugitives, during the war. In his passage thither he left the country behind him, as he marched, unfurnished in divers places; laying it thereby open to all opportunities of annoyance. At his arrival, the barbarous people rudely armed, standing upon the shore, made shew of their purpose to resist: the women in mourning attire, their hair about their ears, shaking burning firebrands, (like furies of

hell,) ran up and down; and the Druyds, lifting up their hands towards heaven, filled the air with cries and curses. These Druyds were certain priests, had in great reverence among the Britons. They kept their residence, for the most part, in shady and dark groves, as fittest places for devotion. Among all trees, they most esteemed the oak, as hallowed; and without the which, they could not perform their superstitious rites. Their sacrifices were both private and public. They instructed the youth of Britain, and decided controversies, civil and criminal. If any man refused to stand to their award, he was forbidden to be present at their sacrifices, which was accounted the greatest punishment that might be: for thereby he was reputed a notorious offender, exempt from the ordinary protection of the laws, uncapable of any preferment, and all men would fly his company. Amongst these priests there was always one that had the chief authority; and, he being dead, the worthiest of them that survived succeeded in his place. If there seemed to be an equality of worthiness among more than one, then the choice was made by plurality of voices. At one certain time in the year, they used to hold a session in Gallia in some consecrated place, where they heard and determined causes: for the superstition was first brought thither out of Britain. They had immunity from all manner of tributes, and from service in the wars; by reason of which privileges, they drew to them many followers, whom they taught a great number of verses by heart; supposing it unlawful to commit those sacred things to writing; whereas in other matters, as well public as private, they used the Greek letters. And this it is likely they did, either for that they would have the knowledge of their superstitious rites laid open to the common people (in whom ignorance seemeth to ingender a kind of devotion); or else, for that they would not have their scholars to trust the more to their memory, while they wanted the help of writing. They preached, that the soul was immortal, and that after the death of one man it went to another. By this persuasion they stirred up men to virtue, and took away the fear of death; the main obstacle of glorious adventures. Other things they taught also concerning the motion of the stars, the situation of the earth, and the power of their profane gods. The strange behaviour of these religious priests, and the outcries of the people of Mona, so amazed the Roman soldiers, that, like men enchanted, they stood still without motion; till the captain spoke unto them, and encouraged them to adventure, not fearing a flock of silly women, or frantic people; and then, boldly giving the charge, he soon disordered and dispersed them, making himself master of the field. Which done, the Roman soldiers entered the towns, and placed garrisons there; felling the woods which the inhabitants superstitiously reputed holy, by reason of the altars whereupon they sacrificed the blood of captives; and prophesied of the success of their own affairs, by viewing the intrails of men, whom they had killed.

In the mean time Prasutagus, King of the Icenians, a man renowned for his riches, did by his last will make the Roman emperor his heir (jointly with two of his daughters); supposing, that thereby his kingdom and family should have been maintained in good estate, and protected from violence after his death; all which fell out contrary to his hopes: for this kingdom was made a prey to the soldiers; Voadica, his wife, whipped; his daughters deflowered; such as were of his family made slaves; and the wealthiest men of his kingdom, either by open force, or surmised pretences, deprived of their goods, and dispossessed of their inheritance. Besides that, Seneca one of Nero's counsellors, having forced divers of the better sort of the Britons to take great sums of money of him upon usury, did then, for his private gain, exact the payment of the principal, upon a sudden, to the utter undoing of his debtors: and Decianus Catus, the procurator in Britain, renewed the confiscation of their goods, which Claudius the emperor had pardoned. The soldiers, placed in the colony at Camalodunum, had thrust the owners and ancient inhabitants out of their houses; terming them slaves and drudges, and abusing them in all reproachful manners. The temple erected in the honour of Claudius was an eye-sore and continual burden unto them; while the priests Augustales, that attended there, wasted the wealth of the inhabitants under the pretext of religion. To these common grievances of the afflicted people, the present occasion seemed to offer means of redress, while the

Roman general was making war in Mona. Whereupon, they resolved to take arms; inciting the Trinobantes and other nations, that were not wholly brought under subjection, to do the like. Then they began to discourse of the miseries of bondage, to lay their injuries together; aggravating them by their own constructions, and complaining, that their patience had profited them nothing, but to draw heavier burdens upon them; "as men that would gently bear: that, whereas in former times they had only one commander, now there were two thrust upon them; the lieutenant to suck their blood, and the procurator their substance: whose disagreement was the vexation of the subject; and agreement, their utter undoing; while the one burthened them with soldiers and captains, the other with wrongs and indignities: that the lust and covetousness of these their enemies laid hold upon all persons without exception: that, though in the field he that spoileth be commonly the stronger, yet themselves were by cowards and weaklings, for the most part, dispossessed of their houses, bereaved of their children, enjoined to yield soldiers for other men's service; as though they were such a kind of people, as knew how to do any thing else, save only to die for their own country: for otherwise there was but a handful of soldiers come over, if they did but reckon their own number; considering, withal, that Germany had already shaken off the yoke, having no ocean-sea, but a river to defend it: that the causes, then moving them to take arms, were just and honourable; namely, to recover their liberty, and to defend their parents, wives, children, and country; whereas the Romans had nothing to provoke them to war, but their own covetousness, and wanton lust, and were likely enough to depart, (as Julius Cæsar had done,) if themselves would imitate the virtues of their progenitors, and not be dismayed with the doubtful event of one skirmish or two; seeing that men in misery have commonly more courage, than at other times, and more constancy to continue. And now the heavens themselves seemed to pity their poor estate, by sending the Roman governor out of the way, and confining the army, as it were, into an other island; by which means, opportunity of revenge, and hope of liberty, was offered. And finally, that being assembled to devise and deliberate together, they had obtained the hardest point, in an action of that nature, wherein it were more danger to be taken consulting, than doing." With these and the like speeches they stirred up one another, each man laying open his particular grievances, and adding them to the common cause.

About this time, divers prodigious signs were noted to portend the subversion of the Roman colony; as namely, an image of victory falling down reversed at Camalodunum; strange noises sounding in the air; strange apparitions seen in the sea; the ocean bloody in shew; and the print of men's bodies upon the sands. Divers constructions were made of these things as ominous; whether that they proceed from some natural causes, though not always observed; or else that they do necessarily forego the ruin and change of great states. Howbeit commonly, in such cases, men's minds do misgive them, while they frame the future event of things answerable to their own fearful imaginations; and great alterations falling out sometimes after like accidents, they superstitiously suppose them to be always the certain forerunners of destruction. The apprehension of these things, at the first, struck the Romans with greater fear, by reason of the absence of their general; and thereupon they required the aid of Catus Decianus the procurator, who sent a small company badly armed, to reinforce the garrison. The old soldiers that had been left within the town, although few in number, yet trusting to the privileges of the temple, and not doubting the secret conspiracy of their confederates, were in a manner careless, as in times of peace; following their pleasures, and making no provision for defence. The Britons, having, in the mean time, taking arms under the conduct of Voadica, a lady of the blood of their kings (for in matter of government they made no difference of sex), and being informed of the state of the colony, determined first to assail the towns and forts in the passage thither. The good success they had in those attempts, made them desirous to invade the colony itself; and Voadica as their leader, being a woman of great spirit, and comely personage, (appareiled in a loose gown of divers colours, with a golden chain

about her neck, and a light spear in her hand) standing upon a heap of turves, the better to be seen, her daughters on each side of her with a shrill voice uttered these, or the like words: "It is no new custom for the Britons to make war under the leading of women, ennobled by their birth and descent: the examples of former times can well witness the experience thereof. Howbeit, at this present, I will disclaim all titles of dignity and prerogatives of blood; and what difference soever there is in our estates, yet shall our fortune, in this action, be indifferent and common to us both. I shall not need to repeat that, which you all know but too well: namely, what miseries we have endured under the tyranny of this proud nation. You have had the trial both of liberty and bondage, and I doubt not but you find now, how much the one is to be preferred before the other: and howsoever some of you heretofore have, for private respects, inclined to the Roman governors, as favourers of their usurped sovereignty; yet, I suppose, you will now confess with me, that freedom in a poor estate is better than golden fetters. For what abuse can there be named so vile, or indignity so disgraceful, that hath not been offered us, without respect of degree, age, or sex? We till our grounds, and sweat for other men, that reap the sweet of our travels; the wealth, that we gather to maintain ourselves and our families, is by other men wastefully and riotously mispent; we have nothing of our own, but what they leave us, and nothing left us, but labour and vexation; our bodies and estates being consumed, to satisfy their ambition and covetousness, we have not so much as our heads toll-free: so narrowly are we sifted, from the highest to the lowest. Other subdued nations are yet, by death, freed from bondage; but we, even after death, seem to live still in thraldom, while we are forced to pay tribute, as well for the dead as the living. What, are we a nation so contemptible, that we can serve to no other use, than to be slaves? Or so unhappy, that death itself cannot acquit us from being miserable? How long shall we give way to our own wrongs? Shall we hope for reformation of these abuses? Nay, we have hoped too long; and by patient bearing of one injury, we have drawn on another. Why should we not rather seek to redress them? For, if we enter into due consideration of ourselves, what are the Romans more than we? Our bodies are as strong as theirs; our numbers greater. We have agility of body, our women no less than our men, to run, to leap, to swim, and to perform all warlike exercises; for which, indeed, we are naturally more fit, than for the spade, plough, or handicrafts. And howsoever the Romans may seem fortunate by the folly, or weakness, of other nations; yet are they not comparable unto us, whom nature hath framed to endure hunger, cold, and labour, and to be content with things necessary only. For to us, every herb and root is meat, each river and spring yield us drink, while we seek no further than to appease hunger, and quench thirst; each tree serves for shelter against storms in winter, and for shadow against the parching heat of summer; we need no other beds than the earth, nor covering than the heavens; whereas they must have their joints suppled with hot baths, sweet ointments, and soft couches; and their bodies pampered with wine, dainty fare, and all kinds of effeminate niceness and delicacy. These are the properties wherein they imitate their master Nero, who hath only the shape of a man, being indeed a woman; or rather, neither man nor woman, but a monster of nature, a singer, a fiddler, a stage-player, a murtherer; and one that excelleth other men as far in vice, as he doth in pre-eminence of degree. Besides all this, the cause of our war is just, and the divine powers that favour justice, have made our first attempts prosperous; and, methinketh, that the necessity of our case were able to make even cowards valiant. Your ancestors could make head against Julius Cæsar, and the emperors Caligula and Claudius; the Germans have lately freed themselves by that memorable overthrow of the Roman legions, under the conduct of Quintilius Varus; and shall not we (who scorn to be reputed inferior to the Germans in valour) be confident in our own strength, and boldly adventure? Considering, that if we prevail, we recover our lost liberty; if we be forced to retire, we have woods, hills, and marshes, for our refuge; and if we die, we do but sell our lives with honour, which we cannot possess with safety. For my own part, you shall find me no less ready to

execute, when time serves, than I am now to advise and exhort you; myself having determined, either to vanquish, or die! If any of you be otherwise minded, then live, and be slaves still."

With these, and the like speeches, she inflamed the hearts that were already kindled, and, persuading the Britons to pursue their enemies, (as dogs and wolves do fearful hares and foxes,) she let slip out of her lap a quick hare, at whose running through the camp the Britons shouted, apprehending it as a matter ominous, and fore-signifying the Roman flight. And thereupon, they cried that they might be speedily led to the colony itself, as the seat of their slavery; which, at their first coming, they surprised, killing, spoiling, and consuming all with fire and sword, except the temple only, into which the soldiers fled as a sanctuary, though it could not long protect them from the violence of the furious multitude. Petilius Cerealis, the lieutenant of the ninth legion, coming to succour the garrison, had all his footmen slain, and himself with a few horse hardly escaped. Catus, the procurator, knowing himself to be odious to the Britons (by reason of the extortions he had committed in his office) fled secretly into Gallia, but Suetonius, upon intelligence of the revolt, returned out of Mona, and led his army, with some difficulty, towards London; a place not known at that time by the name of a colony, but famous only for concourse of merchants and traffick. There he staid a while, as doubting what course to take; the small number of his forces, and the ill success of Cerealis, making him more wary: and he supposed it would be a work well worth his labour, if with the loss of one town, he could preserve the rest, that were likely to revolt. Whereupon, furnishing his defective companies with such able men as were then in the town, although the Londoners, with tears, implored his aid, and desired his abode there for their defence: yet he marched forward, leaving behind him all such as either by reason of their age, sex, or other infirmities, could not follow; or else, for love of the place, as being bred and born there, would not abandon it. The town being thus weakly guarded, was taken by the Britons, and the people therein all put to the sword. The like calamity befel the free town of Verulamium; by reason that divers of the Britons, finding their own strength, forsook their forts, and assailed the most notable and wealthy places; enriching themselves with the spoil of their enemies, whom they hanged, burned, and crucified; exercising all kinds of cruelty, that a mind, enraged with desire of revenge, could devise. They took no prisoners, either to preserve for ransom, or to exchange, according to the laws of war; but slew both citizens and confederates, to the number of about seventy-thousand. Suetonius, with the fourteenth legion, seconded by the standard-bearers of the twentieth, and some auxiliaries, made haste to encounter the Britons; and resolved, without further delay, to try the chance of a set battle. Then he pitched in a place that had a narrow entrance, with a thick wood for a defence behind him, and a fair wide plain before his camp. The legionary soldiers were marshalled together in thick ranks; the light harnessed inclosing them about, and the horsemen making wings on each side. Pœnius Posthumus, the camp-master of the second legion, was appointed to lead the foreward; but he contemptuously refused the charge.

In the mean time, the Britons ranged abroad in great troops, triumphing for their late good success; and, being encouraged by the example of Voadica their general, were fiercely bent to assail the Roman camp; supposing now that no force was able to resist them. And they had brought their wives with them, and placed them in waggons about the outmost parts of the plain, to be the beholders of their valiant acts, and witnesses of their expected victory. Suetonius being now ready to join battle; though he perceived that his soldiers were not much dismayed with the sight of so great numbers scattered upon the plain; yet he supposed it not unnecessary to use some speech to them, by way of exhortation, and therefore began in this manner:—"I cannot now use many words to exhort you; the time permits it not, and the present occasion requireth rather deeds than words. Yet let not our small number discourage you, considering that your ancestors, with a smaller number, have effected greater matters; and that, where many legions have been in the field, a few soldiers have carried away the victory. What a glory shall it be

for you then, if with so small a power, you can purchase the praise of a whole army? There is no fear of ambush; the woods guard you behind, and on the plain before you lieth your enemies camp, wherein you may behold more women than men; and the men themselves, for the most part, unarmed, and not likely to endure the points and strokes of our weapons, which they have so often felt to their smart. It stands you now upon, to approve yourselves the same men you are reputed to be. This is the time either to recover that you have lost, or to lose that which you shall never recover: you fight now, not for honour only, but for honour and life. Remember that you are Romans, whose glory it is to do and suffer great things. The fortune of this battle will either give us peaceable possession of that our forefathers have won, or for ever deprive us of it. What shall become of you, if you be taken, the woeful experience of your countrymen, most miserably massacred before your eyes, may sufficiently testify. Revenge therefore both their wrongs and your own, and, no doubt, but the gods themselves (who never leave cruelty unpunished) will assist you. It is better for us to die in this action, than by yielding, or flying, to out-live the praise of our own worthiness. But, whether we live or die, Britain shall be ours: for, if we live, and recover it, our posterity ever after shall be able to defend it; and, though they should not, yet shall our bones keep continual possession of it. Take courage therefore, and fear not the loud and vain shouts of a disordered multitude, but boldly give the assault; and, keeping yourselves close together, pursue the fight, without thinking of the spoil, till you have made a full end: for, the victory once gotten, all things else will, of themselves, fall to your share."

With these, or the like words, the old soldiers were pricked forward; and Suetonius, perceiving it, gave the signal of battle. The legions kept the streight, as a place of defence, till the Britons had spent their darts; and then they sallied out into the plain (the auxiliaries and the horsemen making way) and pressing into the thickest troops of the barbarous people; who, being unable to endure the fierceness of the assault, turned their backs, thinking to save themselves by flight; but, by reason their waggons, placed about the plain, had hedged in the passages on all sides, few of them escaped. The residue, as well women as men, were put to the sword; and their dead bodies, mingled with the carcases of their horses and chariots, were heaped one upon another. The number of the Britons slain in that battle, was reported to be about eighty-thousand, and of the Romans about four-hundred only, and not many more wounded in the conflict. This day's service was renowned among the Romans, as comparable to those of ancient times in the free commonwealth. Voadica, disdaining to fall into her enemies hands, ended her life by poison; and Pœnius Posthumus, seeing the good success of the fourteenth and twentieth legions (for that, by disobeying the general, contrary to the discipline of war, he had defrauded his own legion of their part of the glory in the action) for very grief slew himself.

Then, Suetonius having gathered together his dispersed troops, certain legionary soldiers and cohorts of auxiliaries were sent him out of Germany, to reinforce the garrisons, and to make an end of the war. Some of the Britons that either openly resisted, or else stood doubtfully affected, were put to the sword; and some that escaped the sword, died of famine for lack of corn; a calamity incident to them, as to a people given rather to war, than husbandry. The rest found means to relieve themselves by the Romans provision; and, though some overtures were made for a treaty of peace, yet they would not hearken thereto, for that they doubted their safety; imagining that their guiltiness of the rebellion had excluded them from all hope of pardon; and they much feared the private displeasure of the lieutenant, who, though otherwise a singular man, yet seemed to shew too much haughty and hard dealing towards them that yielded themselves; and in some sort, under pretext of the publick service, to revenge his own injuries. Besides, Julius Classicianus, who was sent to succeed Catus, being at variance with Suetonius, had given out that a new lieutenant was coming, and that he was such a one, as being void of malice or the pride of a conqueror, would be ready to receive into favour all such as would yield themselves. He wrote letters also to Rome, signifying to the senate, that they

should look for no end of the war in Britain, so long as Suetonius continued the government there; and that the ill success, which he had in the service, was to be attributed to his own ill carriage of himself; and the good, to the fortune of the commonwealth. Hereupon Nero sent Polycletus, a libertine, into Britain, to examine and report the state of the affairs there; and to interpose his authority as a means to reconcile the lieutenant and the procurator, and to win the Britons to embrace peace. At his landing in the island, the Roman soldiers there seemed to fear and reverence him; and the causes of his coming were diversly reported at the first. But the Britons derided him: for, as men being born free, they knew not, till that time, the power of libertines (men made free), but rather marvelled, that a captain and an army which had atchieved so great an enterprise, could be brought to obey, and yield an account of their actions, to a base bond-slave, as they termed him.

These things, howsoever they were censured by others, yet they were reported to Nero, in such manner, as the reporters thought might best content him; and Suetonius, after the loss of some of his shipping, was commanded (the war being not yet finished) to deliver up the army to Petronius Turpilianus, who had a little before given over his consulship. He was a man of a soft spirit, and, being a stranger to the Britons faults, was the more tractable, and ready to remit them: by which means, having composed the former troubles, he delivered up his charge to Trebellius Maximus, whose unfitness for action, and want of experience in military matters, gave the more boldness to the Britons, that began now to discover the defects of their governors; having learned both to flatter and dissemble, in conforming themselves to the present times and occasions, for their advantage; and, for the most part, yielding themselves to those pleasures, which security useth to engender, even in minds well disposed by nature. For Trebellius, besides his insufficiency, abused the authority of his place, to enrich himself, by polling the common soldiers; and Roscius Cœlius, a lieutenant of the twentieth legion, whetted them on against him as against his ancient enemy: so that in the end they broke out into heinous terms, the one objecting matter of crime against the other. Trebellius charged Cœlius with factious behaviour; Cœlius again Trebellius with beggaring the legions; and the discord betwixt them grew so far, that Trebellius, being despised, as well by the aids as the legions, (both of them sorting themselves to Cœlius's side,) was in great fear of his life: the danger whereof he sought to prevent, rather by flying away, than by executing any exemplary justice upon offenders. In the mean time, the soldiers, neglecting the ancient discipline of war, fell to mutiny and all kinds of riot; as men that had rather be doing ill, than doing nothing. And afterwards, taking again his former place, (as it were by capitulation,) he seemed to govern only at the discretion of his soldiers; who finding his weakness and want of judgment to use his authority, took upon them to do what they listed: and herewith also the lieutenant himself seemed contented, as being now given over altogether to a slothful kind of life, terming it peace and quietness; for which, the civil discord at that time between Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, ministered some colour of excuse. About this time the fourteenth legion (famous for many great attempts, and growing now more insolent than the rest,) was revoked out of the island, to have been sent to the Streights about the Caspian Sea; though afterwards, upon intelligence of the revolt in Gallia and Spain, when Julius Vindex took arms against Nero, it was retained about the City of Rome, for a safeguard to those parts. In the turbulent times that ensued Nero's death, it took part with Otho again Vitellius at the battle near Bebriacum, where Otho was overthrown; and Vitellius after the victory, suspecting the soldiers of that legion, (as knowing their great stomachs, and ill affection towards him,) thought it expedient to join to them the Batavian cohorts; that by reason of the inveterate hatred between them, they might one oppose the other, and himself in the mean time remain more secure.

Then Vectius Bolanus, a man not much unlike Trebellius in some respects, was sent over by Vitellius; during the time of whose government the like disorders continued still in the camp; saving that Bolanus, by the mildness of his nature, (being not touched otherwise in his reputation) had purchased love and good-will, instead of fear and obe-

dience. In his time, divers choice men of war, taken out of the legions in Britain, were conducted to Rome by Hordeonius Flaccus, in aid of Vitellius; but when Vespasian made war for the empire, Bolanus refused to send Vitellius any succour; by reason that the Britons, finding the Roman state encumbered with civil dissension, began to revolt in divers places of the island; and some of them also shewed themselves openly in favour of Vespasian, who had carried himself honourably in Britain, when Claudius was there; and seemed now, by many ominous predictions, to be a man specially marked for the empire.

The death of Vitellius, quenching the flame of civil broils among the Romans, confirmed the possession of the empire to Vespasian, who shewed the care and respect he had of the island of Britain, by employing great captains and good soldiers there. The lieutenantship was then assigned to Petilius Cerealis, a man that had given good proof of his sufficiency in former services. Upon his first entrance into office, he invaded the country of the Brigantes, the most populous state of the whole province; the greatest part whereof, after many bloody battles, was either conquered or wasted, and the hope of the Britons greatly abated; when Julius Frontinus, whose reputation was nothing impaired by the fame of his predecessor, took upon him the charge, which he afterwards executed with great commendation, in subduing the strong and warlike nation of the Silures; among whom he seemed to fight, not only with men whose strength and valour was able to make opposition against his attempts, but also with mountains, streights, and places of very difficult access.

In this state Julius Agricola (having been trained up, for the most part in the British war) did find the province, when he, as successor to Cerealis, entered into the government. He crossed the narrow seas about the midst of summer; at which time, as though the season of the year had been past to begin a new war, the Roman soldiers attended an end of their travel, and the Britons a beginning of annoyance to their enemies. The Ordovices, a little before he landed, had almost cut in pieces a troop of horsemen, that lay upon their borders; upon which attempt, the country being awaked, as desirous of war, allowed the example; and some staid to see how the new lieutenant would take it. Agricola, in the mean time, although the summer was spent, and the bands lay dispersed in the province (his soldiers having fully presumed of rest for that year, and divers officers of the army being of opinion, that it were better to keep and assure the places suspected, than to make any new attempt); yet, all this notwithstanding, he resolved directly to encounter the danger, and, gathering together the ensigns of the legions, and some few auxiliaries, (because the Ordovices durst not descend into indifferent ground) himself first of all, to give others like courage, marched up to begin the assault: and having, in that conflict, destroyed almost the whole nation of the Ordovices, and knowing right well, that fame must with instance be followed (for, as the first should fall out, so the rest would succeed), he deliberated to conquer the island of Mona, from the possession whereof Paulinus had been formerly revoked by the general rebellion of Britain. But ships being then wanting, as in an enterprise not intended before, the policy and resoluteness of the captain devised a speedy passage; for he commanded the most choice of the aids (to whom all the shallows were known, and who, after the use of their country, were able to swim in their armour, if need were,) to lay aside their carriage; and, putting over at once, suddenly to invade them. Which thing so amazed the inhabitants, who supposed that the Romans would have staid a certain time for ships and suchlike provision by sea; that now, believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men which came so minded to make war, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the island. Thus Agricola, at his first entrance into office, (which time others used to consume in vain ostentation, or ambitious seeking of ceremonies,) entering withal into labours and dangers, became famous indeed, and of great reputation. Howbeit, he abused not the prosperous proceeding of his affairs to vanity, or braving in speeches; for he esteemed it an action not worthy the name of a conquest, to keep in order only persons subdued before; neither decked he with laurel his letters of advertisement, but by stopping and suppressing the fame of his doings, he

greatly augmented it, when men began to discourse upon what great presumption of future success he should make so light an account of so great actions already performed. As touching the civil government, Agricola, knowing how the province stood affected, (and being taught also, by experience of others, that arms avail little to settle a new conquered state, if violence and wrongs be permitted,) determined at the first to cut off all causes of war and rebellion; and, beginning at home, he first of all reformed his own house; a point of more hardness to some men, than to govern a province. He committed no manner of publick affairs to bond-men or libertines. He received no soldier near his person upon private affection of partial suitors, nor upon commendation or intreaty of centurions, but elected the best and most serviceable. He would look narrowly into all things, yet not exact all things to the utmost. Light faults he would pardon, and the great severely correct; not always punishing offenders, but oftentimes satisfied with repentance; chusing rather not to prefer to office such as were likely to offend, than, after the offence, to condemn them. The augmentation of tribute and corn he tempered with equal dividing of burdens, cutting away those petty extortions which grieved the Britons more than the tribute itself. For the poor people, in former times, were constrained in a mockery to wait at the barn-doors, which were locked against them; and first to buy corn, and afterwards sell at a low price. Several ways also, and far distant places, had been assigned them, by the purveyor's appointment, for carrying provisions from the nearest standing camps to those which were far off and out of the way, (petty officers in the mean time making a gain thereof, by sparing some, and charging others at their pleasure) so as that, which lay open to all, and at hand, was turned only to the private profit of a few. By repressing these abuses in his first year, a good opinion was conceived of the peace, which either by the negligence or partiality of former lieutenants, was now no less feared than war. In times of service he was very painful, and oftentimes more adventurous in his own person, than was fit for a general: for himself would always appoint his ground for pitching the camp, and also be the first man in proving the thickets, bogs, or any other places of danger; not suffering any corners or secret harbours unsearched, but wasting and spoiling every-where with sudden incursions and assaults. Howbeit, when by these means he had terrified the Britons, then would he again spare and forbear, as hoping thereby to allure them to peace; whereupon, many cities, which before that time stood upon terms of equality, gave hostages, and meekly submitted themselves; receiving garrisons, and permitting the Romans to fortify: a work performed with such foresight and judgment, that nothing was ever attempted against them, while he continued in office; whereas, before that time, no new fortified place in all Britain escaped unassailed. Thus far had Agricola proceeded, when the news came, that Vespasian was dead, and Titus his son invested in the empire.

The winter ensuing, was spent in a most profitable and politick device: for, whereas the Britons were rude and dispersed, and therefore prone upon every occasion to war; Agricola, that he might induce them by pleasures to quietness and rest, exhorted them in private, and commanded his soldiers to help them to build temples, houses, and places of public resort; commending such as were forward therein, and checking the slow and idle persons: seeming thereby to impose a kind of necessity upon them, while every man contended to gain the lieutenant's good-will. Moreover, the noblemen's sons he took and instructed in the liberal sciences, preferring the wits of the Britons before those of the students in Gallia: the Britons also themselves being now curious to attain the eloquence of the Roman language, whereas they lately rejected the speech. After that, the Roman attire grew to be in account, and the gown much used among them; and so, by little and little, they proceeded to those common provocations of vices, namely, sumptuous galleries, hot baths, and exquisite banquetings, which things the ignorant people termed civility, though it were indeed a badge of their bondage.

In the third year of his government, he discovered new countries; wasting all before him, till he came to the Firth of Taus. Which thing so terrified the Northern Britons, that although the Roman army had been toiled and wearied with many sharp conflicts, yet

they durst not assail it; whereby the Romans had the more leisure to encamp themselves, and to fortify; wherein Agricola was either so skilful or so fortunate, that no castle planted by him, was either forced by strength or upon conditions surrendered, or, as not defensible, forsaken. In all these actions Agricola never sought to draw to himself the glory of any exploit done by another; but, were he centurion, or of other degree, that had atchieved it, he would faithfully witness the fact, and yield him always his due commendation.

The fourth year of his office was spent in viewing and ordering that which he had overrun. And, if the valiant minds of his soldiers, and the glory of the Roman name, could have so permitted it; there should have been no need to have sought other limits of Britain, than were at that time discovered. For Glota and Bodotria, two arms of the two contrary seas, shooting mightily into the land, are only divided asunder by a narrow partition of ground, which passage was guarded and fortified with garrisons and castles; so that the Romans were now absolute lords of all on this side, having cast their enemies, as it were, into another island.

The fifth year of the war, Agricola subdued, with many and prosperous conflicts, strange nations, before that time unknown, and furnished with forces that part of Britain which lieth against Ireland; and this he did, more for hope of advantage than fear of danger: for, if Ireland might have been won (lying, as it doth, between Britain and Spain, and commodious also for Gallia) it would aptly have united, to the use and profit one of the other, those strongest members of the empire. The nature and fashions of the Irish did not then much differ from the British; but the ports and haven-towns in Ireland were more known and frequented, by reason of greater resort thither of merchants. Agricola, having received a prince of that country, driven thence by civil dissension, did, under colour of courtesy and friendship, retain him, till occasion should serve to make use of him. It was afterwards reported, that with one legion, and some few aids, Ireland might then have been won and possessed; and that it would have been also a means to have kept Britain in obedience, if the Roman forces had been planted in each country, and liberty, as it were, clean banished ought of sight.

Now, in the summer following, because a general rising in arms of all the further nations beyond Bodotria, was feared (the passages being all beset with the power of the barbarous people) he manned a fleet to search the creeks and harbours of the ample region beyond it; backing them first of all with a navy, and, with a goodly shew, bringing war both by land and sea. And oftentimes it chanced, that the horsemen and footmen and the sea-soldiers met, and made merry in the same camp; each man extolling his own prowess and adventures, and making their vaunts and comparisons, soldier-like, some of the woods and high mountains that they had passed; others, of dangers of rocks and tempests that they had endured: the one, of the land and the enemy defeated; the other, of the ocean assayed and subdued. The Britons (as by the prisoners it was understood) were much amazed at the sight of the navy; supposing, that the secrets of their sea being now disclosed, there remained no refuge for them, if they were overcome. Whereupon, the Caledonians, arming with great preparation, and greater fame (as the manner is of matters unknown) began to assail their enemies castles; and some of the Roman captains, which would seem to be wise, (being, indeed, but cowards,) counselled the General to retire on this side Bodotria; and rather to depart of his own accord, than to be driven back with shame. In the mean time, Agricola had intelligence that the Britons intended to divide themselves, and to give the onset in several companies: whereupon, lest he should be inclosed about and intrapped, either by their multitude or by their skill in the passages, he marched also with his army divided in three parts; which when it was known to the Caledonians, they changed advice on the sudden, and uniting their forces together, jointly assaulted, by night, the ninth legion, as being of weakest resistance. And, having slain the watch (partly asleep, and partly amazed with fear) they broke into the camp, and were fighting within the trenches; when Agricola, (having understood by spies, what way the Britons had taken, and following their footsteps,) commanded the lightest horsemen and footmen to

play upon their backs, and to maintain the skirmish. When the day drew near, the glittering of the ensigns dazzled the eyes of the Britons; who, being daunted with fear of danger on each side, began to draw back, and the Romans, like men that were now out of peril of their lives, did fight more chearfully for their honour; freshly assailing the Britons, and driving them to their own gates, where, in the very streights, the conflict was sharp and cruel; till, in the end, the Britons were forced to fly, whilst the Roman armies severally pursued them; contending with a kind of emulation, the one to seem to have helped the other, and the other to seem to have needed no help. Upon the success of this battle, the Roman soldiers, presuming that to their power all things were easy and open, cried to the general to lead them into Caledonia; that with a course of continual conquests they might find out the utmost limits of Britain. Now such as before the battle were so wary and wise in adventuring, waxed forward enough after the event, and grew to speak gloriously of themselves. (Such is the hard condition of war: if aught fall out well, all challenge a part; misfortunes commonly are imputed to one.) Contrariwise, the Britons (presupposing that not true valour, but the cunning of the general, by using the occasion, had carried away the victory) abated not much their wonted courage; but armed their youth, transported their children and wives into places of safety, and sought, by assemblies and religious rites, to establish an association of the cities together: and so, for that year, both parties, as enemies, departed incensed away.

In the beginning of the next summer, Agricola sending his navy before, which, by spoiling in sundry places, should induce a greater and more uncertain terror, followed himself with his army by land; having drawn to his party some of the valiantest Britons, whom, by long experience in peace, he had found most faithful; and so arrived at the Mount Grampius, where the Britons had lodged themselves before. For they were not altogether dejected with the unfortunate event of the former battle; but now, as men prepared for all chances, they attended nothing else but revenge, death or servitude; and being taught, at length, that common danger must be repelled with mutual concord, by leagues and ambassages, they had assembled the power of all the cities together, in number above thirty-thousand armed men, (the view being taken,) besides a great company of youth, which daily flocked to them, and lusty old men renowned in war, and bearing the badges due to their honour; at which time Galgacus, for virtue and birth, the principal man of all the leaders, seeing the multitude hotly demand a battle, is said to have used this or the like speech: "When I consider the cause of this war and our present necessity, I have reason, methinks, to presume, that this day, and this our general agreement, will give a happy beginning to the freedom of the whole island. For we have all hitherto lived in liberty, and now no land remaineth beyond us: no sea for our safety. The Roman navy, as you see, surveying, and invironing our coasts; so that combate and arms, which men of virtue desire for honour, the dastard must also use for his security. The former battles, which have with divers events been fought with the Romans, had their refuge and hope resting in our hands. For we, the flower of the British nobility, and seated in the furthest part of the island, did never yet see the borders of those countries, which were brought under servile subjection; our eyes being still kept unpolluted, and free from all contagion of tyranny. Beyond us is no land: besides us none are free. Us only, hitherto, this corner and secret harbour hath defended: you see the uttermost point of the land is laid open; and things, the less they have been within knowledge, the greater is the glory to atchieve them. But what nation is there now beyond us? What else, but water and rocks, and the Romans lords of all within the land; whose intolerable pride in vain shall you seek to avoid, by service and humble behaviour? They are the robbers of the world, that, having now left no land to be spoiled, search also the sea. If the enemy be rich, they seek to win wealth; if poor, they are content to gain glory to themselves; whom neither the east nor west can satisfy, as being the only men of all memory, that seek out all places, be they wealthy or poor, with like greedy affection. To take away by main force, to kill and spoil, falsely they term empire and government: when all is waste as a

wilderness, that they call peace. His children and blood each man holdeth by nature most dear; and yet even they are pressed for soldiers, and carried away to be slaves, we know not where. Our sisters and wives, though they be not violently forced, as in open hostility; yet are they, under the colour and title of friends and guests, shamefully abused. Our goods and substance they daily draw from us, rewarding us only with stripes and indignities. Slaves, which are born to bondage, are sold but once; and after are fed at their owners expences. But Britain daily buyeth, daily feedeth, and is at charges with her own bondage. And as, in a private retinue, the fresh man and last comer is scoffed at, by his fellow servants: so, in this old servitude of the whole world, they seek only the destruction of us, as being the latest attempted, and, of all others, the most vile in account. We have no fields to manure, no mines to be digged, no ports to trade in; and to what purpose then should they keep us alive, considering that the manhood and fierce courage of the subject, doth not much please the jealous sovereign; and this corner, being so secret and out of the way, the more security it yieldeth to us, the greater suspicion it worketh in them? Seeing therefore all hope of pardon is past; it behoveth you, at length, to shew courage, in defending and maintaining both your safety and honour. The Icenians, led by a woman, fired the Roman colony, forced the castles, and, had the prosecution of the war been answerable to so lucky a beginning, the Britons might then with ease have shaken off the yoke, and prevented our peril. We, as yet, never touched, never subdued, but born to be free, not slaves to the Romans: we, I say, are now to make proof of our valour, and to shew in this encounter, what manner of men Caledonia hath reserved in store for herself. Do you think that the Romans be as valiant in war, as they are wanton in peace? No; you are deceived. For they are grown famous, not by their own virtue, but by our jars and discord; while they make use of their enemies faults, to the glory of their own army, composed of most divers nations: and therefore, as by present prosperity it is holden together; so doubtless, if fortune frown on that side, it will soon be dissolved: unless you suppose the Gauls and Germans, and (to our shame be it spoken) many of our own nation, which now lend their lives to establish a foreign usurper, to be led with any true-hearted and faithful affection. No, it is rather with terror and distrust, weak workers of love: which if you remove, then those, which have made an end to fear, will soon begin to hate. All things that may encourage, and give hope of victory, are now for us. The Romans have no wives to hearten them on, if they faint; no parents to upbraid them, if they fly. Most of them have no country at all; or, if they have, it is some other men's. They stand like a sort of fearful persons, trembling and gazing at the strangeness of the heaven itself, at the sea, and the woods. And now the heavens, favouring our cause, have delivered them, mewed up, as it were, and fettered into our hands. Be not terrified or dismayed with the vain shew and glittering of their gold and silver; which of themselves do neither offend, nor defend. And think, that, even amongst our enemies, we shall find some on our side; when the Britons shall acknowledge their own cause, the Gauls remember their old freedom, and the rest of the Germans forsake them, as of late the Usipians did. What then should we fear? The castles are empty, the colonies peopled with aged and impotent persons, the free cities discontented and distracted with factions; whilst they which are under obey with ill will, and they which do govern rule against right. Here is the Roman general, and the army, their tributes and mines, with other miseries, inseparably following such as live under subjection of others; which, whether we are to endure for ever, or speedily to revenge, it lieth this day in this field to determine. Wherefore, being now to join battle, bear in mind, I beseech you, both your ancestors, which lived in the happy estate of liberty; and your successors, who, if you fail in this enterprise, shall live hereafter in perpetual servitude." This speech was chearfully received with a song, after their barbarous fashion; accompanied with confused cries and acclamations. And as the Roman cohorts drew together, and discovered themselves, while some of the boldest pressed forward, the rest put themselves in array. And Agricola, albeit his soldiers were glad of that day, and could scarce with words have been withholden; yet, supposing it fit to say somewhat, he encouraged them in this wise:

" Fellow soldiers and companions in arms, your faithful diligence and service, these eight years, so painfully performed by the virtue and fortune of the Roman empire, hath at length conquered Britain. In so many journies, so many battles, we were of necessity to shew ourselves, either valiant against the enemy, or patient and laborious above and against nature itself: in all which exploits we have both of us so carried ourselves hitherto, as neither I desired better soldiers, nor you another captain. We have exceeded the limits, I of my predecessors, and you likewise of yours. The end of Britain is now found, not by fame and report; but we are with our arms and pavilions really invested thereof. Britain is found, and subdued. In your marching heretofore, when the passage of bogs, mountains, or rivers, troubled and tired you, how often have I heard the valiant soldiers say, 'When will the enemy present himself? When shall we fight?' Lo, now they are put out of their holes, and here they are come. Lo, now your wish. Lo, here the place for trial of your virtue, and all things likely to follow in a good and easy course, if you win; contrariwise, all against you, if you lose. For, as to have gone so much ground, escaped the woods and bogs, and passed over so many arms of the sea, are honourable testimonies of your forwardness: so, if we fly, the advantages we have had, will become our greatest disadvantage. For we are not so skilful in the country; we have not the like store of provisions; we have only hands and weapons, wherein our hopes, our fortune, and all things else are included. For my own part, I have been long since resolved, that to shew our backs is dishonourable, both for soldier and general; and therefore a commendable death is better than life with reproach (surety and honour commonly dwelling together); howbeit, if aught should mishappen in this enterprise, yet this will be a glory for us, to have died even in the uttermost end of the world, and of nature. If new nations and soldiers unknown were in the field, I would, by the example of other armies, encourage you: but now I require you only to recount your own victorious exploits, and to ask counsel of your own eyes. These are the same men which the last year assailed one legion by stealth in the night; and were suddenly, and (in a manner) by the blasts of your mouths, overthrown. These, of all the other Britons, have been the most nimble in running away; and by that means have escaped the longest alive. For, as in forests and woods, the strongest beasts are chaced away by main force, and the cowardly and fearful scared only by the noise of the hunters; so the most valiant of the British nation we have already dispatched, and the rascal herd of dastardly cowards only remaineth. And lo, we have now at length found them; not as intending to stay and make head against us; but as last overtaken, and by extreme passion of fear standing like stocks, and presenting occasion to us in this place of a worthy and memorable victory. Now therefore make a short work of our long warfare; and to almost fifty years travel, let this day impose a glorious end. Let each of you shew his valour, and approve to your country, that this army of ours could never justly be charged, either with protracting the war for fear, or upon false pretences for not accomplishing the conquest."

As Agricola was yet speaking, the soldiers gave great tokens of their fervent desire to fight; and, when he had ended his speech, they joyfully applauded it, running straightways to their weapons, and rushing furiously forward; which the Roman general perceiving, forthwith ordered his army in this manner: with the auxiliary footmen he fortified the middle battle; the horsemen he placed in wings on both sides; the legions he commanded to stand behind, before the trench of the camp, to the greater glory of the victory, if it were obtained without Roman blood; or otherwise for assistance, if the forward should be distressed. The Britons were marshalled on the higher ground fitly for shew, to terrify their enemies: the first troop standing on the plain, the rest on the ascent of the hill, rising up as it were by degrees one over another: the middle of the field was filled with chariots and horsemen, cluttering and running round about. Then Agricola, finding them to exceed him in number, and fearing lest he should be assailed on the front and flanks both at one instant, thought it best to display his army in length: and although by that means the battle would become disproportionably long, and many advised him to take in the legions, yet he confidently rejected the counsel; and, leaving his horse, advanced him-

self before the ensigns on foot. In the first encounter, before they joined, both sides discharged and threw their darts. The Britons, employing both art and valour, with their great swords and little targets defended themselves, and wounded their enemies; till Agricola, espying his advantage, appointed three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians, to press forward and to bring the matter to handy strokes and dint of sword; which they, by reason of their long service, were able readily to perform, to the prejudice of the other side, in regard of their little bucklers and huge swords. For the swords of the Britons, being weighty and blunt-pointed, were no way fit either for the close or open fight. Now, as the Batavians began to strike them on their faces with the pikes of their bucklers, and, having overborne such as resisted, to march up to the mountains; the rest of the cohorts, gathering courage upon emulation, violently beat down all about them; and, running forward, left some of the Britons half dead, some wholly untouched, for haste and desire to have part of the glory in winning the field. In the mean time, both the chariots of the Britons mingled themselves with their enemies battle of footmen, and also their troops of horsemen; albeit they had lately terrified others, yet now themselves, beginning to fly, were distressed by the unevenness of the ground, and the thick ranks of their enemies, who continued the fight, till the Britons, by main weight of their own horses and chariots, were borne down one upon another; the masterless horses affrighted, running up and down with the chariots, and many times over-bearing their friends, which either met them or thwarted their way.

Now the Britons (which stood aloof from the battle upon the top of the hills, and did at the first in a manner disdain the small number of their enemies) began to come down by little and little, and sought to fetch a compass about the backs of the Romans, which were then in train of winning the field. But Agricola, suspecting as much, opposed them with certain wings of horsemen, purposely retained about him for sudden dispatches upon all chances, and repulsed them as fiercely as they ran to assail: so, the counsel of the Britons turning to their own hurt, the Roman wings were commanded to forsake the battle, and follow the flight. Then were there pitiful spectacles to be seen, pursuing, wounding, taking prisoners; and then killing such as were taken, as soon as others came in the way. Then whole regiments of the Britons, though armed, and more in number, turned their backs to the fewer; others, unarmed, sought their own death, offering themselves voluntarily to the slaughter. The fields every where were imbrued with blood; every where weapons lay scattered; wounded bodies, mangled limbs; some slain out-right, some half dead, some yielding up the ghost; and yet, even at the last gasp, seeming, by their countenances, to discover both anger and valour. Such of the Britons, as in flying recovered the woods, joined themselves together again, and intrapped unawares some of the Roman soldiers, that unadvisedly followed, not knowing the country: and if Agricola had not, by his presence and direction, assisted at need, setting about them his most expert footmen (as it were in form of a toil) and commanding some of his horsemen to leave their horses, where the passage was narrow, and others to enter single on horse-back, where the wood was thin; doubtless the Romans had taken a blow by their over-much boldness. But after that the Britons saw them again in good array, and orderly following the chace, they fled (not in troops, as before, when they attended each other, but utterly disbanded, shunning all company) toward the desart and far distant places. The darkness of the night, and satiety of blood, made an end of the chace. Of the Britons were then slain about ten-thousand; of the Romans, three-hundred and forty; amongst whom the chief man of note was Aulus Atticus, the captain of a cohort, who, upon a youthful heat, and through the fierceness of his horse, was carried into the midst of his enemies. That night the winners refreshed themselves, taking pleasure in talking of the victory, and dividing the spoil; but the Britons, being utterly discouraged, crying and howling (both men and women together) took and drew with them their wounded persons, called the not wounded, forsaking their own houses, and in despight setting them on fire; then seeking holes abroad to lurk in, and, having found them, straightways again forsaking them: sometimes communicating counsels together, and conceiving some little hope; and then by and by de-

jected and desperate; sometimes moved with pity at the sight of their kinsfolk and friends; and sometimes stirred with rage and envy in thinking and speaking of their enemies: and (which was most lamentable) some of them, by way of compassion and mercy, killing their own children and wives.

The day following did more plainly discover the greatness of the victory by the calamity of the vanquished: desolation and silence every where; the smoke of the houses fired appeared afar off; no sallies out of the wood, no stirring in the mountains, no man to make resistance, or to meet with the Roman spies, who, being sent abroad into all quarters, found, by the print of the Britons footsteps, that their flight was uncertain, and that they were no where in companies together; but scattered in divers places, and altogether unable to make any new attempt upon the sudden. Wherefore Agricola (the summer being now spent in this journey, and the time past for employment elsewhere) brought his army into the borders of the Horrestians country; where, having received hostages of the inhabitants, he commanded the admiral of his navy (being furnished with soldiers and sufficient strength for that purpose) to sail about Britain, whither the fame and terror of the Roman name was already gone before. Then he planted garrisons upon the borders between Glota and Bodotria; and disposed of his footmen and horsemen in their wintering-places within the province. Thus, after many conflicts by the space of about an hundred and thirty years, the utmost limits of Britain, and the isles of the Orcades, (lying on the north-side of it,) were, by the valour and industry of Julius Agricola, first discovered and made known to the Romans, and the south part of the isle reduced to a full province; the government whereof was peculiar to the Roman emperors themselves, and not at the disposition of the senate.

This state of affairs here Agricola signified by letters, without any amplifying terms, to Domitian the emperor; who, after his manner, with a chearful countenance and grieved heart received the news, being inwardly pricked with anger and disdain to think, that his late counterfeit triumph of Germany, (wherein were certain slaves bought for money, and attired like captives of that country) was had in derision, and justly scorned abroad; whereas, now a true and great victory (so many thousands of enemies being slain) was current in every man's mouth. Besides, he esteemed it as a most perilous point in a state, that a private man's name should be exalted above the name of a prince; and he supposed, that he had in vain suppressed the study of oratory, and all other politick arts, if he should in military glory be excelled by another; for matters of other kinds, as he supposed, might more easily be passed over, but to be a good commander of an army was to be above a private estate; that being a virtue peculiar for a prince. Domitian, being tormented with these and the like conceits, and musing much in his closet alone (which was commonly noted as a sign of some mischief in working) thought it best, for the present, to cloke and dissemble his malice, till the heat of Agricola's glory and the love of his soldiers were somewhat abated; for as yet Agricola remained in office. Wherefore he commanded, that all the honours of triumphal ornaments, the image triumphal, and whatever else was usually bestowed in lieu of triumph, should in most ample and honourable terms be awarded him in senate; and then, sending a successor, he caused a bruit to be spread, That the province of Syria, which was then void, and specially reserved for men of great quality, should be assigned to Agricola. The common opinion was, that Domitian, sending one of his most secret and trusty servants unto him, sent withal the commission of lieutenancy for Syria, with private instructions, that if Agricola, at the time of his coming, should be still in Britain, then it should be delivered; if otherwise, it should be kept back: and that the same man, meeting Agricola as he crossed the seas, without speaking to him, or delivering his message, returned again to Domitian. Whether this were true, or feigned upon a probable surmise, (as agreeable to the prince's disposition,) it could not directly be affirmed: but, in the mean season, Agricola had yielded up the province in good and peaceable state unto Cneius Trebellius; or rather, as some writers report, to Salustius Lucullus. And, lest his coming to Rome should have been noted, by reason of the multitude of people, which would have gone out to see and meet him; he warily cut off the occasion

of that courtesy, entering the city by night; and by night, as he was commanded, came to the palace; where, being admitted to the Prince's presence, and received with a short salutation, and no further speech, he sorted himself with other gentlemen of his rank; carrying himself ever after very temperately and warily in all his actions, as knowing the present state of those times, and the dangerous inclination of the Emperor himself; who, being (as all other princes are commonly) more fearful and jealous of the good than the bad, envied him those virtues, and that honourable reputation, whereof himself was not capable. Yet, as good deserts cannot be hid (true worthiness shining even in darkness itself) so the retired life which Agricola led, did nothing diminish his glory; but rather, like water sprinkled upon a burning fire, increased and continued the heat thereof. Divers times was he accused in his absence; which ministered to his ill-willers opportunity of working his disgrace; and as often in absence was he acquitted; the opinion only of his good deserts, and no matter of crime, giving the occasion: while such, as highly commended him to the Emperor, seeming his friends, (but being indeed the most pestilent kind of enemies,) procured under-hand his peril and ruin in the end. Howbeit, the ill success of the Roman armies in divers provinces at that time, serving as a foil to set out his honourable actions, drew him by force into glory; and Domitian made pretences of his purpose to employ him, thinking thereby to satisfy the people, who then complained of the want of good leaders. But virtue, that never continueth long time in prosperous estate, as being the common object of envy, hastened the death of Agricola; who, as the constant fame went, was made away by poison, and that not without the Emperor's knowledge and consent. These things, concerning Agricola's government in Britain, I have set down particularly, as they are reported by Cornelius Tacitus, who writ the story of his life; which remaineth to the world, as a perpetual monument of the doings of the one, and the writings of the other.

Salustius Lucullus, succeeding Agricola, left little memory of himself by doing any thing here: either for that no occasion was then offered to shew himself in action; or else, for that the fame of so worthy a predecessor blemished his reputation. For, having held the office but a short time, he was, by commandment of Domitian, put to death; for suffering certain spears, of a new fashion, to be called by his own name. About this time, Arviragus (a Briton by birth and education) did govern, as king, part of the island of Britain; the Romans accounting it a point of policy to permit the Britons, sometimes, to be ruled by princes of their own nation; whose aid and counsel they might use, upon occasions, to the pacifying of rebellions, and the establishing of their own greatness: for the common people (whose affection doth oftentimes sway the fortunes of great princes) are much more easily brought under the obedience of their own countrymen, than of strangers.

Domitian being slain, Nerva Cocceius succeeded in the empire. But in what state the affairs of Britain then stood, the histories of those times make no mention; either, for that the Emperor, being a man far stricken in years, and disposed to ease and quietness, employed himself rather in reforming abuses at home, than in maintaining war abroad; or else, for that the short continuance of his government did not suffer him to enter into any great actions in places so remote. For, having held the empire little above one year, he left the same, by death, to Ulpius Trajanus, a Spaniard; whom he had adopted for his virtue and wisdom. In his time, some of the Britons, desirous to free themselves from the Roman tyranny, entered into rebellion; but wanting means to effect what they had begun, they soon gave over the enterprise. Howbeit, Ælius Adrianus, who succeeded Trajan in the empire, having intelligence that the northern Britons made incursions into the province, sent over Julius Severus to impede their attempts: but, before he could make an end of the war, he was revoked, and sent into Syria to suppress the Jewish rebellion; and Adrian the emperor, himself, came with an army into Britain, where he encountered the barbarous people of the North, recovered such forts as they had taken, and forced them to retire to the mountains and woods, whither the Roman horsemen, without danger, could not pursue them: and then, fortifying the borders of that province, by raising a

wall of turves, about eighty miles in length (between the mouths of the rivers Ituna and Tina) to defend the inhabitants thereof from the sudden assaults of their ill neighbours, he returned triumphantly to Rome. This exploit won reputation to the Roman army, and great honour to the Emperor himself, who was then called the 'Restorer of Britain;' and had the same inscription figured for the stamp of his coin.

Now, the Britons dwelling within the province seemed, for the most part, patiently to bear the yoke (which custom had made less painful); and they obeyed the more willingly, as standing in need of the Roman help, against their own countrymen, whose cruelty was now as much feared as in former times the invasion of strangers. Whereupon they conformed themselves to the Roman laws, both in martial and civil affairs, which were then principally directed by Licinius Priscus; who had been, not long before, employed in the expedition of Jewry, and was at that time proprætor of Britain.

Antoninus Pius succeeded Adrian the emperor: when Lollius Urbicus being lieutenant, the barbarous people made a road into the province; but they were beaten back by the Roman forces that lay upon the borders; and then was there another wall of turves built, by commandment of the lieutenant, to strengthen those parts with a double rampart. In the mean time, a new war was kindled among the Brigantes, that annoyed some of the Roman confederates; but, by the discretion of the general, it was quenched, before it came to a flame. For Lollius Urbicus, upon the first rumour of the revolt, marched thither with part of the army, leaving the rest behind to guard the borders; and Sejus Saturninus, admiral of the British fleet, being well appointed by sea, lay upon the north-side of the isle, to defend the coasts, and, upon occasions, to further the land-service. By this means the Brigantes were easily reduced to obedience, even by the presence only of the lieutenant; who, for his good service in Britain, during the short time of his employment there, obtained the sirname of Britannicus.

Antoninus Pius being dead, and Antoninus Philosophus possessed of the empire, Calphurnius Agricola was made lieutenant of the province; who, at his first entrance into office, understood of some new tumults raised during the vacation: but partly by policy and partly by force, he, in a short time, appeased them, deserving thereby great commendation; though oftentimes the glory of such exploits was attributed to the emperors themselves (the labour and peril in attempting, and, for the most part, envy after victory) remaining only as rewards to their ministers.

Now was the time come (namely about one hundred and fifty years after the birth of our Saviour) when the Christian religion (which for many years together, had been wrapped up in the dark clouds of error and superstition) began to discover itself more openly in this island, by the means of Lucius, sirnamed Lever Maur; who, by permission of the Roman lieutenant, did govern, as king, a great part of the province. For it appeareth by the testimony of ancient writers, that Britain received the Christian faith, even in the infancy of the church, immediately after the death of our Saviour Christ; whose apostles and disciples (according to his commandment) published and dispersed the same in divers parts of the world, by preaching and doing miracles; the fame whereof did sometimes move heathen princes to allow their doctrine, and to favour the professors thereof, as Lucius then did. Besides that, the Roman lieutenants and governors, as well in Britain as other provinces, did sometimes tolerate the exercise of true religion, which they seemed inwardly to approve; howsoever, for worldly respects, they forbore to shew themselves openly in favour of it. But Lucius desiring to be fully instructed in that faith, whereof he meant to be a professor, sent letters to Eleutherius, then bishop of Rome, requiring his direction and assistance, in accomplishing the good work which he intended. This motion was well liked of the bishop; who, writing unto the king; 'Commended his 'zealous disposition to embrace the truth; exhorting him to read the holy Scriptures with 'humility and reverence; and out of them (by God's grace, and the advice of faithful 'counsellors,) to gather instructions for the framing of laws necessary for the preservation 'of his estate: which laws, so gathered and framed, he did affirm to be much better than 'the imperial constitutions of the Romans, or any other whatsoever: that, to make laws,

'and execute justice, were the proper office of a prince; who was, upon earth, the Vicar 'of God himself, and received from him that title and authority; to the end he should use 'the same, to the good of the catholick church, and of the people committed to his 'charge.' Hereupon Lucius and his family were baptised, the worshiping of images forbidden, the Flamens and Arch-flamens (idolatrous priests among the Britons,) expelled; and the temples, dedicated to prophane gods, were consecrated to the service of the only true GOD. Thus Christianity, being here received by king Lucius, kept on her course untainted, and without opposition, till the time of Dioclesian the emperor; who kindled the fire of the last and longest persecution in the primitive church. That storm being overblown, the sun-shine of true religion displayed itself, till Arius, and other hereticks after him, dispersed their impious assertions; which, like a contagious disease, infecting most parts of the world, invaded also this our island; the inhabitants whereof (as men delighting in novelties) were carried hither and thither, with 'every blast of vain doctrine,' retaining nothing in matters of religion for certain, but their own uncertain opinions. Howbeit, Britain may think herself, as happy in many other blessings, so most happy in this; that, among all the nations of Christendom, she brought forth and nourished the first christian king.

This was the state of the church in Britain, when new troubles began, to the disturbance of the province. For the northern Britons making a breach in the wall, which Adrian the emperor had built; and, finding the borders but weakly guarded, entered the province, and, surprising the Roman general, killed many of his soldiers; and, ranging the countries, wasted and spoiled every where, without resistance; till Ulpius Marcellus, being sent over by Commodus the emperor, staid their fury, and, with great difficulty, forced them to retire within the wall. By which means the province being quieted, he applied himself to reform abuses in his camp; reviving the ancient discipline of war, which had been for a time discontinued among the Roman soldiers, whom long service, and many victories, had made bold to say and do oftentimes more than became them. For Marcellus indeed was a man somewhat anstere, in reproving and punishing, otherwise very temperate; diligent in times of war; not idle in peace. His diet was the same which the common soldier used; in quantity more sparing; for he would eat no bread, but such as was brought from Rome: which he did, to the end he might avoid excess, and take no more than sufficed nature, (the staleness of the bread having taken away all taste, that might either please the sense or provoke the appetite.) The day-time, for the most part, he spent in viewing his camp, in training young soldiers, and giving direction to officers. In the night he wrote letters, and made his dispatches into divers parts of the province, as occasion required. He slept very little, by reason of his thin diet, and much business, wherewith he was continually occupied; for he thought he that slept a whole night together, was no meet man to be either a counsellor to a prince, or the commander of an army. Every evening he used to write instructions upon twelve tables made of linden tree: which tables he delivered to one of his servants, appointing him to carry them, at sundry hours of the night, to certain of his soldiers; who, thereby supposing that their general was still waking, and not gone to his bed, were the more careful in keeping the watch, and preventing sudden attempts in the night-season. He was severe in the execution of justice; not to be led by favour, not to be corrupted by bribes. He levied money only as necessary for the war, not to inrich himself or his friends, as other governors, in former times, had done: for he never preferred his own private, before the publick good, nor a wealthy estate before an honourable reputation. The fame of these virtues, as they made him much respected both of his own soldiers and of the Britons, so they procured envy; which always followeth virtue inseparably, as a shadow doth the body. Commodus the emperor, understanding how Marcellus had carried himself in Britain, was much displeased therewith; and, doubting lest he should grow too great, he thought it best to cut him off. But, some accidents happening, in the mean time, to make him change that purpose; he only sent letters of discharge, and so dismissed him from the office.

After his departure, the army having been kept in by a hard hand, and finding now the rein let loose upon a sudden, began to be mutinous, and refused to acknowledge Commodus for their emperor. These disorders Perennius, one of his favourites, took upon him to redress; by displacing such persons as he suspected, and committing their offices to men of meaner quality; wherewith the legions were much discontented, disdaining that (instead of senators, and men of consular degree,) they should now be governed by upstarts, and base companions. In the heat of these broils, about fifteen-hundred soldiers forsook the army, and went to Rome, where they exhibited to the emperor a bill of complaint against Perennius; whom they charged as the chief author of the dissension of the army; by bringing in new customs, by exceeding his commission, and doing things derogatory to the majesty of the Roman empire. These, and other things, as well false as true, were objected against him by the multitude; who, for the most part, dislike such as exercise authority over them, and keep no measure in their affections, either of love or hatred. But that, which touched to the quick, was an accusation of treason put up against him, for conspiring against the life of the emperor, and seeking to advance his son to the empire. This point was quickly apprehended by Commodus, who thought that the suspicion of the fact, or the report only to have intended it, was a sufficient cause of condemnation, howsoever the party accused was indeed either guilty or innocent. Hereupon Perennius was declared a traitor, and delivered to the soldiers; who stripped him of his apparel, whipped him with rods, and, in the end, cruelly murthered him.

Then was Helvius Pertinax, a man of mean fortune by birth, (as having risen from the state of a common soldier to the dignity of a commander,) sent into Britain, to appease the tumults there. He was one of them that Perennius had before discharged from bearing office, and sent into Liguria, where he was born. At his first entrance he attempted by force to suppress the rebellion of the army; venturing so far in a skirmish, that though he escaped with life, yet he was left among the dead, and supposed to be slain. Afterwards, proceeding with better advice and success, he composed the troubles; severely punishing the principal offenders, and using some rigour in revenging his own injuries; by which means, growing odious to the soldiers, and distrusting his own safety, he made suit to be discharged of the lieutenantship.

Then was the government of the province assigned to Clodius Albinus, a man of noble birth; very forward, and, for the most part, fortunate in his attempts; for which, the emperor Commodus, either upon fear or favour, did honour him with the title of a Cæsar; though Albinus seemed unwilling to accept it, and afterwards discovered his disposition more openly, in affecting the antient free state. For, upon a false report of the death of Commodus, he made an oration, to the legions in Britain, in favour of the senate, whose government he had commended; and preferred the same before that of the emperors. But Commodus, being advertised thereof, sent Junius Severus, with all speed, to take charge of the army. In the mean time Albinus retired himself from affairs till Commodus was dead, and Pertinax elected emperor. Then he combined himself with Didius Julianus; whom the soldiers, that then made open sale of the empire, had elected after the death of Pertinax. But Julianus, being infamous for his vices, and failing to perform his promise made to the soldiers, was, in a short time, forsaken of them, and afterwards murdered. Upon report of Julianus's death, Septimius Severus, a man adorned with excellent gifts of nature, was declared emperor; and, for that he feared Clodius Albinus, who then had recovered the government of Britain, he made him his associate in the empire, and sent Heraclianus to be lieutenant of the province, which Heraclianus soon after, resigned to Virius Lupus. But desire of sovereignty, that cannot endure quality of degree, made the one jealous of the other; and the fire of ambition, that had been smothered for a time, burst out at length into a flame. For Severus, having pacified some tumults in the west part of the world, and, after many conflicts, subdued Pescennius Niger, who usurped the empire in the East, pretended the breach of association, as a colour to make war upon Albinus; who, understanding thereof, transported over the seas a mighty army, furnished with abundance of victuals out of the island itself, which then, through the industry of the

inhabitants (applying themselves to tillage and husbandry,) yielded plenty of grain, and served the Romans as the garner of the West empire; out of which they carried yearly great quantities of corn, to maintain their armies in Gallia and Germany. Near Lyons, in Gallia, Severus encountered with Albinus, whose forces were there defeated, and himself slain. Then Severus made preparations for his voyage into Britain, which, by reason of the often change of governors, was grown much out of order: and, although the Britons, upon intelligence of his purpose, did send over ambassadors to offer their voluntary submission; yet, the Emperor, in whom neither age nor sickness had abated the heat of ambition, would not directly accept thereof, but entertained them with delays, till all things were in readiness for his expedition: (so earnest a desire he had to pass into the furthest part of Britain, and to purchase the sirname of Britannicus, as an honourable addition to his other titles.) His two sons, Bassianus, commonly called Caracalla, and Geta, he took with him, as doubting their agreement in his absence. To Geta, his younger son, he committed the government of the province here for civil causes; wherein Æmilius Paulus Papinianus, the famous lawyer, (who, as chief minister of justice under him, had his tribunal-seat at York,) was appointed to assist and direct him. Severus himself, and Bassianus, with the army, marched northward against the Meatæ; a people bordering upon the Caledonians, and in league with them. Virius Lupus, but a little before, had essayed to enter the country by force; when the Meatæ, standing upon their own strength, withstood him, and forced him, in the end, to purchase his peace with money. Then Severus hastened into Caledonia; where, finding the passages uncertain and dangerous, (by reason of the fens, woods, and deep waters,) he caused trees to be felled, and bridges and causeways to be made, for his soldiers to march over. The Caledonians, in the mean time, sallied out of the woods, and charged the Romans; who were much incumbered for want of firm ground, and were oftentimes forced to trace the country, and to disperse themselves in several companies, seeking places of advantage; by which means, a great number of them perished, while the barbarous people (lying in ambush, and, sometimes, leaving their cattle abroad, as a train, to draw them within danger) suddenly surprised and killed them, before they could recover the camp. This was an unfortunate journey to the Romans, who, besides the loss which they sustained by their enemies, were afflicted with diseases; by reason, partly of the unwholsome waters which they drank, and partly of the contagious air that infected their spirits; yea, many times, they killed one another: for such, as through feebleness, could not keep rank in marching, were slain by their own fellows, that they might not be left a prey to their savage enemies. There died, in this enterprise, about fifty-thousand Romans. Yet would not Severus withdraw his forces, till the Caledonians made offer to treat of peace; whereto he then hearkened the more willingly, for that he saw the difficulty, and, in a manner, impossibility, to bring that northern part of the isle wholly under subjection, by reason of the rocks, mountains, and marshes; as also, for that the country being, for the most part, barren and unfruitful, the profit thereof was not deemed likely to countervail the charge in getting and keeping it. The conditions were: 'That the Caledonians should first disarm themselves, and deliver part 'of the country, lying next the province, into the Romans possession; and that, from that 'time forward, they should attempt nothing against the public peace.' Which articles being agreed upon, and assurance taken for the performance, Severus retired himself into the province, leaving his son Bassianus to take charge of the army; which, after the emperor's departure, grew careless and dissolute, wherewith the general seemed nothing displeased; either for that he was, by his own nature, inclined to the worst; or else, for that he hoped thereby to win the soldiers favour as a means for his advancement to the empire after his father's death; which he had oftentimes attempted, by indirect practices, to procure.

In the mean while, the Caledonians, notwithstanding the late contract, understanding what disorders were in the Roman camp, suddenly invaded it; killing, and taking booties, which they shared with their neighbours of the province, that had assisted them in the enterprise. Severus, being greatly incensed therewith, sent part of the army to pursue the

Caledonians; expressly commanding, that they should be all put to the sword, without respect of age or sex. This sharp manner of proceeding quailed the hope of the northern Britons, who fled into the remote parts of Caledonia; and Severus having rather stayed, than ended the troubles, spent some time in repairing and enlarging Adrian's wall, which he carried athwart the island, from sea to sea; intrenching and fortifying it with bulwarks and square towers in places most convenient, to give warning one to another upon any sudden assault, for defence of the borders. Then, being wearied with age, sickness, and travel, having his mind also much grieved with the disloyal and unnatural practices of his son Bassianus, he withdrew himself to York, a colony of the Romans; being then the station of the sixth legion, called Victrix, and afterwards growing to be one of the chief places of account among the Brigantes: for these stations of the Roman legions were commonly the seed-plots of towns and cities, both in this island, and divers other parts of the empire.

It was reported, that, in his passage thither, a Moor, with a cypress garland on his head, did meet and salute him by the name of a God: and that, at his entrance into the city, he was by error of the soothsayer, that guided him, brought into the temple of Bellona: and that black beasts, being appointed for sacrifice, did of themselves follow him to his palace. These things, howsoever they fell out accidentally, yet they were interpreted as ominous, in respect of the event. And now Severus, perceiving his death to approach, called before him some of his counsellors, and chief captains, unto whom he is said to have spoken in this manner: "It is now about eighteen years, since I was first declared Emperor by the army in Pannonia; during which time, with what care, pain, and travail, I have wielded this vast body of the empire, my continual employment in wars, both at home and abroad, may witness sufficiently. For, at my first entrance, I found the state incumbered every where; and now I shall leave it peaceable, even to the Britons: the future prosperity whereof must depend upon the mutual agreement of my two sons. For neither multitude of men, nor abundance of treasure, are so available to defend and maintain commonwealths, as amity and unity between governors. For, by concord, we see that small things grow to greatness; whereas by discord, the greatest fall to ruin. I must now leave to them, as my successors, the imperial diadem; that which Bassianus hath so long thirsted after, though he know not yet, whether it be a thing to be wished or feared; as having not proved the difference betwixt a prince, and a private person. But ambitious minds are carried blindfold, they know not whither; in desiring that, which having once obtained, they can neither keep without great care, nor leave without extreme peril: such a thing is sovereignty, whose greatness is not contained in itself, but consisteth for the most part in the opinion, and dependeth upon the dispositions of other men. It is virtue only, not glorious titles, which makes men truly great. Myself, at this present, may serve for an example, to shew, upon what a weak foundation, human greatness is built. For I have been all things, though now it avail me nothing: seeing I must pay my debt to nature, and, after all my exploits in the east and west parts of the world, I must die (as I may say) out of the world, in a strange country; if any country may be termed strange to the Romans, who have now by conquest made all countries their own. I exhort you therefore, as you tender the welfare of the Roman empire, of your own selves, and your posterity, be true and faithful to my sons, as you have been to me; assisting them with your counsel, and persuading them to mutual concord, as the main pillar to support both their estates, and your own."

When he had uttered these, or the like speeches, he turned aside, and shortly after yielded up the ghost. Bassianus, being advertised of his father's death, practised with the soldiers by bribes and fair promises, that he might be declared sole emperor. Whereto when he could not persuade them, for the reverence they bore to his father Severus, he made a league with the northern Britons that then assailed the borders, and returned to York, to meet with Julia, the empress, his mother-in-law, and Geta his brother. There he caused the physicians to be put to death, for not ridding his father sooner out of the

way, as he had commanded them. Then he appointed secretly to slaughter all those, that for their virtue and wisdom had been esteemed and advanced by his father; and all such as having been tutors to him and his brother, advised them to mutual concord. This done, he entered into consultation about his father's funerals, which were solemnized by the army with all due rites, according to the ancient custom in times of war. The ashes of the dead body, being put into a golden urn, were afterwards, by Julia the empress, accompanied with the two Cæsars, carried to Rome, where Severus, after the usual ceremonies, was consecrated a god.

Now the affairs of Britain, for the space of about fifty years together, were passed over in silence; as being either omitted through the negligence of writers in that age, or perishing through the calamity of the times that ensued. But when Gallienus had obtained the empire, the Roman state was much incumbered, and oppressed with her own forces; while certain captains, commonly called 'the Thirty Tyrants,' disdaining the government of so cruel and dissolute a prince as Gallienus, and being chosen emperors by the armies which they commanded, usurped absolute authority in divers provinces. Among these, Lollianus, Victorinus, Posthumus, Tetricus, and Marius, (as histories report,) ruled in Britain.

In the time of Aurelianus the emperor, Bonosus, a Briton by birth, and famous for his excess in drinking, invaded the empire with Proculus, usurping Britain, Spain, and Gallia Braccata. But, being afterwards vanquished by Probus the emperor, he hanged himself; whereof there went a common jest among the soldiers, that a drinking-vessel, not a man, was hanged up. Then the governor of the province in Britain, being preferred to the office, (by means of Victorinus, a Moor, a man in great favour with Probus the emperor,) began to raise sedition among the soldiers there; with which practice Probus first acquainted Victorinus, who, supposing him touched with the imputation of his crime, whom he had recommended and advanced to the government there, desired leave of the Emperor to go into Britain; where, giving it out that he fled thither for safeguard of his life, he was courteously entertained by the governor, whom he afterwards murdered secretly in the night, and then speedily returned to Rome: having, by this device, appeased the tumults in the province, and approved his fidelity to the Emperor. About this time, (as it is reported) certain Vandals and Burgundians, which had invaded Gallia, being vanquished by Probus, were sent into Britain, where they seated themselves, and did afterwards good service to the Romans, in suppressing rebellious attempts there: though the Emperor then sought to win the Britons favour, rather by clemency than rigour; licensing them to plant vines, and make wine, and to do other things as well for their pleasure and profit.

Then Carus, succeeding Probus in the empire, assigned Britain, Gallia, Spain, and Illyricum, to Carinus, one of his sons, who possessed the same till Dioclesian was declared emperor. In whose time the province was peaceably governed; the borders being strongly guarded with forts and bulwarks against foreign invasion; but the sea-coasts, both of Gallia and Britain, were much annoyed with pirates of Germany, against whom C. Carausius, as admiral of the British fleet, was sent to sea.

Carausius was a man by birth of low degree, though otherwise worthy of the highest, if his own ambition, and the guiltiness of his actions, had not pricked him forward to seek it by unlawful courses, and to bolster out wrong by that authority, which is the ordinary means appointed to punish it: for in a short time he grew very rich, by taking great store of shipping and treasure, which he detained to his own use, without restoring the same to the right owners, or rendering an account thereof to the emperor's officers. Whereupon Maximianus Herculeus, whom Dioclesian had taken to be his associate in the empire, being then making war in Gallia, surprised the principal men in Carausius's faction at Gessoriacum; and gave commandment, that Carausius himself should be made away. But Carausius being privily advertised thereof, and knowing that then there remained for him no mean fortune betwixt the life of a prince and the death of a traitor,

entered forthwith into actual rebellion; making his party strong both by sea and land, in drawing discontented persons into the action, and alluring the northern Britons to join with him, upon hope of spoils to be gotten in the province, which he then ruled with a kind of absolute authority, and soon after usurped there the imperial ornaments.

The Roman state being shaken in divers places, either by the negligent government or ambitious attempts of captains and commanders of armies, which gave occasion to whole nations and provinces to revolt: the two emperors declared Galerius Maximinus, and Constantius Chlorus as their assistants, by the name of Cæsars. Then was Maximinus sent into Persia, and Constantius into Britain, against Carausius. But before Constantius arrived there, Carausius was slain by the practice of C. Alectus, his familiar friend, who then usurped the empire, as Carausius had done before; and, understanding that Constantius was coming over with a great power, he resolved to meet him upon the sea and impede his landing: for which purpose he lay with his navy upon the coast of the Isle Vectis; but, his hopes failing him, (by reason the Romans in a thick mist did recover the land before he could discover them,) he prepared his forces to encounter them in a set battle near the shore. Constantius, having determined to try the utmost of his fortune, (to take away from his soldiers all hope of return,) did first set his ships on fire, and afterwards gave the charge upon Alectus; whose army was, for the most part, composed of mercenary men, consisting of Britons, Francs, Germans, and divers other nations, who fought not all with like courage; for, after the first encounter, some of them turned their backs, forsaking their commander, who escaped the fury of the battle by flight; though he was shortly after taken, and slain by Asclepiodatus the Præfectus Prætorio. The Francs that served under Alectus fled to the city of London, which being weakly guarded, they rifled and sacked, though they did not long time enjoy the spoil: for part of the Roman army coming thither, (rather by error in mistaking their way, than of set purpose,) assailed them, took away their booties, and put the most part of them to the sword. This victory restored again to the Roman empire the province of Britain; which had been usurped about seven years by Carausius, and three years by Alectus.

Now began the storm of persecution for the Christian religion to arise under Dioclesian, who commanded, that throughout the dominions of the empire, the people should offer sacrifice only to the gods of the emperors; and that such as refused so to do, should be punished with divers kinds of cruel death. Hereupon the Christians being then dispersed in divers parts of the world, (not fearing any torments that tyranny could devise,) made public profession of their faith, which they constantly maintained, and willingly sealed with their blood. Amongst many others that died in Britain for that cause, Alban (an inhabitant of the famous free city Verulamium) is especially remembered as the first British martyr; who, being yet but a Pagan, received into his house a Christian, one of the clergy, that fled from his persecutors; and, observing his devotion in watching, fasting, and praying, became, in the end, a follower of his faith and virtue. And, to the end that his guest might escape the hands of those that pursued him, he put on his garments, offering himself to the soldiers that were sent to search his house; and, in that habit was presented to the judge, before whom he made confession of his faith, reproving the profane rights of heathenish superstition. Whereupon he was committed to the tormentors to be whipped; and, persisting in his constancy, was afterwards beheaded on the top of an high hill near the city. It is reported, that the tormentor, who was first appointed to behead him, perceiving a miracle wrought by him, as he went to the place of execution, refused to do his office, casting the sword out of his hand; and prostrating himself at St. Alban's feet, desired earnestly that he might either die for him or with him, rather than live to be the minister of his death: whereupon, as a professor of that faith, whereof he had been long time a persecutor, he drank of the same cup with St. Alban; and, instead of the sacramental sign of baptism, was washed in the bath of his own blood. It is also written of St. Alban's executioner, that his eyes fell out of his head, at the very instant that the martyr's head (being severed from the body) fell to the ground. But,

whether it were the pleasure of God, in the first planting of his truth here, to approve the same by miracles; or whether the incredulity of that age might give writers occasion to report more than the truth, I will not take upon me to censure. There suffered also in Legecestria, about the same time, and for the same cause, Aaron and Julius: and in sundry other places of this island, many others, as well women as men, who gave testimony of their patience in praying for their persecutors; and also of their piety, by doing things miraculous; which moved the pagan princes to cease from their tyranny, as being rather wearied with afflicting the Christians, than the Christians themselves with enduring the affliction. Such power hath man, (being assisted with divine grace,) to do and suffer even above, and against nature itself. The manner of St. Alban's death, being engraven on a marble stone, was set up within the city, for a terror to the Christians; who afterwards erected a temple in that place, which was accounted venerable for many ages after the destruction of Verulamium, out of whose ruins another town was raised, continuing the name and memory of St. Alban the Martyr, even to this day. But Dioclesian and Maximianus resigning their authority, Constantius Chlorus stayed the persecution in Britain, and afterwards went thither himself; reinforcing the garrisons, both within the province and upon the borders, and establishing a general peace throughout the island; which done he repaired to York, and there fell sick of a languishing disease. In the mean time Constantinus his son, being left at Rome, as his father's pledge, escaped from his keepers; and houghing the post-horses, as he passed the countries, that he might not be overtaken by pursuit, came, at length, into Britain, where he was received with great joy by Constantius his father; who, being then past hope of life, signified, in the presence of his counsellors and captains, "That he willingly and gladly embraced his death, since he should leave a memorable monument of himself in the life of his son; who, he hoped, should succeed him in the government, to protect the innocent from oppression, and to wipe away the tears from the Christians eyes; for therein, above all other things, he accounted himself most happy." Thus died Constantius Cæsar, a wise and virtuous prince; as being not subject to those vices which commonly accompany the highest fortunes. He was first called from the degree of a Senator to be a Cæsar; not affecting the title for ambition, nor refusing it in respect of the danger. Helena his wife, the mother of Constantine the Great, was (as some have written) the daughter of Coil, a British king; though, by others, it is otherwise reported. But, of what country or kindred soever she was, it appeared by consent of all writers, that she was a wise and virtuous lady; worthy to be the wife of such a husband, and the mother of such a son. She was an earnest professor of Christianity, and upon religious zeal, travelled to Jerusalem; where she found out the manger, wherein Christ was laid at the time of his birth, and the cross whereon he was nailed when he suffered. By this cross many diseases were cured, and strange miracles wrought; if credit may be given to such as have written thereof. Her constant desire to advance the Christian faith first moved Constantius, her husband, to favour the Christians; who, having in times of danger hidden themselves, for the most part, in desarts and dens, did then come abroad again into the view of the world; re-edified their old churches, founded new; instituted holy days to be celebrated in honour of their martyrs; and exercised religion freely and peaceably, as being licensed so to do by public edicts. In all virtues becoming a prince, there were few of his degree, either before his time or since, that might worthily be compared with Constantius; who, in the administration of justice in civil causes, carried so even a hand, that he never used to make difference of persons, or to be misled by affection. He was no wasteful spender of his subjects treasure; no greedy hoarder up of his own: for he esteemed money only as a thing to be used, not kept. And he would oftentimes say, that it was more necessary for the commonwealth, that the wealth of the land should be dispersed in subjects hands, than barred up in princes coffers. For glorious apparel and other outward ornaments, wherewith princes used to dazzle the eyes of the common people, he was more meanly furnished than became the greatness of his estate. His diet was neither curious nor costly; and when he

feasted his friends, he borrowed his silver vessels; supposing it a thing unnecessary to have any of his own: and considering, perhaps, that the metal, whereof they were made, might be converted to a better use. In times of war, he was diligent and industrious; yet not using force, where policy might prevail: for he so much esteemed the life of a man, that he would never hazard it in desperate attempts for his own glory; which won him great reputation among his soldiers; who, for the love they bore him, did presently after his death elect Constantine, his son, to succeed him; other nations supposing this our island most happy, in first seeing him saluted Emperor.

Then Constantine, although he seemed at the first unwilling to accept the imperial title, and protested openly against it, yet when the senate had confirmed the election, he took upon him the government of those provinces which his father had held in the west parts; and, with an army of Britons and other nations, he subdued first Maxentius, Maximian's son, then usurping the empire in Italy, and afterwards Licinius his associate, who persecuted the professors of Christianity in the east parts of the world. By which means Constantine alone enjoyed the empire, and, for his many and glorious conquests was worthily sirnamed the Great. In his time the form of government in Britain, both for civil and martial causes, was altered, and new laws established. The civil government of the province there, he committed to Pacatianus, who ordered the same as deputy to the Præfectus Prætorio of Gallia, an officer newly instituted by him. Then Constantine, intending to make war in Persia, (either to defend or enlarge the limits of the east empire,) removed the imperial seat from Rome to the city Byzantium, which he re-edified, and caused the same to be called after his own name Constantinople: drawing thither the legions in Germany, that guarded the frontiers of the western empire; which was thereby laid open to the incursions of those barbarous people that afterwards assailed it, and in the end possessed the greatest part thereof. The borders also of the province in Britain were weakened, by removing the garrisons there into other cities and towns; which being pestered with soldiers (for the most part unruly guests) were abandoned by the ancient inhabitants.

After the death of Constantine the Great, Constantinus his eldest son enjoyed Britain as a portion of his dominion; till, making some attempts upon his brother Constans for the enlarging of it, he was by him slain. Then was the empire divided between Constans and Constantius, the two younger brethren. Constans seized upon the provinces which Constantinus his brother had held, and made a voyage into Britain, where Gratianus had then charge of the army. This Gratianus was sirnamed Funarius; for that, being a young man, he was able, (as it is written of him) to hold a rope in his hand against the force of five soldiers essaying to pull it from him. But Constans, after following ill counsel, (the ready way to princes ruins,) and giving himself over to all kinds of vice, was slain by Magnentius Taporus the son of a Briton, who then invaded the empire; usurping the government of Gallia and Britain till (after three years war with Constantius) finding himself unable any longer to uphold his greatness, he murdered himself. Then was Martinus, an aged man, made Deputy of Britain, when Paulus, a Spaniard, sirnamed Catena, (a name well sorting with his nature) was sent thither as a commissioner, to enquire of such as had conspired with Magnentius: but under colour of his authority he called in question such as were not faulty, either upon false information or private displeasure, and sometimes to make a gain of those that were accused; which course Martinus the deputy disliking, intreated him, that such as had been no actors in the rebellion, might be no partners in punishment with offenders. Whereupon Paulus charging the deputy himself as a favourer of traitors, and privy to the conspiracy, did so far forth incense Martinus, that (being either impatient of reproaches, or perhaps not altogether guiltless) he struck at Paulus with his sword, intending to have killed him; but, failing in the execution, he presently thrust the sword into his own body. Gratianus Funarius, though he was not specially bound by oath to the Emperor, as some others had been; yet, for that he had received Magnentius into his house, was adjudged to forfeit all his goods: the rest of the

accused persons being fettered, and presented to the Emperor, were condemned, some to death, and some to exile.

Now was the government of Gallia and Britain assigned to Julianus, commonly called the Apostate, whom Constantius had made a Cæsar. Then Lupicinus, master of the armour to the Emperor, (a good soldier, but notorious for his pride, covetousness, and cruelty,) and after him Alipius, were sent into Britain, to repress the barbarous people that had invaded the province there, while Julianus himself remained in Gallia, not daring to pass into the island; both for that he feared the Gauls, who were ready (upon the least occasion) to revolt, and also doubted the Germans, who were then up in arms. After the death of Constantius, Julianus possessing the empire, (which he had usurped in the lifetime of Constantius) banished Palladius an honourable person into Britain, and sent Alipius to repair the walls of Jerusalem; in which attempt, God discovering his wrath by terrifying the builders with thunder and lightening, and killing many thousand Jews, gave an apparent testimony how vain a thing it is for the power of man to oppose itself against his immutable decree.

Jovinian succeeded Julianus in the empire, which he held but few months. About this time, the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacots, invaded the Roman province in Britain; Valentinianus (the first of that name) then governing the empire, together with Valens his brother. These Picts and Scots (as some writers report) came first out of Scythia; though it is not improbable, that the Picts were very Britons themselves, which being either born in the northern promontory of the island, or flying thither out of the south parts, entered into confederacy with the Scots, and retained for a time their ancient name of Picts; as being so called by the Romans, in respect of the old custom of painting their bodies, to distinguish them from the Britons then dwelling in the province. These Picts, increasing in number, did afterwards inhabit the Isles of the Orcades, and, being for the most part rude and savage, as the Scots then were, became in the end, as it were, one people with them, oftentimes harassing the borders, and grievously annoying their civil countrymen; there being, commonly, no greater hatred, than that which is bred and nourished among the people of one nation, when they are severed each from other by difference of manners and customs. That the Scots had their original from the Scythians, their very name may seem in some sort to discover; howbeit, divers stories affirm, that they travelled first into Cantabria in Spain, where, perhaps disliking that barren soil, they continued not long, but sailed into Ireland; and from thence a great number of them came over into Britain, seating themselves in the north parts of the island; where, being now armed with foreign power, they assailed the Britons both by sea and land, killing Nectaridius, the admiral of the British fleet, and surprising Bulchobaudes, one of their chief captains; the mutiny at that time in the Roman camp giving them opportunity and boldness to do, in a manner, what they listed. For the legionary soldiers refused to obey their leaders; and the deputies themselves complained of the Emperor's partiality, in punishing the least offence of the common soldiers, and winking at the great abuses of commanders and officers. Hereupon a warlike troop of Germans was sent over, under the conduct of Fraomarius their king, who exercised there the authority of a tribune. Severus, the steward of the Emperor's household, and Jovinius were appointed to second him, with certain auxiliary forces out of Gallia. By these means the fury of those barbarous nations was somewhat restrained, till the coming of Theodosius; who first appeased the mutiny among the soldiers, and afterwards prosecuted the war with such good success, that he restored the decayed towns, strengthened the borders, appointing night-watches to be kept there, and in the end recovered the province; which was then contented to admit of governors, as in former times, and, as a new conquered state, had a new name given it: for, in honour of the Emperor Valentinian, a part of the province was, for a time, called Valentia. Not long after, one Valentinian, a Pannonian, entered into a conspiracy there; which being discovered, before it was ripe, the peril like to have ensued was easily avoided.

Then Gratianus, succeeding Valentinian, elected Valentinian the Second, his brother; and Theodosius, the son of Theodosius aforenamed, to be his associates in the empire; but Clemens Maximus, governing the army in Britain, upon emulation and envy of Theodosius's glory, usurped the empire there; and, having transported the strength of the province into Belgia, (the German army being also revolted to him,) he placed his imperial seat among the Treviri; from whence Gratianus intended by force to have expelled him, but that, as he marched through Italy with his army, the most part of his soldiers forsaking him, he fled to Lyons in Gallia, where he was entrapped by a device, and afterwards slain by Andragathius, one of Maximus's captains. Maximus having his mind lifted up with his fortune, created his son Victor a Cæsar; and used great cruelty against those that had served under Gratianus. Whereupon, Valentinian, doubting his own estate, sent St. Ambrose unto him, as an ambassador, to desire peace; which in the end was granted upon conditions. But Maximus, ambitiously affecting the sole government, did soon after break the peace; invading Italy, and attempting to have taken Valentinian himself; who, to prevent that danger, fled with his mother unto Theodosius his associate, then ruling the east empire; imploring his aid against Maximus, that usurped Italy and other parts of his government. Hereupon, Theodosius prepared an army to encounter Maximus; who, in Pannonia being overthrown, fled to Aquileia, where, by the treason of his own soldiers, he was delivered to Theodosius, and presently put to death. This end had Maximus, after he had usurped the empire five years. The like calamities also befel his friends and followers: for Victor his son was afterwards slain in Gallia by Arbogustes. Andragathius, the murderer of Gratian, drowned himself; and divers of Maximus's captains, being taken, were put to the sword. Howbeit, the Britons, (by whose power Maximus had raised himself to that greatness,) as men desiring rather to try new fortune abroad, than to return home, resolved to stay in Armorica, where some of their countrymen had remained (as divers writers affirm) since the conquest of Gallia by Constantine the Great. By this means, in process of time, partly by force and partly by policy, they grew so strong, that they left the possession of a great part of that country to their posterity; who, being rooted therein by many descents, did afterwards enjoy it entirely as their own; the name of Britain continuing there among them, even to this day. This victory of Theodosius was so much esteemed, that the senate appointed by decree, that yearly feasts should be celebrated in remembrance thereof.

Now the Roman monarchy was drawing on to its fatal period; when Honorius, succeeding Theodosius his father in the western empire, sent Stilico into Britain, to defend the province against the Picts and Saxons, who assailed the Britons in most parts of the island; working upon the weakness of the province, in which (the most choice and able men having been from time to time transported and wasted in the Roman wars with other nations) there remained not then sufficient strength to defend itself. The common soldiers there seeing the state in combustion, took upon them to elect and depose emperors; first proclaiming Gratianus, a free citizen of Rome; but, not long contented with his government, they murdered him, and elected one Constantine, for the name's sake only, supposing the same to be auspicious. Constantine, transporting the flower and strength of all Britain into Gallia, made many dishonourable leagues, to the prejudice of the empire, with the barbarous nations that then invaded it; and sent his son Constans, whom of a monk he had made a Cæsar, into Spain; where Constans having put to death some principal men whom he suspected to favour Honorius, committed the government of the country to Gerontius, his chief captain, who afterwards slew him at Vienna in Gallia: and Constantine his father, having run through many fortunes, was in the end besieged at Arles; where he was taken and slain by the soldiers of Honorius the emperor, who then recovered Britain. Chrysanthus, (the son of Martianus, a bishop,) a man of consular degree, was then deputy of Britain; where he was in so great reputation for his virtue and integrity shewed in the government both of the church (which was then tainted with the graceless heresy of Pelagius the Briton) and also of the public weal of the province,

that he was afterwards, though against his will, preferred to the bishoprick of Constantinople.

Now the Romans, about four-hundred and seventy years after their first entrance into the island, gave over the government of Britain; and the Britons, that had been many times assailed by their uncivil neighbours, (consorted with strangers of divers nations,) perceived themselves unable to make resistance, as in former times; whereupon they sent ambassadors to Rome, requiring aid, and promising fealty, if the Romans would rescue them from the oppression of their enemies. Then was there a legion sent over into the island, to expel the barbarous people out of the province. Which being with good success effected; the Romans counselled the Britons, for their better defence, to make a stone wall between Glota and Bodotria, the two arms of the sea that ran into the land,) and so departed thence. But this wall was made only of turves, and not of stone, as they were directed; the Britons having not then any skill in such kind of buildings; by which means it served to little purpose. For the Scots and Picts (understanding that the Romans were gone) passed over the water in boats at both ends of the wall, invaded the borders of the province, and with main force bore down all before them. Whereupon ambassadors were sent again out of Britain, to declare the miserable state of the province; which, without speedy succour, was likely to be lost.

Then was there another legion sent over by Ætius the President of Gallia, under the conduct of Gallio of Ravenna, to aid the distressed Britons; and the Romans, having reduced the province to its former state, told the Britons, that it was not for their ease to take any more such long, costly, and painful journies, (themselves also being then assailed by strangers,) and that from thenceforth they should provide for their own safety, learn to use armour and weapons, and to trust to their own valour. Howbeit the Romans, in regard of the good service done by the British nation in former times, built a wall of stone, from east to west in the self-same place, where Severus the emperor had cast his trench; the labour and charges of the work being borne partly by the Romans, and partly by the Britons themselves. This wall contained about eight feet in breadth, and twelve in height; some reliques thereof remaining to be seen at this day. Upon the sea-coasts towards the south, they raised bulwarks; one somewhat distant from another, to impede the enemies landing in those parts; and, this done, they took their last farewell: transporting their legions into Gallia, as men resolved to return hither no more. As soon as they were gone, the barbarous people, having intelligence thereof, presumed, that without any great resistance, they might now enter the province. And thereupon accounting, as their own, whatsoever was without the wall, they gave an assault to the wall itself; which with grapples, and such-like engines, they pulled down to the ground; while the Britons (their wonted courage failing them) ran away; each man laying aside the care of the publick, and providing for himself, as the present necessity would permit. The barbarous enemy in the mean time pursued, and killed such as resisted.

Some of the Britons, being driven out of their own houses and possessions, fell to robbing one of another: increasing their outward troubles with inward tumults, and civil dissension; by which means a great number of the inhabitants had nothing left to sustain them, but what they got by hunting, and killing of wild beasts. Others, burying their treasure under ground, whereof great store hath been found in this age, did fly, themselves; either into the countries of the Silures and Ordovices, or into the west part of the island, where the Dammonians then inhabited; or else to their own countrymen in Armorica; the rest, being hemmed in with the sea on one side, and their enemies on the other, sent to the Emperor for aid. Which they could not obtain, for that the Goths and Huns invading Gallia and Italy, the greatest part of the Emperor's forces were drawn thither, for defence of those parts: by which means, the state of Britain now declining with the empire, and shrinking under the burden of a barbarous oppression, the Britons sent ambassadors again to Ætius the President in Gallia, desiring him to relieve their necessities: 'Declaring withal, that themselves were the small remnant, which survived

'after the slaughter of so many thousands, whom either the sword or the sea had consumed: for the barbarous enemy drove them upon the sea, the sea again upon the enemy; between both which, they suffered two kinds of death, as being either killed or drowned: that it imported the majesty of the Roman empire to protect them, who had so many hundred years lived under their obedience, and were now plunged into the depth of intolerable miseries; for, besides the calamities of war both civil and foreign, at one instant they were afflicted with dearth and famine, which forced them to yield themselves to the merciless enemy.' But the poor Britons complained in vain: for the Romans either would not, or could not help them, without their own hindrances. Howbeit, as extremities are not of long continuance, so some of the Britons, taking courage, and resolving rather to die with their country than to abandon it, resisted their enemies, and constrained them to return whence they came: by which means the rest of the Britons, many years after, lived in peace, and without any annoyance; save that the Picts sometimes in small numbers made incursions into the land, foraging the borders, and taking booties of cattle there.

After this peace in Britain, there ensued exceeding great plenty of grain and other fruits of the earth, which the Britons abused; mispending them riotously in gluttony and drunkenness. Thus, dissolute living, cruelty, pride, and all kinds of vices, (the true causes of the change and ruin of kingdoms and commonwealths,) reigned as well among the clergy as the laity; both whom God severely punished, by sending among them a grievous plague, which in a short time wasted so many of them, that the living were scarce sufficient in number to bury the dead. Howbeit, the infection once ceasing, the Britons fell to their old disorders; drawing thereby a greater plague upon them, even to the utter subversion, and, in a manner, rooting out of their name and nation; as it afterwards happened. For the Scots and Picts, knowing how small a number of the Britons remained to withstand their attempts, (the greater and better part being already destroyed, either by the sea, the sword, famine, or pestilence,) entered boldly into the heart of the island, spoiled the people of their wealth, burnt their cities, made themselves slaves, and in a short time over-ran a great part of the land.

Thus, about five-hundred years after the Romans' first entrance, and four-hundred and forty-six after the birth of our Saviour Christ, the island of Britain, which had been, not only a principal member of the empire, but also the seat of the empire itself, and the seminary of soldiers sent out into most parts of the world, was now in the time of Theodosius the younger bereaved of the greatest part of its ancient inhabitants, and left as a prey to barbarous nations.

Treason pretended against the King of Scots[1], by certaine Lordes and Gentlemen, whose Names hereafter followe. With a Declaration of the Kinge's Majestie's Intention to his last Acts of Parliament. Which openeth fully in Effect all the saide Conspiracy. Out of Skottish into English. Imprinted at London, for Thomas Nelson, and are to be solde at the West Ende of Paules. 1585.

[Black Letter, Octavo, containing twenty-four pages.]

The Coppie of a Letter sent from a Gentleman in Scotland, to a Frend of his in England, touching the Conspiracie against the Kinge's Majestie.

My approved friend, T. S.

THERE hath beene lately secret practising against the kinge's majestie of Scotland. But time serveth not nowe to set down the maner of their proceeding in the said attempt: I have here sent to you the kinge's declaration to his last acts of parliament, and, for brevitie, have set downe the names of the conspirators, which are as followeth. And thus, in hope you will accept my good will, I commit you to the Almightie. From Edenbrough, this 20 of Februarie, 1585.

Yours, CHRISTOPHER STUDLEY.

The lord of Don Whasell,' the lord of Dunkrith, the lord of Baythkicte, Robert Hamelton of Ynchmachan, M. James Sterling: these wer apprehended at the kinge's court. John Hoppignell of the Mores, apprehended at his owne house, by the captaine of the kinge's garde. The lord Keir and lord Maius apprehended, with other gentlemen, about Sterling. The lord Blaketer and George Douglasse are sommoned to the court, upon suspition. The lord Don Whasell, the lord Maius, executed.

The treason discovered by Robert Hamelton.

The Kinge's Majestie's Declaration of his Acts confirmed in Parliament.

FORASMUCH as there is some evil affected men that goeth about, so farre as in them lieth, to invent lies and tales to slaunder and impaire the kinge's majestie's fame and honour, and to raise reportes as if his majestie had declined to papistrie, and that he had made many actes to abolish the free passage of the Gospel, good order and discipline in the church: which bruites are mainteined by rebellious subjects, who would gladly cover their seditious enterprises under pretense of religion (albeit there can be no godly religion in such as raiseth rebellion to disquiet the state of their native soveraigne, and perjuredly doeth stand against the othe, band, and obligation of their faith, whereunto they have sworne and subscribed) therefore, that his majestie's faithfull subjects be not abused with such slanderous reportes, and his highnesse' good affectionated friends in other countries may understand the veritie of his upright intention, his highnesse hath commaunded this briefe declaration of certaine of his majestie's acts of parliament holden in May 1584, to

[1] [James VI.]

be published and imprinted; to the effect, that the indirect practises of such, as slaunder his majestie and his lawes, may be detected and discovered.

In the first acte his majestie ratifies and approves the true profession of the Gospell, sincere preaching of the worde, and administration of the sacraments, presently by the goodnes of God established within this realme, and alloweth of the confession of faith set downe by acte of parliament, the first yeere of his majestie's raigne. Likewise, his highnesse not onely professeth the same in all sinceritie, but (praysed be God!) is come to that ripenesse of judgement, by reading and hearing the worde of God, that his highnesse is able to convince and overthrowe by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, the most learned of the contrary sect of the adversaries: so that, as Plato affirmeth, that commonwealth to be most happy, wherein a philosopher raigneth, or he that raigneth is a philosopher; we may much more esteeme this countrey of Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our king is a divine, and whose heart is replenished with the knowledge of the heavenly philosophy, for the comfort not onely of his good subjects and friends in other countreys, but of them that professeth the Gospell every where; he beyng a king of great wisedome, and, by his birthright, borne to great possessions; but much more his highnesse' vertue, godlinesse, and learnyng, and daily increase of all heavenly sciences, doth promise and assure him of the mighty protection of God, and favour of all them that fear his holy Name.

In the second acte his majestie's royal authority over all estates, both spirituall and temporall, is confirmed. Whiche acte, some of malice, and other some of ignorance, doth traduce, as if his majestie pretended to be called the 'Head of the church'; a name which his majestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the Sonne of God, the Saviour of the world, who is the Head, and bestoweth life spiritual upon the members of his misticall body: and he, havyng received the Holy Spirite in all aboundance, maketh every one of the faithfull pertakers thereof, according to the measure of faith bestowed upon them. Of the which number of the faithfull under the Head, Christ, his majestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member, baptised in his name, pertaker of the mysterie of the crosse and holy communion, and attending with the faithfull for the comming of the Lord, and the finall restitution of God's elect. And notwithstanding his majestie surely understandeth by the Scriptures, that he is the chief and principall member appointed by the lawe of God, to see God glorified, vice punished, and vertue maintained within his realme; and the soveraigne judgement for a godly quietnesse and order in the commonwealth, to appertaine to his highnesse' care and solicitude: which power and authoritie of his highnesse, certaine ministers being called before his majestie for their seditious and factious sermons in stirring up of the people to rebellion against their native king (by the instigation of sundry unquiet spirites) would in no wyse acknowledge but disclaime his majestie's authoritie, as an incompetent judge; and specially one called Maister Andrew Melvile, an ambitious man, of a salt and fiery humour, usurping the pulpit of Sandroyes, without any lawfull callyng; and prive at that tyme to certaine conspiracies attempted against his majestie and crowne, went about, in a sermon upon a Sunday, to inflame the hearts of the people, by odious comparisons of his majestie's progenitours and counsaile; albeit the duetie of a faithfull preacher of the Gospell be rather to exhort the people to the obedience of their native king, and not by popular sermons, (which hath been the eversion and decay of great cities and commonwealths, and hath greatly, in times past, bred disquietnesse to the state thereby) to trouble and perturbe the countrey. The sayd Maister Andrew, beyng called before his highnesse, presumptuously answered, "that he would not be judged by the king and counsaile, because he had spoken the same in pulpit; which pulpit, in effect, he alleged to be exempted from the judgement and correction of princes:" as if that holy place, sanctified to the word of God, and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be any colour to any sedition in worde or deede, against the lawfull authoritie, without punishment. Alwaies his majestie (beyng of himselfe a most gratious prince)

was not willing to have used any rigour against the saide Maister Andrew, if he had humbly submitted himselfe, acknowledged his offence, and craved pardon; who, notwithstanding, afraid of his owne guiltiness, beyng privie to divers conspiracies before, fled out of the realme; whose naughty and presumptuous refusing of his highnesse' judgement was the occasion of the making of this seconde acte, *vitlelicet*, that none should decline from his highnesse' authoritie, in respect that the common proverbe beareth, *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges nat æsunt;* that is, 'Of evill maners good lawes proceede.' And in verie deede it wanteth not any right intollerable arrogancy, in any subject called before his prince, professing and aucthorising the same truth, to disclaime his authoritie; neither doe the prophets, apostles, nor others (conducted by the Spirite of God) minister the like example: for it is a great errour to affirme, as many doe, that princes and magistrates have onely power to take order in civill affaires, and that ecclesiasticall matters doth onely belong to the ministerie. By which meanes, the pope of Rome hath exempt himselfe and all his clergie from all judgements of princes, and he made himself to be judge of judges, and to be judged of no man: whereas, by the contrarie, not onely by the examples of the godly governors, judges, and kings of the Old Testament, but also by the New Testament, and the whole history of the primitive church, in the which the emperors, beyng judges over the bishop of Rome, deposed them from their seates, appointed judges to decide and determine in causes ecclesiasticall, and chalenge innocent men, as Athanasius, from the determination of the councell holden at Tyrus; and, by infinite good reasons (which shall be set downe, by the grace of God, in another severall worke,) shall be sufficiently prooved and verified. But this appeareth, at this present, to be an untimely and unprofitable question, which hath no ground upon their part, but of the preposterous imitation of the pretended jurisdiction of the pope of Rome. For, if there were any question in this land of heresie, whereby the profound mysteries of the Scriptures behooved to be searched foorth, his majestie would use the same remedy, as most expedient, which the most godly emperours hath used: and his majestie, following their example, would alow the councell of learned pastours, that by conference of Scriptures, the veritie might be opened, and heresie repressed. But (God be thanked!) we have no such controversies in this land, neither hath any heresie taken any deepe roote in the countrey; but that certaine of the ministerie, joyning themselves to rebels, hath traveled to disquiet the state with such questions, that the people might embrace any sinister opinion of his majestie's upright proceedings, and factions might be nourished and entertained in the countrey. Neither is it his majestie's meaning nor intention, in any sort, to take away the lawfull and ordinarie judgement in the church, whereby discipline and good order might decay; but rather to preserve, maintaine, and increase the same. And as there is in the realme justices, constables, shirifes, provosts, baylifes, and other judges in temporall matters; so his majestie aloweth, that all things might be done in order, and a godly quietnes may be preserved in the whole estate, the sinodall assemblies by the bishops or commissioners, where the place was used, to be convenient, twise in the yeere, to have the ordinary trial of matters belonging to the ministery and their estate: alwaies reserving to his highnesse, that if thei, or any of them, doe amisse, neglect their duetie, disquiet the estate, or offend in any such maner and sort; that they in no wayes pretend that immunitie, priviledge, and exemption, which onely was invented by the popes of Rome, to tread under foote the scepters of princes, and to establish an ecclesiasticall tyranny within this countrey, under pretence of new-invented presbyters; which neither should answer to the king, nor bishop under his majestie, but should have such infinite jurisdiction, as neither the lawe of God nor man can tollerate. Which is onely his majestie's intention to represse, and not to take away any godly or due order in the church, as hereafter shall appeare.

THE third acte of his majestie's foresaide parliament dischargeth all judgements ecclesiasticall, and all assemblies which are not allowed by his majestie in parliament; which acte especially concerneth the removing and discharging of that forme invented in this land, called 'Presbyterie': wherin a number of ministers of a certeine precinct and

boundes, accounting themselves to be equal, without any difference, and gathering unto them certeine gentlemen, and others of his majestie's subjects, usurpe all the whole ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, and altereth the lawes at their owne pleasure, without the knowledge and approbation of the king or the estate: a forme of doing, without example of any nation, subject to a Christian prince. The peril whereof did so increase, that in case it had not beene repressed in due season, and forbidden by his majestie's lawes, the same had troubled the whole countrey: and beyng tried, by his highnesse, to be the overthrow of his majestie's estate, the decay of his crowne, and a ready introduction to Anabaptistrie, and popular confusion, in all estates, his majesty hath given commaundement against the same. And that the reader may understand the daunger thereof, by many inconveniences which, thereby, ensueth in this lande; I will onely set downe one, whereby they may understand what peril was in the rest. The embassadour of Fraunce, returning home unto his owne countrey, commaunded the provost, bayliffes, and counsaile of Edenbrough, to make him a banquet, that he might be received honourably, according to the amitie of auncient times betweene the two nations. This commaund was given on the Saturday by his highnesse, and the banquet appointed to be on the Monday. A number of the foresaide pretended presbyterie, understanding thereof, assembled themselves on Sonday in the morning, and presumptuously determined and agreed, that the ministers of Edenbrough should proclaime a fasting uppon the same Monday; where three severall ministers, one after another, made three severall sermons; invectives against the provost, bayliffes, and counsaile for the time, and the noble men in the countrey, who repaired to the banquet at his majestie's commaund. The foresaide presbyterie called and perswaded them, and scarsly, by his majestie's authoritie, could be witholden from excommunicating the saide magistrates and noble men, for obeying onely his highnes' lawfull commaund; which the law of all countreys, called *jus gentium*, requires towards embassadours of forreine countreys. And not onely in this, but innumerable other things, their commaundement was proclaimed directly, under the paine of excommunication, to the king's majestie and his lawes: which forme of proceeding ingendred nothing but disquietness, sedition, and trouble, as may manifestly appeere, in that the speciall authors of the inventing, promoting, and assisting of the foresaide pretended presbyteries hath joyned themselves with his majestie's rebels; and fleing foorth of the realme, in respect of their guiltines, hath discovered what malitious practices was devised amongst them, if God had not in time provided remedie.

The other forme of judgement, which his majesty hath discharged, is the generall assembly of the whole clergie in the realme; under pretence whereof, a number of ministers, from sundry presbyteries, did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrey, wherof some, for that time (malcontents of the estate) sought that color, as favorers of the ministerie; by the which thei have practised many enterprises in the realme, where there was no certeine lawe in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended upon the saide generall convention, where the lawes of the church were alterable after the number of voices; which, for the most part, succeeded unto the most unlearned of the multitude. This generall assembly, amongst other things, did appoint and agree with his majestie's regentes in his highnesse' minority, that the estate of bishops, which is one of the estates of parliament, should be mainteined and authorised, as it is registred in the bookes of counsell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time. Which order was observed many yeeres, and bishops, by their consentes, appointed to the diocesse; untill, within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundie and Glasgow, respecting the foresaide ministers and assemblies, thei tooke uppon them, contrarie to their owne hand-writing, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be unlawfull, in their pretended maner; and there commaunded the bishops of the countrey to demit and leave their offices and jurisdictions, and that, in no wise, they should passe to the king's majestie's counsell or parliament, without commission obteined from their assemblie; that they should confirme nothing in parliament and counsell, but according to their acts and injunctions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the king's majestie; commaunding him and the counsell, under paine of

the censures of the church (whereby they understoode excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come; because they had concluded that estate to be unlawfull.

And notwithstanding, that which they would have dejected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselves; desiring that such commissioners, as they should send to parliament and counsell, might be authorised in place of the estate; whereby it should have come to pass, that whereas, now, his majestie may select the most godly, learned, wise, and experimented of the ministerie, to be on his majestie's estate, his highnesse should have been, by that means, compelled to accept such, as the multitude, by an odde consent of the most unlearned, should have appointed: which could not tend but to the overthrow of the realme, whereof that estate hath bene a speciall stop. After they had discharged bishops, they agreed to have superintendents, commissioners, and visitours. But, in the end, they discerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we have spoken before: neither was there any other appearance that they should have staid from such daily alterations in the commonwealth; which could not but continually be disquieted, where the lawe of conscience, which they mainteined by the sword of cursing, was subject to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatly tasted of learning. At our the foresaide assemblie, was accustomed, not only to prescribe the lawe to the king and estate, but also did, at certain times, appoint general fastings throughout the realme; specially, when some factioners in the countrey was to moove any great enterprise. For, at the fast, all the ministers was commaunded by the assemblie to sing one song, and to cry out uppon the abuses, as they termed it, of the court and estate for the time: whereby, it is most certaine, great alterations was to have ensued in this land, while, at the good pleasure of God, and his blessing towardes his majestie, the pretence of the last fast was discovered, and his highnesse delivered from such attempts; whereby his majestie hath bene justly mooved to discharge such conventions, which might import so prejudicially to his estate. But specially his majestie had no small occasion; whereas the same assemblie, beyng met at Edenbrough, did authorise and avow the fact perpetrate at Ruthven, in the takyng of his highnesse' most noble person: the which deed, notwithstanding his majestie, with the advise of his estates in parliament, accounted to be treason; the saide assemblie, esteeming their judgement to be the soveraigne judgement of the realme, hath not only approoved the same, but ordained all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the actes of this assemblie, and the lawes of the estate, directly weighed in civill matter, with the which the assemblie should not have medled; it behooved his highnesse, either to discharge himself of the crown, or the ministerie of the forme of assemblie; which, in deede, of it self, without the king's majestie's licence and approbation, could not be lawfull: like as generall counsells, at no time, could assemble, without the commaundement of the emperour for the time; and our king hath no lesse power, within his owne realme, then any of them had in the empire. Yea, the bishop of S. Androis had not, in time of poperie, power to convent the bishops and clergie, out of their owne diocesse; without licence given before of his highnesse' most noble progenitours of good memorie, and the causes thereof intimated and allowed. Notwithstanding, that his majestie's intention and meaning may fully be understood, it is his highnesse' wil, that the bishop, or commissioners of any diocesse or province, or part thereof, shall, at their visitation appointed in every parish, accordyng to the greatnesse thereof, have some honest, vertuous, and discrete men, to aide and assist the minister; and to have the oversight and censure of the maners and behaviour of the people of that parish: and, if there be any notable offence worthy of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be advertised thereof, who shall have an officer of armes to be assistant for the punishment of vice, and executions to follow thereupon; that they, who contemneth the godly and lawfull order of the church, may finde, by experience, his majestie's displeasure, and be punished according to their deservings.

And further: his majestie, uppon necessary occasions which may fall foorth by divers maner of wayes among the clergie, (uppon humble supplication made unto his highnesse,)

will not refuse to graunt them licence to assist the bishops, commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned, and godly of their diocesse, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as appertaineth to the uniformitie of doctrine, and conservation of a godly order in the church, may be intreated and concluded in his majestie's owne presence, or some of his majestie's honourable counsell, who shall assist for the time. Where, if necessity so require, a publike fast throughout the whole realme may be commaunded, and by his majestie's authoritie proclaimed, to avoide the imminent displeasure and daunger of the wrath of the Lorde's judgements; which is the right ende of publike humilitie, and not (under pretence thereof) to cover such enterprises, as hath heretofore greatly disquieted and troubled the peace of this commonwealth.

THE XX. acte ratifieth, and approoveth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to have the oversight and jurisdiction, every one in their owne diocesse. Which forme of government, and rule in ecclesiasticall affaires, hath not onely continued in the church from the dayes of the Apostles, by continuall succession of tyme, and many martyres in that calling shed their bloud for the trueth; but also, since this realme embraced and received the Christian religion, the same estate hath beene mainteined to the welfare of the church, and quietnesse of the realme, without any interruption; untill, within these few yeares, some curious and busie men have practised to induce in the ministerie an equalitie in all thinges, as well concernyng the preaching of the word, administration of the sacraments, as likewise in discipline, order, and pollicie. The which confusion his majestie finding, by most dangerous experience, to have bene the mother and nurse of great factions, seditions, and troubles within this realme; hath, with advise of his highnesse' estates, advisedly concluded the saide pretended paritie in discipline, orders, and pollicie in the church, to be no longer tollerate in this countrey: but the sollicitude and care of all churches in one diocesse, to appertaine to the bishop and commissioner thereof; who shall be aunswerable to God, and his majesty, and estates, for the right administration and discharge of the office of particular ministers, within the boundes of their jurisdiction. For, as it becommeth his majestie, (as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the Great) to be a bishop of bishops, and universall bishop within his realme, in so far as his majestie should appoint everie one to discharge his duetie: which his highnesse cannot (his countrey beyng large and great) take him to everie minister that shall offend, and transgresse agaynst duetie, or quarrell with the whole number of the ministerie: but it behooveth his majestie to have bishops and overseers under him, which may be aunswerable for such boundes, as the lawe and order of the countrey hath limited and appointed unto everie one of them. And that they, having accesse to his majestie's parliament and counsell, may intercede for the rest of the brethren of the ministerie; propone their griefe unto his highnesse and estates, and receive his majestie's favourable aunswere therin. The which forme doth preserve a godly quietnes, unitie, concorde, and peace in the estate, and an uniforme order in the church: as, contrariwise, the pretended equalitie devideth the same, and, under the pretence of equality, maketh some of the most crafty and subtill dealers to be advaunced and enriched; and, in pretending of paritie, to seeke nothing but their own ambition, and advauncement above the rest of the simple sort. And notwithstanding that his majestie hath restablished the saide estate, it is not his highnesse' will and intent, that the foresaide bishop shall have such full power, as to do within his dioceses what he pleaseth. For, as his majestie cannot allow of any popular confusion, wherin (as the proverbe saith) *Nulla tyrannis æquiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis:* that is, 'No 'tyranny can be compared to the tyranny of a multitude;' having commaundement and power in his hands: so, on the other part, his majestie's will is, that the bishops' authoritie, in any grave matter, be limited to the councell of thirteen of the most auncient, wise, and godly pastors of his diocesse, selected out of the whole synodall assemblie of the province; by whose advise, or at least the most part therof, the weightie affaires of the church may be governed; to the glory of God, and quietnes of the realme.

Further, it is his highnesse' will and commaundement, that their bishops or commis-

sioners, twise in the yeere, (to wit, ten dayes after Easter, and the sixth of September,) hold their synodall assemblies in everie diocesse, for the keeping of good order therin. And, if any be stubborne, or contemne within their bounds the good order of the church, that it may be declared unto his majestie, and punished; to the example of others, according to their deservings. Neither is it his majestie's meaning or intent, that such bishops or commissioners, as shall be appointed, shall receive their onely and full commission of his majestie, without admission ordinary, by such as are appointed to that effect in the church; but having his highnesse' nomination, presentation, and commendation, as lawfull and onely patron, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are such as thei are able to discharge their cure and office. And if it shall happen any of the said bishops, or commissioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be slanderous and offensive in their behaviour, life, and maners, in tyme to come; it is not his highnesse' will, that they shal be exempted from correction, notwithstanding any privilege of his highnesse' estate, counsell, or parliament; but their labors, travels, diligence, and behaviour, to be tried in the generall assemblie; not consisting of a confused multitude, as it was before, but of such worshipfull persons, as is heretofore prescribed, in his highnesse' presence, or his deputies to that effect. Lastly, his majestie giveth commission to the saide bishops or commissioners, at their visitations, to consider in what part of the countrey, the exercise, or interpretation of the Scripture, by conference of a certaine number of the ministerie within those bounds, may be most commodiously once in every fifteen days. For, as his majestie inhibits all unlawfull meetings, that may ingender trouble and contention in the countrey; so his majestie is well affected to see the ministerie increase in knowledge and understanding, and by all means to fortifie and advance the same. Wherein his highnesse' commaundement is, that a grave, wise, and sage man shalbe appointed president, who may have the oversight of these bounds, and be aunswerable therefore to the bishop, his counsell and synode; and he to be respected reasonably for his paines, at the modification of stipends; that all things may be orderly done in the church, peace and quietnes mainteined in the realme, and we delyvered from apparant plagues, and the blessing of God continued, to the comfort of our posteritie. And in the mean time, his highnesse inhibits and expresly forbids (under the paines conteined in his majestie's actes of parliament, and all other paines arbitral, at his majestie's sight and counsell,) that no ministers take in hand to assemble themselves for the foresaide cause, without the appointment and order taken by the saide bishops or commissioners; wherby his highnesse may be certeinly enformed, that the foresaide ministers assemble not, to meddle with any civill matters, or affaires of estate, as was accustomed before; but onely to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of the spiritual office; which his highnesse wisheth them faythfully to discharge, and then to call to God, that his majestie may in a prosperous reigne enjoy good and long life, and continue and increase into the feare of the Almightie.

The King's Majestie's Intention.

His Majestie's intention is (by the grace of God) to mainteine the true and sincere profession of the Gospell, and preaching thereof, within this realme.

2. His majestie's intention is, to correct and punishe such as seditiously abuse the trueth, and factiously apply or rather bewray the text of the Scripture; to the disquieting of the estate, and disturbing of the commonwealth, or impayring of his highnesse' and counsell's honour.

3. His majestie's intention is, if any question of faith and doctrine arise, to convocate the most learned, godly, wise, and experimented pastors; that by conference of Scriptures the veritie may be tryed, and all heresie and schisme by that means repressed.

4. His majestie's intention is, that for the keeping of good order in everie parish, certeine overseers, to the good behaviours of the rest, be appointed at the visitation of the bishop, or visitour, who shal have his majestie's authoritie, and officers of armes concurring, for the punishment of vice.

5. His majestie's intention is, to mainteine the exercise of prophesie, for the increase and continuing of knowledge amongst the ministerie; in which a wise and grave man, selected by the bishop, or commissioner, at the synodall assemblie, shall render an account of the administration of those bounds, where the exercise is holden; for which cause, some respect of living shall be had unto him who sustaines that burthen.

6. His majestie's intention is, not to derogate unto the ordinarye judgement of matters of the church, by the ordinary bishops, their councells, and synods; but, if any of them do amisse, and abuse their calling, to take order for correcting, amending, and punishing thereof.

7. His majestie's intention is, not to hinder or stay any godly or solide order, grounded uppon the worde of God, and order of the primitive church; but that the ministers of the word meddle themselves onely with their owne calling, and judge not fearfully of the estate.

8. It is his majestie's intention, that the presbyteries consisting of many ministers and gentlemen, at Landwart or other waies, be no further tollerate in this his realm; but the exercise of jurisdiction of all churches, to be in the hands of the bishop or commissioner, and their councells and synods.

9. It is his majestie's intention, that the bishops or commissioners assemble not any generall assemblie out of the whole realme, without his majestie's knowledge and licence obteined thereunto; which upon supplication his highnesse will not denie: that an uniforme order may be observed in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tryed and examined, and the complaints of every perticular heard and discussed.

10. It is his majestie's intention to assist this assemblie himself, or by a nobleman of his counsaile, his highnesse' deputie.

11. It is his majestie's intention, that when any parish findeth necessitie of any fast, they enform the occasion to the bishop or commissioner, their counsaile, that they may understand the cause to be lawfull; as lykewise the bishop of the diocesse, finding lawfull occasion, may, within the same, with his counsaile, prescribe any publike humiliation.

12. It is his majestie's intention, that a generall fast throughout the whole realm shall not be proclaimed but by his majestie's commaundement, or by a generall counsaile, wherin his majestie, or his highnesse' deputy, is present.

13. It is his highnesse' intention, that the bishops in the realme in every diocesse, with their counsaile, proceede into the ecclesiasticall government; but, as is saide, with a counsaile, that both tyranny and confusion may be avoided in the church.

14. It is his highnesse' intention, that commissioners be directed universally throughout the whole realme to establish a godly order; and that his majestie's commissioners take order presently for the translation of such ministers, whose travels they esteeme may more conveniently and profitably serve in another place.

The Lord-Treasurer Burleigh's Advice to Queen Elizabeth, in Matters of Religion and State.[1] [MS.]

Most gracious Sovereign,

CARE (one of the true-bred children of my unfeigned affection) awaked with the late wicked and barbarous attempts[2], would needs exercise my pen to your sacred majesty; not only encouraging me, that it would take the whole fault of boldness upon its self, but also, that even the words should not doubt to appear in your highness's presence in their kindly rudeness: for that, if your majesty, with your voice, did but read them, your very reading would grace them with eloquence.

Therefore, laying aside all self-guilty conceits of ignorance, (knowing that the sign is not angry with the well-meaning astronomer, though he happen to miss his course,) I will, with the same sincerity, display my humble conceits; wherewith my life shall be amongst the foremost to defend the blessings, which God, in you, hath bestowed upon us.

So far then, as can be perceived by any human judgment, dread Sovereign, you may judge, that the happiness of your present estate can no way be encumbered, but by one of these two means; *viz.*

1st, Either by your factious subjects.

2dly, Or by your foreign enemies.

Your strong and factious subjects are the papists. Strong I account them both in number and nature: for, by number, they are able to raise a great army, and, by their natural and mutual confidence and intelligence, they may soon bring to pass an uniting with foreign enemies: factious I call them, because they are discontented; of whom, in all reason of state, your majesty must determine, whether you will suffer them to be strong, to make them the better content? or, discontent them, by making them weaker? For, what the mixture of strength and discontent engenders, there needs no syllogism to prove. To suffer them to be strong with hope, that, with reason, they will be contented; carrieth with it, in my opinion, but a fair enamelling of a terrible danger.

For, first, men's natures are apt, not only to strive against a present smart, but to revenge by past injury, though they be never so well contented thereafter; which cannot be so sufficient a pledge to your majesty, but that, when opportunity shall flatter them, they will remember, not the after slacking, but the former binding; and so much the more, when they shall imagine this relenting to proceed from fear. For it is the poison of all government, when the subject thinks the prince doth any thing more out of fear than favour: and therefore, the Romans would rather abide the uttermost extremities, than by their subjects to be brought to any conditions. Again, to make them absolutely contented, I do not see how your majesty, either in conscience will do, or in policy may do it; since, hereby, you cannot but thoroughly discontent your faithful subjects; and to fasten an unreconciled love, with the losing of a certain love, is to build a house with the sale of lands: so much the more, in that your majesty is embarked in the Protestant cause, which, in many respects, cannot by your majesty be, with any safety, abandoned; they having been, so long time, the only instruments both of your council and power; and, to make them half content and half discontent, methinks, carries with it as deceitful a shadow of reason as can be, since there is no pain so small, but, if we can cast it off, we will; and no man loves one the better for giving him the bastinado, though with never so

[1] [Lord Orford remarks, that Burleigh's name is "better known in the annals of his country, than in those of the republick of letters." Nevertheless we are not without a few scattered memorials of his literary talents.—The tract before us displays the same rigid integrity and political wisdom which uniformly marked the conduct of this able and upright statesman. It appears to have been written about 1583.]

[2] [Of the Papists.]

little a cudgel. But the course of the most wise, most politick, and best grounded estates hath ever been, to make an assuredness of friendship, or to take away all power of enmity.

Yet, here I must distinguish between discontent and despair: for it sufficeth to weaken the discontented, but there is no way but to kill desperates; which, in such a number as they are, were as hard and difficult, as impious and ungodly. And therefore, though they must be discontented, yet I would not have them desperate; for, amongst many desperate men, it is like some one will bring forth some desperate attempt.

Therefore considering, that the urging of the oath must needs, in some degree, beget despair; since, in the taking of it, he must either think he doth an unlawful act, (as without the special grace of God he cannot think otherwise,) or else, by refusing it, must become a traitor, which, before some hurt done, seemeth hard: I humbly submit this to your excellent consideration, whether, with as much security of your majesty's person and state, and more satisfaction for them, it were not better to leave the oath to this sense; that whosoever would not bear arms against all foreign princes, (and namely, the pope,) that should any way invade your majesty's dominions, he should be a traitor? For, hereof, this commodity will ensue, that those papists (as I think most papists would that should take this oath) would be divided from the great mutual confidence, which is now betwixt the pope and them, by reason of their afflictions for him; and such priests as would refuse that oath then, no tongue could say, for shame, that they suffered for religion, if they did suffer.

But here it may be objected, they would dissemble and equivocate with this oath, and that the pope would dispense with them in that case. Even so may they, with the present oath, both dissemble and equivocate; and also have the pope's dispensation for the present oath, as well as for the other. But this is certain, that whomsoever the conscience, or fear of breaking an oath, doth bind; him would that oath bind. And, that they make conscience of an oath, the troubles, losses, and disgraces that they suffer, for refusing the same, do sufficiently testify; and you know that the perjury of either oath is equal. So then, the farthest point to be sought, for their contentment, is but to avoid their despair.

How to weaken their contentment, is the next consideration. Weakened they may be by two means: first, By lessening their number. Secondly, By taking away from their force. Their number will be easily lessened, by the means of careful, diligent preachers in each parish, to that end appointed; and especially by good schoolmasters, and bringers up of their youth: the former, by converting them after their fall; and the latter, by preventing them from falling into their errors. For preachers (because thereon groweth a great question) I am provoked to lay at your highness's feet my opinion touching the preciser sort.

First, Protesting to God Almighty, and your sacred majesty, that I am not given over, no, nor so much as addicted to their preciseness; therefore, till I believe that you think otherwise, I am bold to think that the bishops, in these dangerous times, take a very ill and unadvised course in driving them from their cures; and this I think for two reasons: first, Because it doth discredit the reputation and estimation of your power, when foreign princes shall perceive and know, that even amongst Protestant subjects, in whom consisteth all your force, strength, and power, there is so great a heart-burning and division; and how much reputation swayeth in these, and all other worldly actions, there is none so simple, as to be ignorant: and the papists themselves (though there be most manifest and apparent discord between the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Jesuits, and other orders of religious persons, especially the Benedictines), yet will they shake off none of them, because, in the main points of popery, they all agree and hold together: and so far they may freely brag and vaunt of their unity. The other reason is; because, in truth, though they are over squeamish and nice in their opinions, and more scrupulous than they need; yet, with their careful catechizing, and diligent preaching, they bring forth that fruit which your most excellent majesty is to desire and wish; namely, the lessening and diminishing the papistical numbers. And therefore, at this time, your majesty hath especial cause to use and employ them, if it were but as Frederick the Second, that excellent em-

peror, did use to employ the Saracen soldiers against the pope; because he was well assured, and certainly knew, that they only would not spare his sanctity. And, for those objections, what they would do if once they got a full and entire authority in the church; methinks they are *inter remota & incerta mala;* and therefore, *vicina & certa,* to be first considered.

As for schoolmasters, they may be a principal means of diminishing their number: the lamentable and pitiful abuses in this way are easy to be seen, since the greatest number of papists is of very young men. But your majesty may prevent that bud, and may use, therein, not only a pious and godly means, in making the parents, in every shire, to send their children to be virtuously brought up at a certain place for that end appointed; but you shall also, if it please your majesty, put in practice a notable stratagem, used by Sertorius in Spain, by choosing such fit and convenient places for the same, as may surely be at your devotion; and, by this means, you shall, under colour of education, have them as hostages of the parent's fidelities, that have any power in England; and, by this way, their number will be quickly lessened. For I account, that putting to death doth no ways lessen them; since we find by experience, that it worketh no such effect, but, like Hydra's heads, upon cutting off one, seven grow up; persecution being accounted as the badge of the church: and, therefore, they should never have the honour to take any pretence of martyrdom in England, where the fulness of blood and greatness of heart is such, that they will even, for shameful things, go bravely to death; much more, when they think themselves to climb heaven. And this vice of obstinacy seems, to the common people, a divine constancy; so that, for my part, I wish no lessening of their numbers but by preaching, and by education of the younger, under good schoolmasters.

The weakening and taking away of their force is as well of peace's authority, as of war's provision. Their peace-authority standeth either in offices, or tenantries. For their offices and credit, it will be available, if order be taken, that, from the highest counsellor to the lowest constable, none shall have any charge or office, but such as will really pray and communicate in their congregation, according to the doctrine received generally into this realm.

For their tenantries, this conceit I have thought upon (which I submit to your farther piercing judgment) that your majesty, in every shire, should give strict order to some, that are indeed trusty and religious gentlemen; that, whereas your majesty is given to understand, that divers popish landlords do hardly use some of your people and subjects, as, being their tenants, do embrace and live after the authorized and true religion; that, therefore, you do constitute and appoint them, to deal both with entreaty and authority, that such tenants, paying as others do, be not thrust out of their living, nor otherwise unreasonably molested. This would greatly bind the commons' hearts unto you (on whom, indeed, consisteth the power and strength of your realm); and it will make them much less, or nothing at all, depend upon their landlords. And although there may hereby grow some wrong, which the tenants, upon that confidence, may offer to their landlords; yet, those wrongs are very easily, even with one wink of your majesty, redressed; and are nothing comparable to the danger of having many thousands depending on the adverse party.

Their war's provision I account men and ammunition; of whom, in sum, I could wish no man, either great or small, should so much as be trained up in any musters, except his parishioners would answer for him, that he orderly and duly receiveth the communion: and for ammunition, that not one should keep in his house, or have at command, so much as a halberd, without he were conformable to the church, and of the condition aforesaid. And if order was taken, that, considering they were not put to the labour and charge of mustering and training, therefore their contributions should be more and more narrowly looked into; this would breed a chilness to their fervour of superstition; especially in popular resolutions, who, if they love Egypt, it is chiefly for the flesh-pots: so that, methinks, this temper should well agree with your wisdom, and the mercifulness of your nature.

For to compel them you would not; kill them you would not; so, to trust them you should not. Trust being in no case to be used, but where the trusted is of one mind with the trusting person; which commandeth every wise man to fly, and avoid that shamefacedness of the Greeks, not to seem to doubt them which give just occasion of doubt. This ruined Hercules, the son of great Alexander; for, although he had most manifest reasons, and evident arguments, to induce him to suspect his ill servant Poliperchon; yet, out of the confidence he had in him, and the experience he had of his former loyalty, he would not make provision accordingly, because he would not seem so much as to misdoubt or suspect him; and so, by that means, he was murdered by him.

But the knot of this discourse is, that if your majesty find it reasonable, on the one side, by relenting the rigour of the oath, and on the other side, by disabling your unsound subjects; you shall neither execute any, but very traitors, in all men's opinions and constructions, nor yet put faith and confidence in any but those, who even for their own sakes must be faithful.

The second point of the general part of my discourse is, the consideration of your foreign enemies, which may prove either able or willing to hurt you: and those are Scotland, for his pretence and neighbourhood; and Spain, for his religion and power. As for France, I see not why he[3] should not rather be made a friend than an enemy: for, though he agree not with your majesty in matters of conscience and religion; yet, *in hoc tertio*, he doth agree, that he feareth the greatness of Spain; and therefore that may solder the link which religion hath broken, and make him hope, by your majesty's friendship, to secure himself against so potent an adversary.

And, though he were evilly affected towards your majesty, yet (the present condition of his estate considered) I do not think it greatly to be feared; himself being a prince who hath given assurance to the world, that he loves his ease much better than victories, and a prince that is neither beloved nor feared of his people. And the people themselves being of a very light and unconstant disposition; and besides they are altogether unexperienced, and undisciplined how to do their duties, either in war or peace; they are ready to begin and undertake any enterprise before they enter into consideration thereof, and yet weary of it before it be well begun: they are generally poor and weak, and subject to sickness at sea; divided and subdivided into sundry heads, and several factions, not only between the Huguenots and Papists, but also between the Montmorencies, the Guises, and the , and the people being oppressed by all, do hate all: so that, for a well settled and established government and commonwealth, as your majesty's is, I see no grounds why to misdoubt or fear them, but only so far forth as the Guisards happen to serve for Boutefeus in Scotland; and while it shall please your majesty, but with reasonable favour to support the king of Navarre, I do not think that the French king will ever suffer you to be from thence annoyed. Therefore, for France, your majesty may assure yourself of one of these two: either to make with him a good alliance, in respect of the common enemy of both kingdoms; or at the least so muzzle him, as that he shall have little power to bite you.

As for Scotland, if your majesty assist and help those noblemen there, which are by him suspected, your majesty may be sure of this, that those will keep him employed at home; and also, whilst he is a Protestant, no foreign prince will take part with him against your majesty. And of himself he is not able to do much harm, the better part of his nobles being for your majesty; and, if in time he should grow to be a papist, your majesty shall always have a strong party at his own doors, in his own kingdom, to restrain his malice; who, since they depend upon your majesty, they are, in all policy, never to be abandoned. For, by this resolution, the Romans anciently, and the Spaniards presently, have most of all prevailed: and, on the contrary, the Macedonians in times past, and the Frenchmen in our age, have lost all their foreign friends, because of their aptness to neglect those who depended upon them. But, if your majesty could by any means possible

[3] [Henry the Third of France.]

devise to bring in again the Hamiltons, he should then be beaten with his own weapons; and should have more cause to look to his own succession, than to be too busy abroad.

But Spain, yea Spain it is, in which (as I conceive) all causes do concur, to give a just alarm to your highness's excellent judgment. First, Because in religion he is so much the pope's, and the pope in policy so much his, as that whatever the mind of pope Gregory, and the power of king Philip, will or can compass, or bring upon us, is in all probability to be expected; himself being a prince whose closet hath brought forth greater victories than all his father's journeys, absolutely ruling his subjects, a people all one-hearted in religion, constant, ambitious, politic, and valiant; the king rich and liberal, and (which of all I like worst) greatly beloved among all the discontented party of your highness's subjects: a more lively proof whereof one could never see than in the poor Don Antonio, who when he was here, was as much at mass, as any man living, yet there did not so much as one papist in England give him any good countenance; so factious an affection is borne to the Spaniards. Now as of him is the chief cause of doubt, so of him the chief care must be had of providence.

But this offers a great question, Whether it be better to procure his amity? or stop the course of his enmity? As of a great lion, whether it be more wisdom, to trust to the taming of him, or tying of him?

I confess this requires a longer and a larger discourse, and a better discourser than myself; and therefore I will stay myself from roving over so large a field; but only, with the usual presumption of love, yield this to your gracious consideration. First, if you have any intention of league; that you see upon what assurance, or at least what likelihood, you may have that he will observe the same. Secondly, that in a parleying season it be not as a countenance unto him the sooner to overthrow the Low Countries, which hitherto have been as a counterscarp to your majesty's kingdom.

But, if you do not league, then your majesty is to think upon means for strengthening yourself, and weakening of him; and therein your own strength is to be tendered both at home and abroad.

For your home strength, in all reverence I leave it, as the thing which contains in effect the universal consideration of government. For your strength abroad, it must be in joining in good confederacy, or at least intelligence, with those that would willingly embrace the same.

Truly not so much as the Turk and Morocco, but at some time they may serve your majesty to great purpose; but from Florence, Ferrara, and especially Venice, I think your majesty might reap great assurance and service; for undoubtedly they abhor his frauds, and fear his greatness. And for the Dutch, and Northern princes, being in effect of your majesty's religion, I cannot think but their alliance may be firm, and their power not to be contemned. Even the countenance of united powers doth much in matters of state.

For the weakening of him, I would (I must confess from my heart) wish that your majesty did not spare thoroughly and manifestly to make war upon him both in the Indies, and the Low Countries, which would give themselves unto you; and that you would rather take him, while he hath one hand at liberty, than both of them sharply weaponed.

But, if this seem foolish hardiness to your majesty's wisdom; yet, I dare not presume to counsel, but beseech your majesty that what stay and support your majesty, without war, can give to the Low Countries, you would vouchsafe to do it; since, as king of Spain, without the Low Countries he may trouble our skirts of Ireland, but never come to grasp with you; but, if he once reduce the Low Countries to an absolute subjection, I know not what limits any man of judgment can set unto his greatness. Divers ways are to be tried: among the rest one, not the worst in my opinion, might be to seek either the winning of the prince of Parma from the king of Spain, or at the least to have the matter so handled, as that the jealousy thereof may arise betwixt them: as pope Clement did by the noble marquis of Pescara, for he practised with him, for offering the kingdom of Naples, not so much with hope to win him, as to make his master suspect him. And

when I consider that Parma is a Roman by blood, a prince born, placed in the place he hath, by Don John, and maintained in it by the malecontents, whereunto the king hath rather yielded of necessity than any other way; lastly, when I remember the city of Pierousa kept by the Spaniards, and the apparent title of his son Remutio to the crown of Portugal, (things hardly to be digested by an Italian stomach,) I cannot see how such a mind in such a fortune can sell itself to a foreign servitude.

The manner of dealing with him should be by some man of spirit, with the Venetian ambassadors at Paris, and afterwards with his own father in Italy; both which are in their hearts mortal enemies to the greatness of Spain.

But these sheets of paper bear witness against me, of having offered too tedious a discourse to your majesty; divers of which points yet, as of mitigating the oath, the school-hostages, the heartening of tenants, and the dealing with the prince of Parma, would require a more ample handling: but it is first reason to know whether your majesty like of the stuff, before it be otherwise trimmed.

For myself, as I will then only love my opinions, when your majesty liketh them; so will I daily pray, that all opinions may be guided with as much faith, as I have zeal to your majesty's service, and that they may be followed with infinite success.

Certain Orders meet to be observed upon any Foreign Invasion, for those Shires that lie upon the Sea-Coasts.[1] With a Direction to the Justices of the Peace.

London, Printed by R. C. for Michael Sparke, Senior; and are to be sold at the Sign of the Blue Bible, in Green Arbour, 1642.

[Quarto, containing fourteen pages.]

THAT in every shire be appointed one nobleman to take the chief charge for the ordering and governing of the same, and he to appoint a leader of the horsemen, and another of the footmen; and, under them, captains and officers of all sorts: which captains may be of the better sort inhabiting the country, if their courage and skill be answerable for it.

The chief leaders, both of horsemen and footmen, must be men of that experience, discretion, temperance, and judgment, as well in ordering and disposing of great numbers, as also in taking advantages of grounds, times, occasions, and matters offered. And it were to be wished they were such in all points, as the whole realm might be able to furnish every front shire but with two of that conduct and valour; that there might be also a meeting and drawing together of some convenient numbers, both of horsemen and footmen, to be trained and exercised into all manner of sorts and forms, as well frivolous as necessary; to the intent to make them the more perfect how to give and receive a charge.

[1] [Among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, there is a proposal from Viscount Wimbledon to Charles the First, resembling these orders in several points, and stating (according to the military tactics of that period) "how the coasts of this kingdome may be defended against any enemie, if in case the royal navie should be otherwise employed."]

For I think, if you shall ask the opinion but of three captains, how horsemen ought to charge, and how they should receive a charge? And so likewise of footmen and their retreats, your three captains will be of two opinions at least; and yet the first thing, we offer unto the enemy, is rashly to join battle, without any foresight of the inconvenience thereof: a thing so generally received of all our nation, for the best way; as who should seem to impugn the same, is in danger to be made ridiculous, and his reasons to be holden for heresy, and not fit to be heard or read: and yet, how rude, ignorant, and untowardly, we should and would present ourselves thereunto; make but some models of convenient numbers assembled, and you shall see the same.

In private quarrels for trifling causes, every man desireth to be exercised and skilful in that weapon, wherewith he would encounter his enemy; but, in this general conflict, wherein we fight for the safety of our country, religion, goods, wives, and children; we should hazard all in that order and form, wherein we are altogether ignorant and unexperimented.

But, because I have found it, by experience and reason, a very desperate and dangerous kind of trial, I would not wish any prince to venture his kingdom that way, unless he be weary of the same; it being the only thing for an invader to seek, and a defender to shun: for the one doth hazard but his people, and hath a lot to win a kingdom; the other, in losing of the battle, hath lost his crown.

A battle is the last refuge; and not to be yielded unto by the defendant, until such time as he and his people are made desperate. In which kind of trial, seldom or never shall you see the invader to quail; no, though his numbers have been much less than the other. There is a kind of heat and fury in the encounter and joining of battles, the which whose side can longest retain, on that part goeth victory: contrariwise, which side conceiveth the first fear, whether it be upon just cause or not, that side goeth to wreck; yea, and oftentimes it falleth so out, before the pikes be touched.

Thus much to the uncertainty of battle; wherein albeit I would wish our nation to be well exercised and trained, (it being a thing of great moment,) yet to be used in our own country, as the sheet-anchor and last refuge of all.

A Caveat for the avoiding of that dangerous Course in running down to the Sea-side, at the Firing of the Beacons.

THAT there be in every shire places appointed, whereunto the country may resort upon the firing of the beacons; which places of assembly should not be less distant, than five or six miles from the sea-side at the least, for the footmen to gather themselves together; to the intent you may the better sort your men, put them in some order, and consult what is meetest to be done; which you shall hardly be able to do, if your place of assembly be within the view, or near unto the enemy, who will by all means seek to attempt you in your disorderly assemblies. Moreover, if fear once take your men, or they be amazed; if you had as skilful leaders as the earth doth bear, they would not be able to dispose or reduce them into such order and form as they would; neither will the enemy give you time to deliberate what is best to be done, but you must either disorderly fight, or more disorderly run away. And, above all things, I especially advise to shun that old and barbarous custom of running confusedly to the sea-side, thinking thereby to prevent the landing of the enemy, or at least to annoy them greatly; which you shall never do: for, be it upon any invasion, you may be sure, that there is no prince will undertake so great an enterprise, but he will be sure to have such a number of boats, galleys, and other small vessels of draught, as he will be able to land at one time two or three thousand men; which boats shall be so well appointed with bases and other shot, as that they will be sure to make way for their quiet landing. And, for my own part, I much doubt, whether you shall have in two or three days, after the firing of the beacons, such a sufficient number as, with wisdom and discretion, were fit to deal or venture a battle with so many men

as they will land in an hour; for any thing that ever I could yet see in the country's readiness at the firing of the beacons.

If the enemy doth intend but to land, and burn some houses or villages near to the sea-coast; for the prevention thereof, as much as may be, it were good to appoint only those, that dwell within two or three miles of the sea-side, to repair thither to make resistance; and, for their succour, you may appoint the horsemen to draw down to the plains next adjoining to the same, who may also keep them at a bay from straggling far into the country. But, if the attempt be made by a prince purposed and appointed to invade, if you give them battle at the first landing, you offer them even the thing they most desire; and it is a thousand to one a conquest the first day.

My reasons are these: first, you give battle, but, I pray, with what people? Even with countrymen altogether unexperimented in martial actions, whose leaders are like to themselves; and another thing, as dangerous as all this, you fight at home, where your people know the next way to save themselves by flight, in recovering of towns, woods, and by-ways.

Contrariwise, with whom do you encounter but with a company of picked and trained soldiers, whose leaders and captains are, no doubt, men both politic and valiant; who are made so much the mroe desperate and bold, by not leaving to themselves any other hope to save their lives, but by marching over your bellies. And besides, it is to be imagined, that, having spread some faction before, amongst yourselves, (as there is no country free from seditious and treacherous malecontents,) they are animated to pursue the victory more sharply. Again, if you once receive an overthrow, what fear and terror you have brought yourselves into, how hardly you shall bring a second battle, and how dangerous to fight with men dismayed; those that are of experience can judge. Likewise, what pride and jollity you have put your enemies in, to march forward, having no forts, nor fenced towns, to give them any stop in this fear, or for your own people to take breath, and make head again; but that your enemies and factious companies of your own nation may join together, and be furnished with victuals, horse, and carriage, at their will and pleasure, without which no prince can prevail in any invasion: for, if you drive him to bring these things with him (as, if matters be well foreseen, and a good plot laid, you may easily do) a world of shipping will scarce suffice for the transportation thereof, besides an infinite mass and charge, that must be provided before-hand; yea, and what waste and loss thereof will fall out, though wind, weather, and shipping were had to pass without disturbance, experience thereof remaineth yet fresh in memory. Again, if scarcity of victuals and unsavouriness thereof once grow, the pestilence and other sickness (which assail the best victualled and ordered army that ever was) will then be doubled and trebled, in such sort, that it will, in a short time, fight and get the victory for you.

And here, by the way, I would put you in remembrance, that there be continual lets and disturbances, by your navy, of the quiet passing of their victuals which should come unto them; whereof you shall oftentimes take advantage also by storms and contrary winds. Wherefore I hold it for the best and surest way, to suffer the enemy, coming to invade, to land quietly at his pleasure; which he will otherwise do, whether you will or not: only fronting him in the plains with your horsemen; and by all means and diligence to draw the victuals, cattle, carriages, and corn, behind your back; and that which you cannot, to waste and spoil, that the enemy take no advantage thereof; keeping such streights and passages with your footmen, as may be kept, and which, with small numbers of your horsemen, you may safely do, until great power do come to back you. And, though they win some streight, which they cannot do without great loss, yet, by keeping of back-receipts in streights, you shall always (if you be so driven) retire without any great loss or danger. And always remember to leave a ward in every place meet to be guarded, though it be but of twenty or thirty persons; which will be an occasion for the enemy to stop the winning of them before they can pass: because else, those few num-

bers will always annoy their victuals and ammunition, that daily and hourly must have free and quiet passage to them. Now, if they tarry the winning or yielding of them up, though it be but a day or two kept, you get thereby time to yourselves to grow stronger, and your enemy loseth opportunity, and waxeth weaker.

For we see, and find by experience, that huge armies, lying in the fields but fifteen or sixteen weeks, are brought to that weakness, and their first courage so abated by sickness and pestilence, which are handmaids unto such great assemblies, (especially where any want of those things is that belong to the sustentation of man's body,) that they may, with smaller numbers and less danger, be dealt withal, than at the first landing. Moreover, your people shall, in that time, attain to some knowledge, by daily exercise and use of their weapons; and the terror of shot will be more familiar unto them: for it is not numbers that do prevail, but trained men, resolute minds, and good order. For, if a prince would only select and choose out such men to wear armour, and employ the rest (I mean the baser sort) to the spade and shovel; there is no doubt but he shall sooner attain unto victory by this means, than with the rude multitudes, in whom there is nothing but confusion and disorder. Again, the spade and the shovel are so necessary instruments of war, both to the invader and defender, as nothing is so impossible, that thereby may not be atchieved, and made easy: and, without the employment whereof, we cannot presume, at any time, of safety.

I could discourse at large hereof, in shewing the use and benefit of them: but, because to every man of judgment and experience it is sufficiently known, I shall not need to speak much therein; but wish you to embrace them; it being to a defender so special and singular a commodity, in that he may better be furnished with infinite numbers of them. And moreover, if you shall appoint them to weapons, who are apter to labour than to fight; you shall find double inconveniences thereby, in misplacing them contrary to their natural disposition and use.

And, touching my own opinion and judgment, I should more stand in fear of a few picked and choice soldiers, that were furnished with a sufficient number of pioneers, than with the hugeness of an army of unselect and disfurnished numbers. Now, to say somewhat by the way, touching your armed pikes, the only body, strength, and bulwark in the field; it is not a little to be lamented, to see no more store in this land. We have so wonderfully weakened ourselves, that it is high time to look to the restoring of them again. And touching the use of shot, as it is a singular weapon, being put into the hands of the skilful and exercised soldier, (being the pillar and upholder of the pikes, and without which he is no perfect body,) so no doubt, on the contrary part, committed to a coward's or an unskilful man's handling, it is the priviest thief in the field. For he robbeth pay, consumeth victuals, and slayeth his own fellows, in discharging behind their backs. And one thing even as ill as this, he continually wasteth powder, the most precious jewel of a prince. Wherefore, I would wish captains not only to reject such as are altogether unapt, but greatly to commend them that discharge but few shots, and bestow them well. For it is more worthy of praise to discharge fair and leisurely, than fast and unadvisedly: the one taking advantage by wariness and foresight, whereas the other loseth all with rashness and haste.

But to return to the pike again. Myself being in the Low Countries in the camp, when those great armies were last assembled; and perusing, in every several regiment, the sorting and division of weapons, as well as their order and discipline: there were two nations (the French being one) that had not, betwixt them both, an hundred pikes. Whereof I much marvelling, and desiring greatly to know the cause that had moved them to leave the pike; which, in my conceit I always judged the strength of the field; happening afterward into the company of certain French captains, (some of them ancient in years, and such as were of the religion,) I demanded the reason that had moved them to give over that defensible weapon the pike, and betake them altogether to shot? "Not for any disliking, or other cause, (said they,) but for that we have not such personable

bodies, as you Englishmen have, to bear them; neither have we them at that commandment as you have, but are forced to hire other nations to supply our insufficiency; for, of ourselves, we cannot say we can make a complete body." Moreover, they affirmed, that, if in the time of Newhaven we had let them have six-thousand of our armed pikes, they would have marched through all France: so highly esteemed they the pike, who, nevertheless, in our judgment, seem to have given over the same, or to make small account thereof.

Moreover, for the better and readier ordering and training of your men in every shire; those that are appointed to be captains, should have, under every of their several charges, only one sort of weapons, *viz.* one captain to have the charge of pikes, another of shot, &c. and no man's band to be less than two-hundred men. By means whereof, your serjeant-major, or such to whom you shall commit the order of your footmen, may, from time to time, readily know the numbers of every sort of weapons; whereby, he will at one instant range them into any order and form of battle you will have them. And every captain and his officers shall serve with their own men; which is a matter of great contentment to both captain and soldier: for otherwise, if he have charge of more sorts of weapons, then must he either disjoin himself from his officers in time of service, or else he must commit his men under another man's direction; which breedeth oftentimes great disliking and murmur.

Orders for the Provision and Guard of the Beacons.

FIRST, that the beacons be provided of good matter and stuff, as well for the sudden kindling of the fires, as also for the continuance thereof.

That the beacons and watch-places, appointed to give warning unto the country of the landing or invasion of the enemy, be substantially guarded with a sufficient company; whereof, one principal person of good discretion to have the chief charge, at all times, of every beacon.

That the beacons that are next to the sea-side, and are appointed to give the first warning, may be very sufficiently guarded, as well with horsemen as footmen; whereof some discreet soldier, or man of judgment, to have the chief charge, (as hath been said before,) who must be very respective and careful, that he give not any alarm upon light matter or occasion: nothing being more dangerous than false alarms to breed a contempt and security.

Your horsemen must be ready to give warning to the other beacons in the country, lest by weather they may be prevented that they cannot kindle fire, or else the enemy may hinder them by sudden assault; and so either let[2] the kindling of them, or extinguish the fire newly kindled, before the other beacons can take knowledge thereof. For it is always to be feared, that the enemy will seek, by all means and policy, not only to surprize the beacons, that are next the sea-side, and should give first intelligence unto the country; but also such as are appointed to guard them, if their watchfulness prevent them not.

Other necessary Notes to be observed.

THAT there may be order taken to have a store of powder, match, bullets ready cast, moulds of divers bores, charges, bow-strings, shooting-gloves, war-brasses, and such other necessaries fit to be used at that time: whereof (I doubt me) whether the whole shire be able to furnish the tenth part, that would be required. Whereof it were good to be provided aforehand, and brought in carts, to those places of assembly; whereby men may be readily furnished for their money, and the service nothing hindered in time of need.

That it be looked unto, by such as have charge to take the view of men and their weapons, that every shot be provided of a mould, a priming-pin, a ferries, a flint, and

[2] [Obstruct or oppose.]

match-powder; which things are as needful to be seen into, as the piece itself, although few provide and make reckoning thereof.

That in the said musters and assemblies, there be good numbers of labourers appointed, who may also be assigned to have a spade, a mattock, a shovel, an axe, or a bill. And these pioneers, to resort to the places of assembly, at every alarm; over whom, should be a skilful engineer appointed, to have the chief charge and government.

And, whereas you have great numbers of hackneys or hobblers, I could wish, that upon them you mount as many of the highest and nimblest shot as you can; which may be sent down to the sea-side upon every alarm, or to such streights and places of advantage, as to a discreet leader shall seem convenient. The which arguliteers shall stand you in as great stead, as horse of better account. For, by the means of them, men will take great courage to offer a proud attempt upon the enemy, being assured of their succour, if any occasion or appearance of danger force them to retire.

It were considerable, that all the youth of the land were well prepared with bows and arrows: for in woody places, or behind banks, or in other places these might annoy the horse and men. Witness the brave battles atchieved in France, by bowmen: and these arms would supply many thousands, which are not able to get better.

The old, old, very old Man: Or, The Age and long Life of Thomas Parr, the Son of John Parr, of Winnington, in the Parish of Alderbury, in the County of Salop, or Shropshire; who was born in the Reign of King Edward the Fourth, in the Year 1483. He lived one-hundred and fifty-two Years, nine Months, and odd Days; and departed this Life, at Westminster, the Fifteenth of November, 1635; and is now buried in the Abbey at Westminster. His Manner of Life and Conversation in so long a Pilgrimage; his Marriages, and his Bringing up to London, about the End of September last, 1635.[1] Whereunto is added a Postscript, shewing the many remarkable Accidents that happened in the Life of this old Man. Written by John Taylor.

London, Printed for Henry Gosson, at his Shop on London-Bridge, near to the Gate; 1635.

[Quarto; containing thirty-two pages.]

To the high and mighty Prince, Charles; by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Of subjects, my dread liege, 'tis manifest,
You've had the old'st, the greatest, and the least;
That for an old, a great, and little man,
No kingdom, sure, compare with Britain can:
One[2], for his extraordinary stature,
Guards well your gates, and by instinct of nature,

[1] Vide Oldys's Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 236. [The following account of Old Parr, by an eye-witness, Taylor the Water-poet, is by far the most complete that we possess. It has gone through four editions, besides being included in this and some other collective works.

From Granger we learn, that there are four portraits of Parr, *viz.* in the collection of Uvedale Price, esq.; in Belvoir Castle; in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; and in the collection of the Duchess of Portland. He likewise enumerates an equal number of engravings; one of which was prefixed to the original edition of Taylor's Life, *viz.* that by C. V. Dalen.

Dr. William Harvey, who dissected the body of Parr, after his death, has given a very circumstantial account of its appearance. *Vide "Anatomia Thomæ Parri, post annos centum quinquaginta duos et menses novem actos demortui, à G. Harveio;"* in the beautiful edition of Harvey's works, 4to. published by the College of Physicians. See also the Gentleman's Magazine, for Jan. 1769.

The longevity of Old Thomas Parr would seem to have descended in the way of heir-loom to his posterity; as we find that his son lived to the age of 113, his grandson to 109, and his great-grandson to 124; which last, Robert Parr, died at Kinver, a small village near Bridgnorth, in the county of Salop. To these we may add Catherine Parr, his great-grand-daughter, who died in Skiddy's Alms-house, Corke, Oct. 1792, aged 103.]

[2] [The king's gigantic porter; who once drew Jeffery the dwarf out of his pocket, in a masque at court, to the surprise of all the spectators. A bas-relief of this dwarf and giant was to be seen fixed in the front of a house near the end of Bagnio-court, on the east side of Newgate-street.]

As he is strong, is loyal, true and just,
Fit, and most able, for his charge and trust:
The other's small and well composed feature
Deserves the title of a pretty creature[3];
And doth, or may, retain as good a mind
As greater men, and be as well inclin'd:
He may be great in spir't, though small in sight,
Whilst all his best of service is delight.
The old'st, your subject was; but, for my use,
I make him here, the subject of my muse:
And as his aged person gain'd the grace,
That where his sovereign was, to be in place,
And kiss your royal hand; I humbly crave,
His life's description may acceptance have.
And, as your majesty hath oft before
Look'd on my poems, pray, read this one more.

Your Majesty's
most humble subject and servant,
JOHN TAYLOR.

The Occasion of this Old Man's being brought out of Shropshire to London.

AS it is impossible for the sun to be without light, or fire to have no heat; so is it undeniable that true honour is as inseparably addicted to virtue, as the steel to the loadstone; and, without great violence, neither the one or the other can be sundered. Which manifestly appears in the conveying out of the country of this poor ancient man; a monument, I may say, and almost miracle of nature.

For the right honourable Thomas earl of Arundel and Surrey, earl-marshal of England, &c. being lately in Shropshire to visit some lands and manors which his lordship holds in that county, or for some other occasions of importance, which caused his lordship to be there: the report of this aged man was certified to his Honour; who hearing of so remarkable a piece of antiquity, his lordship was pleased to see him; and in his innate noble and Christian piety, he took him into his charitable tuition and protection; commanding that a litter and two horses, for the more easy carriage of a man so enfeebled and worn with age, be provided for him: also, that a daughter-in-law of his, named Lucy, should likewise attend him, and have a horse for her own riding with him; and, to cheer up the old man, and make him merry, there was an antic-faced fellow, called Jack, or John the Fool, with a high and mighty no beard, that had also a horse for his carriage. These all were to be brought out of the country to London, by easy journeys; the charges being allowed by his lordship, and likewise one of his honour's own servants, named Brian Kelley, to ride on horseback with them, and to attend and defray all manner of reckonings and expences; all which was done accordingly, as followeth.

Winnington is a hamlet in the parish of Alderbury, near a place called the Welch Pool, eight miles from Shrewsbury, from whence he was carried to Wim, a town of the earl's aforesaid; and the next day to Shefnall, a manor-house of his lordship's, where they likewise staid one night: from Shefnall they came to Wolverhampton, and the next day to Birmingham, and from thence to Coventry; and although Mr. Kelley had much to do to

[3] [Jeffery Hudson, who when he was seven or eight years of age was served up to table, in a cold pie, at the duke of Buckingham's, and, as soon as he made his appearance, presented by the dutchess to the queen, who retained him in her service. He was then but eighteen inches in height, and is said not to have grown any taller, till after thirty, when he shot up to three feet, nine inches. He died in confinement under a suspicion of being concerned in the Popish plot; an. ætat. 63. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.]

keep the people off that pressed upon him in all places where he came, yet at Coventry he was most oppressed; for they came in such multitudes to see the old man, that those that defended him, were almost quite tired and spent, and the aged man in danger to have been stifled: and, in a word, the rabble were so unruly, that Brian was in doubt he should bring his charge no further; so greedy are the vulgar to hearken to or gaze after novelties. The trouble being over, the next day they passed to Daventry, to Stony-Stratford, to Redburn, and so to London; where he is well entertained, and accommodated with all things, having all the aforesaid attendants, at the sole charge and cost of his lordship.

One remarkable passage of the old man's policy must not be omitted or forgotten, which is thus: His three leases of sixty-three years being expired, he took his last lease of his landlord, one Mr. John Porter, for his life; with which lease he did live more than fifty years, as is further hereafter declared: but this old man would, for his wife's sake, renew his lease for years, which his landlord would not consent unto; wherefore Old Parr, having been long blind, sitting in his chair by the fire, his wife looked out of the window, and perceived Mr. Edward Porter, the son of his landlord, to come towards their house, which she told her husband, saying, "Husband, our young landlord is coming hither." "Is he so, (said Old Parr,) I prithee, wife, lay a pin on the ground near my foot, or at my right-toe;" which she did; and when young Mr. Porter, yet forty years old, was come into the house, after salutations between them, the old man said, "Wife, is not that a pin which lies at my foot?" "Truly, husband, (quoth she,) it is a pin indeed:" so she took up the pin, and Mr. Porter was half in amaze that the old man had recovered his sight again; but it was quickly found to be a witty conceit, thereby to have them to suppose him to be more lively than he was, because he hoped to have his lease renewed for his wife's sake, as aforesaid.

He hath had two children by his first wife, a son and a daughter: the boy's name was John, and lived but ten weeks; the girl was named Joan, and she lived but three weeks. So that it appears he did out-live the most part of the people that are living near there, three times over.

The Life of Thomas Parr.

An old man's twice a child, the proverb says,
And many old men ne'er saw half his days
Of whom I write; for he at first had life,
When York and Lancaster's domestic strife
In her own blood had factious England drench'd,
Until sweet peace those civil flames had quench'd.
When as Fourth Edward's reign to end drew nigh,
John Parr, a man that liv'd by husbandry,
Begot this Thomas Parr, and born was he
The year of Fourteen-hundred eighty-three;
And as his father's living and his trade
Was plough and cart, scythe, sickle, bill, and spade,
The harrow, mattock, flail, rake, fork, and goad,
And whip, and how to load and to unload;
Old Tom hath shew'd himself the son of John,
And from his father's function hath not gone.
Yet I have read of as mean pedigrees
That have attain'd to noble dignities:
Agathocles, a porter's son, and yet
The kingdom of Sicily[4] he did get.

[4] [*Sicilia*, edit. 1794.]

Great Tamerlane a Scythian shepherd was,
Yet, in his time, all princes did surpass.
First Ptolemy, the king of Egypt's land,
A poor man's son of Alexander's band.
Dioclesian, emp'ror, was a scriv'ner's son,
And Proba from a gard'ner th' empire won.
Pertinax was a bondman's son, and wan
The empire; so did Valentinian,
Who was the offspring of a rope-maker,
And Maximinus of a mule-driver.
And, if I on the truth do rightly glance,
Hugh Capet was a butcher, king of France.
By this I have digress'd; I have exprest
Promotion comes not from the East or West.
So much for that; now to my theme again:—
This Thomas Parr did live th' expired reigns
Of ten great kings and queens, th' eleventh now sways
The scepter, bless'd by th' Ancient of all days.
He did survive the Edwards, Fourth and Fifth;
And the Third Richard, who made many a shift
To place the crown on his ambitious head;
The Seventh and Eighth brave Henries both are dead,
Sixth Edward, Mary, Philip, Elizabeth[5],
And bless'd remember'd James:—all these by death
Have changed life, and almost 'leven years since
The happy reign of Charles our gracious prince;
Tom Parr did live, as by record appears,
Nine months, one-hundred fifty and two years.
Amongst the learn'd, 'tis held in general,
That every seventh year's climacterical,
And dang'rous to man's life, and that *may*[6] be
Most perilous at th' age of sixty-three,
Which is, nine climactericals: but this man
Of whom I write, since first his life began,
Did live of climactericals such plenty,
That he did almost out-live two-and-twenty.
For by records, and true certificate,
From Shropshire late, relations do relate,
That he liv'd sev'nteen years with John his father,
And eighteen with a master, which I gather
To be full thirty-five; his sire's decease
Left him four years possession of a lease;
Which past, Lew's Porter, gentleman, did then
For twenty-one years grant his lease again:
That lease expir'd, the son of Lew's, call'd John,
Let him the like lease, and, that time being gone,
Then Hugh, the son of John, (last nam'd before)
For one-and-twenty years sold one lease more:
And lastly, he hath held from John, Hugh's son,
A lease for 's life these fifty years out-run:
And, when old Thomas Parr to earth again
Return'd, the last lease did his own remain.

[5] [*El'zabeth*, edit. 1794.] [6] [*They*, edit. 1794.]

Thus having shew'd th' extension of his age,
I'll shew some actions of his pilgrimage.
A tedious time a batchelor he tarried,
Full eighty years of age before he married:
His continence to question I'll not call,
Man's frailty 's weak, and oft doth slip and fall.
No doubt but he in fourscore years might find,
In Salop's county, females fair and kind:
But what have I to do with that? Let pass.
At th' age aforesaid he first married was
To Jane, John Taylor's daughter; and 'tis said,
That she, before he had her, was a maid.
With her he liv'd years three times ten and two,
And then she died; as all good wives will do.
She dead, he ten years did a widower stay;
Then once more ventur'd in the wedlock way:
And, in affection to his first wife Jane,
He took another of that name again,
With whom he late did live: she was a widow
To one nam'd Anthony, and surnam'd Adda:
She was (as by report it doth appear)
Of Gillsel's parish, in Montgomeryshire,
The daughter of John Lloyd, corruptly Flood,
Of ancient house, and gentle Cambrian blood.
But hold, I had forgot, in 's first wife's time,
He frailly, foully, fell into a crime,
Which richer, poorer, older men, and younger,
More base, more noble, weaker men, and stronger,
Have fallen into.
The Cytherean, or the Paphian game,
That thund'ring Jupiter did oft inflame;
Most cruel cut-throat Mars laid by his arms,
And was a slave to love's enchanting charms;
And many a pagan god, and semi-god,
The common road of lustful love hath trod:
For, from the emp'ror to the russet clown,
All states, each sex, from cottage to the crown,
Have, in all ages since the first creation,
Been foil'd, and overthrown with love's temptation:
So was Old Thomas, for he chanc'd to spy
A beauty, and love enter'd at his eye,
Whose pow'rful motion drew on sweet consent,
Consent drew action, action drew content:
But, when the period of those joys were past,
Those sweet delights were sourly sauc'd at last.
The flesh retains what in the bone is bred,
And one colt's tooth was then in Old Tom's head:
It may be, he was gull'd, as some have been,
And suffer'd punishment for others' sin;
For pleasure 's like a trap, a gin, a snare,
Or like a painted harlot, seems most fair;
But, when she goes away, and takes her leave,
No ugly beast so foul a shape can have.

Fair Catharine Milton was this beauty bright,
Fair like an angel, but in weight too light;
Whose fervent features did inflame so far
The ardent fervour of Old Thomas Parr,
That, for law's satisfaction, 'twas thought meet,
He should be purg'd, by standing in a sheet;
Which aged, he, one-hundred and five year,
In Alderbury's parish-church did wear.
Should all, that so offend, such penance do,
Oh, what a price would linen rise unto!
All would be turn'd to sheets, our shirts and smocks,
Our table-linen, very porters' frocks,
Would hardly 'scape transforming: but all's one,
He suffer'd, and his punishment is done.
But to proceed, more serious in relation,
He is a wonder, worthy admiration;
He's, in these times, fill'd with iniquity,
No antiquary, but antiquity;
For his longevity's of such extent,
That he's a living mortal monument.
And as high tow'rs, that seem the sky to shoulder,
By eating time, consume away and moulder,
Until, at last, in piece-meal they do fall,
Till they are buried in their ruins all:
So this old man his limbs their strength have left,
His teeth all gone, but one; his sight bereft,
His sinews shrunk, his blood most chill and cold;
Small solace, imperfections manifold:
Yet did his sp'rits possess his mortal trunk,
Nor were his senses in his ruins shrunk;
But that with hearing quick, and stomach good,
He'd feed well, sleep well, well digest his food.
He would speak heartily, laugh, and be merry,
Drink ale, and now and then a cup of sherry;
Lov'd company, and understanding talk,
And, on both sides held up, would sometimes walk.
And, though old age his face with wrinkles fill,
He hath been handsome, and was comely still,
Well-fac'd, and, though his beard not oft corrected,
Yet neat it grew, not like a beard neglected;
From head to heel, his body had all over
A quick-set, thick-set, nat'ral hairy cover.
And thus (as my dull weak invention can)
I have anatomiz'd this poor old man.
Though age be incident to most transgressing,
Yet time, well spent, makes age to be a blessing:
And if our studies would but deign to look
And seriously to ponder nature's book,
We there may read, that man, the noblest creature,
By riot and excess, doth murder nature.
This man ne'er fed on dear compounded dishes,
Of metamorphos'd beasts, fruits, fowls, and fishes:
The earth, and air, the boundless ocean,
Were never rak'd nor forag'd for this man;

Nor ever did physician, to his cost,
Send purging physick through his guts in post:
In all his life-time he was never known,
That, drinking others' healths, he lost his own.
The Dutch, the French, the Greek, and Spanish grape
Upon his reason never made a rape:
For riot is for Troy an anagram,
And riot wasted Troy, with sword and flame;
And surely that, which will a kingdom spill,
Hath much more pow'r one silly man to kill.
Whilst sensuality the palate pleases,
The body's fill'd with surfeits and diseases;
By riot, more than war, men slaughter'd be,
From which confusion this old man was free.
He once was catch'd in the venereal sin,
And, being punish'd, did experience win;
That careful fear his conscience so did strike,
He never would again attempt the like:
Which to our understandings may express,
Men's days are shorten'd through lasciviousness;
And that a competent contenting diet
Makes men live long, and soundly sleep in quiet.
Mistake me not, I speak not to debar
Good fare of all sorts, for all creatures are
Made for man's use, and may by man be us'd,
Not by voracious gluttony abus'd:
For he that dares to scandal or deprave
Good housekeeping; oh! hang up such a knave.
Rather commend, what is not to be found,
Than injure that which makes the world renown'd.
Bounty hath got a spice of lethargy,
And liberal, noble, hospitality
Lies in consumption, almost pin'd to death,
And charity benumb'd, ne'er out of breath.
May England's few good housekeepers be blest,
With endless glory, and eternal rest;
And may their goods, lands, and their happy seed,
With Heav'n's best blessings, multiply and breed!
'Tis madness to build high, with stone and lime,
Great houses, that may seem the clouds to climb;
With spacious halls, large galleries, brave rooms,
Fit to receive a king, peers, 'squires, and grooms;
Amongst which rooms, the De'il hath put a witch in,
And made a small tobacco-box the kitchin:
For covetousness the mint of mischief is,
And Christian bounty the high-way to bliss.
To wear a farm in shoe-strings edg'd with gold,
And spangled garters worth a copy-hold:
A hose and doublet, which a lordship cost;
A gaudy cloke, three manors price almost:
A beaver, band, and feather for the head,
Priz'd at the church's tythe, the poor man's bread;
For which the wearers are fear'd, and abhorr'd,
Like Jeroboam's golden calves ador'd.

This double, treble-aged man, I wot,
Knew and remember'd, when these things were not.
Good wholesome labour was his exercise,
Down with the lamb, and with the lark would rise;
In mire and toiling sweat he spent the day,
And to his team he whistled time away:
The cock his night-clock, and, till day was done,
His watch, and chief sun-dial, was the sun.
He was of old Pythagoras' opinion,
That green cheese was most wholesome, with an onion;
Coarse meslin[7] bread, and for his daily swig,
Milk, butter-milk, and water, whey, and whig:
Sometimes metheglin, and by fortune happy,
He sometimes sipp'd a cup of ale most nappy,
Cyder or perry, when he did repair
T' a Whitson-ale, wake, wedding, or a fair;
Or when in Christmas-time he was a guest,
At his good landlord's house amongst the rest:
Else he had little leisure-time to waste,
Or, at the alehouse, huff-cap ale to taste;
Nor did he ever hunt a tavern fox,
Ne'er knew a coach, tobacco, or the pox.
His physick was good butter, which the soil
Of Salop yields, more sweet than Candy oil;
And garlick he esteem'd above the rate
Of Venice treacle, or best Mithridate.
He entertain'd no gout, no ache he felt,
The air was good, and temp'rate, where he dwelt;
Whilst mavisses[8], and sweet-tongued nightingales,
Did chant him roundelays and madrigals.
Thus living within bounds of nature's laws,
Of his long lasting life may be some cause:
For, though th'Almighty all men's days doth measure,
And doth dispose of life and death at pleasure,
Yet, nature being wrong'd, man's days and date
May be abridg'd, and God may tolerate.
But had the father of this Thomas Parr,
His grandfather, and his great-grandfather;
Had their lives' threads so long a length been spun,
They by succession might, from sire to son,
Have been unwritten chronicles, and by
Tradition shew time's mutability:
Then Parr might say, he heard his father well
Say, that his grand-sire heard his father tell
The death of famous Edward the Confessor,
Harold, and William Conq'ror, his successor;
How his son Robert won Jerusalem,
O'ercame the Saracens, and conquer'd them:
How Rufus reign'd, and 's brother Henry next,
And how usurping Stev'n this kingdom vext:
How Maud the empress, the First Henry's daughter,
To gain her right, fill'd England full of slaughter:

[7] [*Meschlin*, edit. 1794.] [8] [*i. e.* Thrushes.]

Of Second Henry's Rosamond the Fair;
Of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, his brave heir,
King John; and of the foul suspicion
Of Arthur's death, John's elder brother's son:
Of the Third Henry's long reign, sixty years,
The barons' wars, the loss of wrangling peers:
How Longshanks did the Scots and French convince;
Tam'd Wales, and made his hapless son their prince:
How Second Edward was Caernarvon call'd,
Beaten by Scots, and by his queen enthrall'd:
How the Third Edward fifty years did reign,
And th'honour'd Garter's order did ordain:
Next, how the Second Richard liv'd and died,
And how Fourth Henry's faction did divide
The realm with civil, most uncivil war,
'Twixt long-contending York and Lancaster:
How the Fifth Henry sway'd, and how his son,
Sixth Henry, a sad pilgrimage did run.
Then of Fourth Edward, and fair mistress Shore,
King Edward's concubine, lord Hastings' ——;
Then how Fifth Edward, murther'd with a trick
Of the Third Richard; and then how that Dick
Was by Seventh Henry slain at Bosworth-field;
How he and 's son, th' Eighth Henry, here did wield
The scepter; how Sixth Edward sway'd;
How Mary rul'd; and how that royal maid
Elizabeth did govern, best of dames,
And phœnix-like expir'd; and how just James,
Another phœnix, from her ashes claims
The right of Britain's scepter as his own,
But, changing for a better, left the crown,
Where now 'tis, with king Charles; and may it be
With him, and his most bless'd posterity,
Till time shall end: be they on earth renown'd,
And after with eternity be crown'd!
Thus, had Parr had good breeding, without reading,
He, from his sire and grand-sire's sire proceeding,
By word of mouth had told most famous things,
Done in the reigns of all those queens and kings:
But he in husbandry hath been brought up,
And ne'er did taste the Heliconian cup;
He ne'er knew history, nor in mind did keep
Aught, but the price of corn, hay, kine, or sheep.
Day found him work, and night allow'd him rest,
Nor did affairs of state his brain molest:
His high'st ambition was a tree to lop,
Or at the furthest to a may-pole's top:
His recreation, and his mirth's discourse,
Hath been the piper and the hobby-horse.
And in this simple sort he did, with pain,
From childhood live, to be a child again.
'Tis strange, a man, that was in years so grown,
Should not be rich; but to the world 'tis known,

That he that 's born, in any land or nation,
Under a twelve-pence planet's domination,
By working of that planet's influence,
Shall never live to be worth thirteen pence;
Whereby, altho' his learning did not show it,
H'was rich enough to be,—like me,—a poet.
But, ere I do conclude, I will relate
Of reverend age's honourable state.
Where shall a young man good instructions have
But from the ancient, from experience grave?
Roboam, son and heir to Solomon,
Rejecting ancient counsel, was undone
Almost; for ten of the twelve Tribes fell
To Jeroboam, king of Israel;
And all wise princes and great potentates
Select and chuse old men as magistrates,
Whose wisdom and whose reverend aspect,
Knows how and when to punish or protect.
The Patriarchs' long lives, before the Flood,
Were given them, as 'tis rightly understood,
To store and multiply by procreations,
That people should inhabit and breed nations;
That th'ancients their posterities might show
The secrets deep of nature, how to know
To scale the sky with learn'd astronomy,
And sound the ocean's deep profundity;
But, chiefly, how to serve and to obey
God, who did make them out of slime and clay.
Should men live now, as long as they did then,
The earth could not sustain the breed of men.
Each man had many wives; which bigamy
Was such increase to their posterity,
That one old man might see, before he died,
That his own only offspring had supplied
And peopled kingdoms:——————
But now so brittle 's the estate of man,
That, in comparison, his life's a span;
Yet, since the Flood, it may be proved plain,
That many did a longer life retain,
Than him I write of; for Arphaxad liv'd
Four-hundred thirty-eight; Salah surviv'd
Four-hundred thirty-three years; Eber more,
For he liv'd twice two-hundred sixty-four.
Two-hundered years Terah was alive,
And Abram liv'd one-hundred seventy-five.
Before Job's troubles, Holy Writ relates,
His sons and daughters were at marriage-states;
And, after his restoring, 'tis most clear,
That he surviv'd one-hundred-forty year.
John Buttadeus, if report be true,
Is his name, that is styl'd 'The Wand'ring Jew:'
'Tis said, he saw our Saviour die, and how
He was a man then, and is living now:

Whereof relations you that will may read;
But pardon me, 'tis no part of my creed.
Upon a German's age 'tis written thus;
That one *Johannes de Temporibus*
Was armour-bearer to brave Charlemaign;
And that unto the age he did attain
Of years three-hundred sixty-one; and then
Old John of Times return'd to earth again.
And noble Nestor, at the siege of Troy,
Had liv'd three-hundred years, both man and boy.
Sir Walter Raleigh, a most learned knight,
Doth of an Irish countess (Desmond) write[9],
Of sevenscore years of age; he with her spake:
The lord St. Albans doth more mention make,
That she was married in Fourth Edward's reign;
Thrice shed her teeth, which three times came again.
The Highland Scots and the wild Irish are
Long-liv'd, with labour hard and temp'rate fare.
Amongst the barb'rous Indians, some live strong
And lusty, near two-hundred winters long:
So, as I said before, my verse now says,
By wronging nature men cut off their days.
Therefore, as times are, he, I now write on,
The age of all in Britain hath out-gone;
All those, that were alive when he had birth,
Are turn'd again unto their mother-earth:
If any of them live, and do reply,
I will be sorry, and confess I lye.
For, had he been a merchant, then, perhaps,
Storms, thunder-claps, or fear of after-claps,
Sands, rocks, or roving pirates, gusts and storms,
Had made him, long before, the food of worms:
Had he a mercer, or a silkman, been,
And trusted much, in hope great gain to win,
And late and early striv'd to get, or save;
[His grey head long ere now had been i'th' grave:[10]]
Or had he been a judge, or magistrate,
Or of great counsel in affairs of state;
Then day's important business, and night's cares,
Had long before interr'd his hoary hairs:
But (as I writ before) no cares oppress'd him,
Nor ever did affairs of state molest him.

[9] [Sir Walter Raleigh says, that he himself "knew the old countess of Desmond of Inchiquin, who lived in the year 1589, and many years since; who was married in Edward the Fourth's time, and held her jointure from all the earls of Desmond since then." Hist. of the World, *lib.* i. *cap.* 5. Her husband was Thomas, thirteenth earl of Desmond, who died in 1534, at a great age. Vide Smith's Nat. & Civ. Hist. of Corke, p. 36, 1750, 8vo. Abp. Usher, an author of great accuracy, mentions her, and says, he remembers her in his time alive and hearty. His words, in his *Chronologia Sacra*, p. 202, are as follow: "*In Hiberniâ Desmoniæ comitissa, Edvardo IIII. in Angliâ regnante, comiti marito nupta, meo tempore et viva fuit et vivida; circa annum demum vitæ CXL. defuncta.*" In the margin he has the following references: "*D. Gualter Ralegh, Histor. Mundi, lib. i. cap. 5. sect. 5. Fr. Bacon de long. vitâ, et L. Cork genealog. Desmon.*" She appears to have died at the end of queen Elizabeth's reign, lord Leicester says, "by a fever occasioned by a fall from a nut-tree!" Vide Lord Orford's Works, vol. i. p. 210—217.]

[10] [Inserted from the edit. of 1794.]

Some may object, that they will not believe
His age to be so much; for none can give
Account thereof, time being past so far,
And, at his birth, there was no register:
The register was, ninety-seven years since,
Given by th' Eighth Henry, that illustrious prince,
Th' year Fifteen-hundred-forty, wanting twain,
And in the thirtieth year of that king's reign:
So Old Parr now was an old man,
Near sixty, ere the register began.
I've writ as much, as reason can require,
How times did pass, how's leases did expire;
And gentlemen o'th'county did relate
T'our gracious king, by their certificate,
His age, and how time with grey hairs hath crown'd him:
And so I leave him older than I found him.

A POSTSCRIPT.[11]

THE changes of manners, the variations of customs, the mutability of times, the shiftings of fashions, the alterations of religions, the diversities of sects, and the intermixture of accidents, which have happened since the birth of this old Thomas Parr, in this kingdom, although all of them are not to be held worthy of mentioning, yet many of them are worthy to be had in memory:

In the sixth year of his age, and in 2 Hen. 7, one Lambert Simnell, the son of a baker, claimed the crown, and was crowned king of Ireland, and proclaimed king of England, in the city of Dublin. This paltry fellow did put the king to much cost and trouble: for he landed with an army at Fawdrey in Lancashire, and at a place called Stoke, the king met him, and, after a sharp and short battle, overcame and took him; and, pardoning him his life, gave him a turn-broacher's place in the kitchen, and afterwards made him one of his falconers, *anno* 1487.

In the tenth year of his age, and the 8 Hen. 7, another youngster claimed the crown, whose name was Perkin Warbeck, as some write, a tinker's son of Tournay; some say his father was a Jew: notwithstanding, he likewise put the king to much charge and trouble, for he was assisted with soldiers from Scotland and France; besides, many joined with him in England, till at the last the king took him, and, on his true confession, pardoned him: he, falling again to his old practice, was executed at Tyburn, 1499.

The same year also, a shoemaker's son, dwelling in Bishopsgate-street, likewise claimed the crown, under the name of Edward, earl of Warwick, the son of George, duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward the Fourth: but this young shoemaker ended his claim in a halter at Saint Thomas a-Waterings; which was a warning for him, not to surpass—*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

Another counterfeit, the son of a miller, claimed the crown, in 2 Mar. 1, saying that he was king Edward the Sixth: but, the tenth of May, 1552, those royal opinions were whipped out of him for a while; till he fell to his old claim again, and purchased a hanging the thirteenth of March following. So much for impostures and counterfeits.

For religion, he hath known the times of divers sects and changes; as the Romish-catholic religion from his birth, till 24 Hen. 8, the time of fifty years: and then, the twenty-sixth of his reign, (the king's understanding being illuminated from above,) he cast the

[11] [Omitted in the edit. of 1794.]

pope's authority out of this kingdom, 1534, and restored the ancient and primitive religion, which continued under the title of Protestants, till the end of his son king Edward the Sixth's reign, which was near about twenty years. Then was a bloody alteration, or return to papistry, for more than five years, all the reign of queen Mary: since whose death, the Protestant religion again was happily restored, continued, and maintained by the defenders of the true, ancient, Catholic, and Apostolic faith, these sixty-six years and more, under the blessed governments of queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles. All which time, Thomas Parr hath not been troubled in mind for either the building or throwing down of abbeys, and religious houses: nor did he ever murmur at the manner of prayers, let them be Latin or English. He held it safest to be of the religion of the king or queen that were in being; for he knew that he came raw into the world, and accounted it no point of wisdom to be broiled out of it. His name was never questioned for affirming or denying the king's supremacy. He hath known the time when men were so mad as to kneel down and pray before a block, a stock, a stone, a picture, or a relick, of a he or she saint departed; and he lived in a time when mad men would not bow their knee at the name of Jesus: that are more afraid to see a white surplice, than to wear a white sheet; that despise the cross, in any thing but money; that hold Latin to be the language of the beast, and hate it deadly, because the pope speaks it; that would patch up a religion with untempered mortar, out of their own brains, not grounded upon the true corner-stone; who are furnished with a lazy idle faith; that hold good works a main point of popery; that hold their religion truest, because it is contrary to all order and discipline, both of church and commonwealth: these are sprung up since old Tom Parr was born.

But he hath out-lived many sectaries and hereticks: for, in 32 Hen 8, 1540, the 3d of May, three Anabaptists were burnt in the high-way, between Southwark and Newington. In 4 Edw. 6, one George of Paris, a Dutchman, was burnt in Smithfield, for being an Arian heretick, 1551: 1583, one John Lewis denied the Godhead of Christ, and was burnt at Norwich, 26 Eliz. Not long before that, there was one Joan Butcher, *alias*, Joan of Kent, burnt for the like.

In 3 Eliz. one William Geffrey affirmed one John Moore to be Christ: but they were both whipped out of that presumptuous opinion, 1561.

In 17 Eliz. the sect of the Family of Love began, 1575; but it took no deep root.

In 21 Eliz. one Matthew Hamont was burned at Norwich, for denying Christ to be our Saviour.

In 33 Eliz. one William Hacket was hanged, for professing himself to be Christ, 1591.

In 9 Jac. April 11, 1611, one Edward Wightman was burned at Litchfield, for Arianism.

So much have I written concerning sects and heresies, which have been in this kingdom in his time: now I treat of some other passages.

He hath out-lived six great plagues. He was born long before we had much use of printing: for it was brought into this kingdom, 1472, and it was long after before it was in use.

He was above eighty years old before any guns were made in England, 1535.

The vintners sold no other sacks, muscadels, malmsies, bastards, alicants, nor any other wines but white and claret, till 33 Hen. VIII. 1543, and then was Old Parr sixty years of age. All those sweet wines were sold till that time at the apothecaries, for no other use but for medicines.

There was no starch used in England, till a Flanders woman, one mistress Dinghen Vanden Plasse, brought in the use of starch, 1564: and then was this man near eighty years old.

There were no bands wore till king Henry the Eighth's time; for he was the first king that ever wore a band in England, 1513.

Women's masks, busks, muffs, fans, perriwigs, and bodkins, were invented by Italian courtezans; and transported through France into England, 9 Eliz.

Tobacco was first brought into England by sir John Hawkins, 1565; but it was first brought into use by sir Walter Rawleigh many years after.

He was eighty-one years old, before there was any coach in England. For the first, that ever was seen here, was brought out of the Netherlands, by one William Boonen, a Dutchman, who gave a coach to queen Elizabeth; for she had been seven years a queen before she had any coach: since when, they have increased, with a mischief, and ruined all the best house-keeping, to the undoing of the watermen, by the multitudes of hackney or hired coaches. But they never swarmed so thick to pester the streets, as they do now, till the year 1605; and then was the Gunpowder-treason hatched, and at that time did the coaches breed and multiply.

He hath out-lived the fashion, at least forty times over and over.

He hath known many changes of scarcity, or dearth, and plenty. But I will speak only of the plenty.

In the year 1499, 15 Hen. VII. wheat was sold for 4*s.* the quarter, or 6*d.* the bushel; and bay-salt at 4*d.* and wine at 40 shillings the tun, which is about three farthings the quart.

In 1 Mar. beer was sold for sixpence the barrel, the cask and all; and three great loaves for a penny.

In the year 1557, 5 Mar. the penny wheaten-loaf was, in weight, fifty-six ounces; and in many places people would change a bushel of corn for a pound of candles.

So much shall suffice for the declaring of some changes and alterations that have happened in his time.

Now, for a memorial of his name, I will give a little touch. I will not search for the antiquity of the name of Parr, but I find it to be an honourable name in the 12th Edw. IV.; the king sent sir William Parr, knight, to seize upon the archbishop of York's goods, at a place called the Moor in Hartfordshire, 1472. This sir William Parr was knight of the right-honourable order of the Garter.

In 22 Edw. IV. the same sir William Parr went with an army towards Scotland, with Richard duke of Gloucester.

In the year 1543, 35 Hen. VIII. July 22, the king was married to lady Catharine Parr; and, the 24th of December following, the queen's brother, William lord Parr, was created earl of Essex; and sir William Parr, their uncle, was made lord Parr of Horton, and chamberlain to the queen; and, 1 Edw. VI. William Parr, earl of Essex, was created marquis of Northampton; and 4 Edw. VI. 1550, the said marquis was made lord great-chamberlain of England; and on the last of April, 1552, he, amongst other lords, mustered one-hundred brave well-appointed horsemen of his own charge before king Edward, in the park at Greenwich, his cognisance or crest being the Maidenhead: in 1 Mar. he took part with the lady Jane against the queen, for which he was taken and committed to the Tower, July 26; and, contrary to expectation, released again shortly after, March 24.

Also, 1 Eliz. William Parr, marquis of Northampton, sat in Westminster-hall, lord high steward, upon a trial of William lord Wentworth, who came off most honourably acquitted, April 22.

After the death of king Henry the Eighth, queen Catharine Parr was married to sir Thomas Seymour, lord high-admiral, and she died, Sept. 2, 1548.

And thus I lay down the pen; leaving it to whomsoever can, or will, make more of this old man, than I have done.

An Argument of Law, concerning the Bill of Attainder[1] of High-Treason of Thomas Earl of Strafford: at a Conference in a Committee of both Houses of Parliament. By Mr. St. John, his Majesty's Solicitor-General.

Published by Order of the Commons House. London, printed Anno Domini, 1641.

[Quarto; containing eighty pages.]

My Lords,

THE knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons' house of parliament have passed a bill for the attainting of Thomas, earl of Strafford, of high-treason. The bill hath been transmitted from them to your lordships. It concerns not him alone, but your lordships and the commons too, though in different respects.

It is to make him as miserable a man, as man or law can make him. Not loss of life alone, but with that, of honour, name, posterity, and estate; of all that is dear to all. To use his own expression, an eradication of him both root and branch; as an *Achan*, a troubler of the state; as an execrable, as an accursed thing.

This bill, as it concerns his lordship the highest that can be in the penal part, so doth it, on the other side, as highly concern your lordships and the commons, in that which ought to be the tenderest, the judicatory within, that judge not them who judge him; and, in that which is most sacred amongst men, the public justice of the kingdom. The kingdom is to be accounted unto for the loss of the meanest member; much more, for one so near the head. The commons are concerned in their account for what is done; your lordships, in that which is to be done. The business, therefore, of the present conference, is to acquaint your lordships with those things that satisfied the commons in passing of this bill: such of them as have come within my capacity, and that I can remember, I am commanded from the commons, at this time, to present unto your lordships.

My lords, in judgments of greatest moment, there are but two ways for satisfying those that are to give them; either the *lex lata*, the law already established; or else, the use of the same power for making new laws, whereby the old at first received life.

In the first consideration of the settled laws, in the degrees of punishment; the positive law received by general consent, and for the common good, is sufficient to satisfy the conscience of the judge, in giving judgment according to them.

In several countries, there is not the same measure of punishment for one and the same offence. Wilful murder in Ireland is treason, and so is the wilful burning of a house, or stack of corn. In the Isle of Man, it is felony to steal a hen, but not to steal a horse: and yet, the judge in Ireland hath as just a ground to give judgment of high-treason, in those cases, there, as here to give judgment only of felony; and in the Isle of Man, of felony for the hen, as here of petty larceny.

My lords, in the other consideration of using the supreme power; the same law gives power to the parliament to make new laws, that enables the inferior court to judge according to the old. The rule that guides the conscience of the inferior court is from without, the prescripts of the parliament, and of the common-law: in the other, the rule is from within; that *salus populi* be concerned: that there be no wilful oppression of any the fellow members: that no more blood be taken, than what is necessary for the cure. The

[1] [Printed in Vol. IV. p. 527.]

laws and customs of the realm as well enable the exercise of this, as of the ordinary and judicial power.

My lords, what hath been said, is, because that this proceeding of the commons, by way of bill, implies the use of the mere legislative power; in respect new laws are, for the most part, passed by bill. This, my lords, though just and legal, and therefore, not wholly excluded, yet it was not the only ground that put the commons upon the bill; they did not intend to make a new treason, and to condemn my lord of Strafford for it; they had in it other considerations likewise, which were to this effect:

First, The commons knew, that, in all former ages, if doubts of law arose upon cases of great and general concernment, the parliament was usually consulted withal for resolution; which is the reason, that many acts of parliament are only declarative of the old law, not introductive of a new; as, the great charter of our liberties; the stat. 25 Edw. 3, of Treasons; the statute of the Prerogative; and of late, the Petition of Right. If the law was doubtful in this case, they conceived the parliament (where the old may be altered, and new laws made) the fittest judge to clear this doubt.

Secondly, my lords; they proceeded this way to out those scruples and delays, which through disuse of proceedings of this nature, might have risen in the manner and way of proceeding, since the stat. 1 Hen. 6, cap. xvii. and more fully in the roll, No. 144. The proceedings in parliament have usually been upon an indictment first found; though in cases of treason, particularly mentioned in the stat. 25 Edw. 3, which had not been done in this case. Doubts likewise might rise for treasons, not particularly mentioned in the stat. 25 Edw. 3, Whether the declaratory power of parliament be taken away; and, if not taken away, in what manner they were to be made, and by whom? They find not any attainders of treason in parliament, for near these two-hundred years, but by this way of bill. And again, they knew that whatsoever could be done any other way, it might be done by this.

Thirdly, in respect of the proofs and depositions that have been made against him: for, first, although they knew not but that the whole evidence which hath been given at the bar, in every part of it, is sufficiently comprehended within the charge; yet, if therein they should be mistaken, if it should prove otherwise, use may justly be made of such evidence in this way of bill; wherein, so as evidence be given in, it is no way requisite that there should have been any articles or charge at all. And so in the case of double testimony, upon the stat. 1 Edw. 6. Whether one direct witness, with others, to circumstances, had been single or double testimony: and, although single testimony might be sufficient to satisfy private consciences, yet how far it would have been satisfactory in a judicial way, where forms of law are more to be stood upon, was not so clear; whereas, in this way of bill, private satisfaction to each man's conscience is sufficient, although no evidence had been given in at all.

My lords, the proceeding by way of bill, it was not to decline your lordships' justice in the judicial way: in these exigencies of the state and kingdom, it was to husband time; by silencing those doubts, they conceived it the speediest and the surest way.

My lords, these are, in effect, the things the commons took into their consideration, in respect of the manner and way of proceeding against the earl. In the next place, I am to declare unto your lordships the things they took into their consideration, in respect of the matter and merits of the cause; they are comprehended within these six heads:

1. That there is a treason within the stat. 25 Edw. 3, by levying of war upon the matter of the fifteenth article.

2. If not by actual levying of war, yet by advising and declaring his intention of war, and that by Savill's warrant, and the advice of bringing over the Irish army, upon the matter of the twenty-third article; the intending of a war, if not within the clause of levying war in the stat. 25 Edw. 3, yet, within the first treason of compassing the death of the king.

3. If neither of these two single acts be within the stat. 25 Edw. 3, yet, upon putting

all together which hath been proved against him, that there is a treason within the first clause of compassing the death of the king: *Et, si non prosunt singula, juncta juvant.*

4. That he hath assessed and laid soldiers upon the subjects of Ireland against their will, and at their charge, within the Irish stat. 18 Hen. 6. That both person and thing are within the statute, that the statute remains in force to this day, that the parliament here hath cognizance of it, and that even in the ordinary way of judicature; that, if there be a treason and a traitor, that the want of jurisdiction, in the judicial way, may justly be supplied by bill.

5. That his endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the realms of England and Ireland; and, instead thereof, to introduce a tyrannical government against law, is treason by the common-law. That treasons at the common-law are not taken away by the stat. 25 Edw. 3, 1 Hen. 4, cap. x. 1 Mar. cap. i. nor any of them.

6. That, as this case stands, it is just and necessary to resort to the supreme power in parliament, in case all the rest should fail.

Of these six, five of them are treason, within the compass of the laws already established; three within the stat. 25 Edw. 3, one within the Irish statute, the other by the common-law of England.

If but any one of these six considerations hold, the commons conceive that, upon the whole matter, they had good cause to pass the bill.

The First general Head.

My lords, for the first of levying war, I shall make bold to read the case to your lordships before I speak to it; it is thus: The earl did by warrant under his hand and seal give authority to Robert Savill, a serjeant at arms, and his deputies, to sess such a number of soldiers, horse and foot, of the army in Ireland together with an officer, as the serjeants should think fit, upon his majesty's subjects of Ireland against their will. This warrant was granted by the earl, to the end to compel the subjects of Ireland to submit to the unlawful summons and orders made by the earl upon paper petitions exhibited unto him, in case of private interest between party and party: this warrant was executed by Savill and his deputies, by sessing of soldiers, both horse and foot, upon divers of the subjects of Ireland against their will in a warlike manner; and at divers times the soldiers continued upon the parties upon whom they were sessed, and wasted their goods; until such time as they had submitted themselves unto those summons and orders.

My lords, this is a levying of war within the stat. 25 Edw. 3. The words of the statute are, 'If any man do levy war against our lord the king in his realm;' this is declared to be treason.

I shall endeavour in this to make it appear to your lordships,

1. What shall be a levying of war, in respect of the motive or cause of it.
2. What shall be said a levying of war, in respect of the action or thing done.
3. And, in the third place, I shall apply them to the present case.

It will be granted in this of levying of war, that forces may be raised, and likewise used, in a warlike manner, and yet no levying of war within the statute; that is, when the forces are raised and employed upon private ends, either of revenge or interest.

Before this statute in Edward the First's time, the title of a castle was in difference between the earls of Hereford and Gloucester: for the maintaining of the possession on the one side, and gaining of it on the other, forces were raised on either side of many hundred men; they marched with banners displayed one against the other. In the parliament in the 20 Edw. 1, this was adjudged only trespass, and either of the earls fined a thousand marks a-piece. After the stat. Hil. Term, 50 Edw. 3, in the King's-bench, Rot. 3, Nicholas Huntercome, in a warlike manner, with forty men armed, amongst other weapons with guns, (so ancient as appears by that record they were,) did much spoil in the manor of the abbey of Dorchester, in the county of Oxford: this was no treason. So it hath been held by the judges, that if one or more townships, upon pretence of saving their commons,

do, in a forcible and warlike manner, throw in inclosures; this is only a riot, no treason. The words of the stat. 25 Edw. 3. clear this point, that if any man ride armed openly or secretly with men at arms against any other to kill and rob, or to detain him until he hath made fine and ransom for his deliverance; this is declared not to be treason, but felony or trespass, as the case shall require. All the printed statutes which have it *covertly* or *secretly* are misprinted; for the words in the parliament roll, as appears in Num. 17, are *discouvertment ou secretement*, 'openly or secretly.' So that, my lords, in this of levying war, the act is not so much to be considered, but, as in all other treasons and felonies, *quo animo*, 'with what intent and purpose.'

Object. My lords, if the end be considerable in levying war, it may be said, that it cannot be a treason-war, unless against the king: for the words of the statute are, 'If any many levy war against the king.'

Answ. That these words extend further than to the person of the king, appears by the words of the statute, which in the beginning declare it to be treason to compass and imagine the king's death; and, after other treasons, this is to be declared to be treason, to levy war against the king. If the levying of war extend no further than to the person of the king, these words of the statute are to no purpose: for then the first treason of compassing the king's death had fully included it before; because that he, which levies war gainst the person of the king, doth necessarily compass his death.

It is a war against the king, when intended for alteration of the laws or government in any part of them, or to destroy any of the great officers of the kingdom. This is a levying of war against the king; first, because the king doth protect and maintain the laws in every part of them, and the great officers to whose care he hath in his own stead delegated the execution of them. Secondly, because they are the king's laws. He is the fountain from whence, in their several channels, they are derived to the subject; all our indictments run thus, trespasses laid to be done, *contra pacem domini regis*, 'against the king's peace,' for exorbitant offences, though not intended against the king's person, against the king's crown and dignity.

My lords, this construction is made good by divers authorities of great weight, ever since the stat. 25 Edw. 3, downwards.

In Richard the Second's time, sir Thomas Talbot conspired the death of the dukes of Gloucester and Lancaster, and some other of the peers; for the effecting of it, he had caused divers people in the county of Chester to be armed in a warlike manner, in assemblies. In the parliament held the 17 Ric. 2, No. 20, sir Thomas Talbot was accused of high-treason for this: it is there declared, that insomuch as one of them was lord high-steward of England, and the other high-constable of England, that this was done in destruction of the estates of the realm, and of the laws of the kingdom; and therefore adjudged treason; and the judgment sent down into the King's-bench, as appears, East. Term, 7 Ric. 2, in the King's-bench, Rot. 16. These two lords had appeared in the 11th year of Richard the Second, in maintenance of the act of parliament made the year before: one of them was of the commissioners appointed by parliament, and one of the appellors of those that would have overthrown it: the duke of Lancaster likewise was one of the lords that was to have been indicted of treason for endeavouring the maintenance of it, and therefore conspiring of their deaths is said to be in destruction of the laws: this is there declared to be a treason that concerned the person of the king and the commonwealth. In that great insurrection of the villans and meaner people, in Richard the Second's time, they took an oath, *Quòd regi & communibus fidelitatem servarent*, &c. 'to be true to the king and commons;' that they would take nothing but what they paid for, and punish all theft with death: here is no intendment against the person of the king, the intent was to abolish the law of villanage and servitude, to burn all the records, and to kill the judges; this, in the parliament of the fifth year of Ric. 2, No. 31, 32, part 1, is declared to be treason against the king and against the law. In the 11 Ric. 2, in parliament, the raising of forces against the commissioners appointed by act of parliament, the year before, was adjudged treason by all the judges. The stat. 1 Mar. cap. xii. enacts,

that if twelve or more shall endeavour by force to alter any of the laws and statutes of the kingdom, they shall, from such a time there limited, be adjudged only as felons: this act was to continue but to the next parliament; it is expired: it shews by the word *only*, that the offence was higher before the making of it.

My lords, in queen Elizabeth's time, Grant and divers apprentices of London, to the number of two-hundred, rose and assembled at Tower-hill, and carried a cloke upon a pole instead of a banner: their intent was to deliver divers apprentices out of prison, that had been committed upon a sentence in the Star-chamber for riots; to kill the lord-mayor of London; and for setting prices on victuals. In Trin. Term, 27 Eliz. divers of the judges were consulted withal, and resolved that this was a levying of war against the queen, being intended against the government and officers of the queen; and thereupon Grant and others were executed as traitors. Afterwards, in that queen's time, divers of the county of Oxford consulted together, to go from house to house in that county, and thence to London, and other parts, to excite them to take arms, for the throwing in of all inclosures throughout England: nothing was done, nor no assembly. The stat. 13 Eliz. cap. i. during the queen's life, made it treason to intend or advise to levy war against the queen. In East. Term, 39 Eliz. all the judges of England met about the case. It was resolved by them, that this was a war intended against the queen: they agreed, that if it had been of one township or more, upon private interest and claim of right of common, it had not been treason; but this was to throw in all inclosures through the kingdom, whereto these parties could pretend no claim: that it was against the law, in regard that the stat. of Merton gave power of inclosures in many cases. Upon this resolution, Bradshaw and Burton were executed at Aynestow-hill in Oxfordshire; the place where they intended their first meeting. So that, my lords, if the end of it be to overthrow any of the statutes, any part of the law and settled government, or any of the great officers intrusted with the execution of them; this is a war against the king.

My lords, it will be further considerable, what shall be accounted a levying of war, in respect of the actions and things done. There is a design to alter some part of the laws and present government; for the effecting thereof people are provided with arms, and gathered together into troops, but afterwards march not with banners displayed, nor do *bellum percutere*. Whether the arming themselves and gathering together upon this design, be a war, or such prosecution of the design with force, as makes it treason within the statute?

First, If this be not a war, in respect that it necessarily occasions hostile preparations on the other side?

Secondly, From the words of the statute shall levy war, and be thereof probably attainted of open deed by people of their condition, although the bare conspiring be not an open deed, yet whether the arming and drawing men together be not an open declaration of war?

In sir Thomas Talbot's case, before cited, in the 17 Ric. 2, the acts of force are expressed in the parliament roll: 'That he caused divers of the people of the county of 'Chester to be armed in a warlike manner in assemblies:' here is no marching, no banners displayed. In the 8 Hen. 8, William Bell and Thomas Lacy, *in Com' Cant.* conspired with Thomas Cheney, (called the hermit of the queen of fairies,) to overthrow the aws and customs of the realm; and, for the effecting of it, they, with 200 more, met together, and concluded upon a course of raising greater forces in the county of Kent, and the adjacent shires: this was adjudged treason; these were open acts.

My lords, for the application of both these to the case in question:

First, In respect of the end of it, here was a war against the king; it was to subvert the laws: this being the design, for the effecting of it, he assumed to his own person an arbitrary power over the lives, liberties, and estates of his majesty's subjects, and determined causes upon paper petitions at his own will and pleasure. Obedience must be forced by the army; this is declared by the warrant. My lords, if it be said, that the warrant expresseth not any intent of subverting the laws, it expresseth fully one of the

principal means whereby this was to be done; that is, obedience to his arbitrary orders upon paper petitions: this was done in reference to the main design. In the cases of the town of Cambridge and sir William Cogan, (that have formerly been cited to your lordships, upon other occasions,) the things in themselves were not treason, they were not a levying of war. In that of Cambridge, the town met together, and, in a forcible manner, broke up the university treasury, and took out of it the records and evidence of the liberties of the university over the town. In the other, they of Bridgewater marched to the hospital, and compelled the master of the hospital to deliver unto them certain evidences that concerned the town, and forced him to enter into a bond of two-hundred pounds. These, if done upon these private ends alone, had not been treason; as appears by the very words of the stat. 25 Edw. 3, before-mentioned, of marching openly or secretly. But, my lords, these of Cambridge and Bridgewater, they were of the conspiracy with the villans; as appears in the parliament roll of 1 Ric. 2, No. 31, 32, where the towns of Cambridge and Bridgewater are expressly excepted out of the general pardon made to the villans. This being done in reference to that design of the villans, of altering the laws: this was that which made it treason.

If the design went no further than the forcing obedience to these paper orders made by himself, it was sufficient; it was to subvert one fundamental part of the laws; nay, in effect the whole law. What use of law, if he might order, and determine, of men's estates at his own pleasure? This was against the law notoriously declared in Ireland. In the close roll in the Tower, 25 Edw. 1, a writ went to the justices in Ireland (that kingdom at that time was governed by justices) declaring, that upon petitions they were not to determine any titles between party and party, upon any pretence of profit whatsoever to the king. In the 28 Hen. 6, cap. 2, suits in equity, not before the deputy, but in Chancery; suits at common-law, not before him, but in cases of life in the King's-bench; for title of land or goods, in the proper courts of the Common-pleas or King's-bench. This declared in the instructions for Ireland in the latter end of king James's time; and by the proclamation in his majesty's time, my lord took notice of them; and called the commissioners 'narrow-hearted commissioners.' The law said, he should not thus proceed in subversion of it: he saith, he will, and will force obedience by the army. This is as much in respect of the end, as to endeavour the overthrow of the statutes of labourers, of victuals, or of Merton for inclosures. Here is a war against the king, in respect of the end.

Second, In respect of the actions, whether there be either a levying of war, or an open deed, or both? My lords, there was an army in Ireland at that time of 2,000 horse and foot; by this warrant there is a full designation of this whole army, and an assignment of it over unto Savill for this purpose. The warrant gives him power, from time to time, to take as many soldiers, horse and foot, with an officer, throughout the whole army, as himself shall please: here is the terror and awe of the whole army to force obedience. My lords, if the earl had armed 2,000 men, horse and foot, and formed them into companies to this end, your lordships would have conceived that this had been a war; it is as much as in the case of sir Thomas Talbot, who armed them in assemblies. This is the same with the breach of trust added to it. That army was first raised, and afterwards committed to his trust for defence of the people; but is now destined by him to their destruction. This assignation of the army, by this warrant under his hand and seal, is an open act. My lords, here is not only an open act done, but a levying of war; soldiers both horse and foot, with an officer, in a warlike manner sessed upon the subject, which killed their cattle, consumed and wasted their goods.

Obj. O, but five or six were the most employed at any time: a mighty war of six men, scarce a riot.

Answ. Your lordships observe a great difference where six single men go upon a design alone, and when sent from an army of six-hundred, all engaged in the same service: so many were sent as were sufficient to execute the command; if upon a poor man fewer, more upon a rich; if the six had not been able, the whole army must make it good. The

reason that the sheriff goes alone, or but with one bailiff, to do execution, is; because he hath the command of the law, the king's writ, and the *posse comitatûs*, in case of resistance: here is the warrant of the general of an army, here is the *posse exercitûs*, the power of the army: under this awe of the whole army, six may force more than sixty without it; and although never above six in one place, yet in the several parts of the kingdom at the same time might be above sixty: for sessing of soldiers was frequent; it was the ordinary course for execution of his orders.

The lord-lieutenant of a county in England hath a design to alter the laws and government; nay, admit the design goes not so high, he only declares thus much, that he will order the freeholds and the estates of the inhabitants of the county at his own will and pleasure; and doth accordingly proceed upon paper petitions, foreseeing there will be disobedience: he grants out warrants under his hand and seal to the deputy-lieutenants and captains of the train-bands, that upon refusal they shall take such numbers of the train-bands through the county, with officers, as they shall think good, and lay them upon the lands and houses of the refusers: soldiers in a warlike manner are frequently sessed upon them accordingly. Your lordships do conceive that this is a levying of war within the statute.

The case in question goes further in these two respects:

First, That it is more against the declared law in Ireland, (not only against the common-law, but likewise against the stat. 28 Hen. 6.) against the acts of the commissioners, against proclamations in pursuance of the law, against that himself took notice of, 'narrow-hearted commissioners.'

Second, In this that here was an army, the soldiers' soldiers by profession, acts of hostility, from them of greater terror than from freeholders of the same county.

My lords, I have now done with the first, of levying war.

The Second general Head.

The second is the machination, the advising of a war. The case in this rests upon the warrant to Savill, and the advice in the twenty-third article. The warrant shews a resolution of employing the old army of Ireland, to the oppression of his majesty's subjects and the laws. In the twenty-third article having told his majesty, that he was loosed and absolved from rules of government, and might do every thing which power might admit, he proceeded further in speech to his majesty in these words: "You have an army in Ireland you may employ to reduce this kingdom." My lords, both being put together, there is a machination, a practice, an advice to levy war, and by force to oppress and destroy his majesty's subjects.

Obj. It hath been said the stat. 25 Edw. 3. is a penal law, and cannot be taken by equity and construction: there must be an actual war. The statute makes it treason to counterfeit the coin; the conspiring, the raising of furnaces, is no treason, unless he doth *nummum percutere*, actually coin.

Answ. My lords, this is only said, not proved: the law is otherwise; 19 Hen. 6. fol. 47. there adjudged, 'That the conspiring and aiding to counterfeit coin was treason;' and Justice Stamford, fol. 3, and 44, is of opinion, 'That this, or conspiring to counterfeit 'the great-seal, is treason.' The statute is, 'If any shall counterfeit the great-seal, 'conspiring to do it by the book, it is treason; if a man take the broad-seal from one 'patent, and put it to another, here is he counterfeiting, it is tantamount, and therefore 'treason;' as is adjudged in 2 Hen. 4. fol. 25. and by the opinion of Stamford.

If machination, or plotting a war, be not within that clause of the statute of levying war, yet it is within the first of compassing the death of the king; as that which necessarily tends to the destruction both of the king and of the people, upon whose safety and protection he is to engage himself. That this is treason, hath been adjudged both after the statutes of 1 Hen. 4. cap. x. and 1 Mar. cap. i. so much insisted upon on the other side. In the 3 Hen. 4. one Balshall, coming from London, found one Bernard at plough,

in the parish of Offley, in the county of Hertford. Bernard asked Balshall, "What news?" He told him "the news was, that king Richard the Second was alive in Scotland, (which was false, for he was then dead,) and that by Midsummer next he would come into England." Bernard asked him, "What was best to be done?" Balshall answered, "Get men, and go to king Richard." In Mich. term, 3 Hen. 4. in the King's-bench, rot. 4, this advice of war was adjudged treason. In queen Mary's time, sir Nicholas Throckmorton conspired with sir Thomas Wyat, to levy war within this realm for alteration in religion: he joined not with him in the execution. This conspiracy alone was declared to be treason by the judges. This was after the stat. 1 Mar. 1. so much insisted upon. That parliament ended in October, this opinion was delivered the East. term after, and is reported by Justice Dyer, fol. 98. It is true, sir Thomas Wyat afterwards did levy war; sir Nicholas Throgmorton he only conspired; this was adjudged treason. Story, in queen Elizabeth's time, practised with foreigners to levy war within the kingdom: nothing was done in pursuance of the practice. The intent, without any adhering to enemies of the queen, or other cause, was adjudged to be treason; and he executed thereupon. It is true, my lords, that year (13 Eliz.) by act of parliament, it is made treason to intend the levying of war: this case was adjudged before the parliament. The case was adjudged in Hil. term, the parliament began not until the April following. This, my lords, is a case adjudged in point, that the practising to levy war, though nothing be done in execution of it, is treason.

Object. 3. It may be objected, that in these cases, the conspiring being against the whole kingdom, included the queen; and was a compassing her destruction, as well as of the kingdom: here the advice was to the king.

Answ. The answer is, first; that the warrant was unknown to his majesty, that there was a machination of war against the people and laws, wherein his majesty's person was engaged for protection. Secondly, That the advice was to his majesty, aggravates the offence; it was an attempt not only upon the kingdom, but upon the sacred person, and his office too: himself was *hostis patriæ*, he would have made the father of it so too; nothing more unnatural, more dangerous: to offer the king poison to drink, telling him that it is a cordial, is a compassing of his death. The poison was repelled, there was an antidote within, the malice of the giver beyond expression. The persuading of foreigners to invade the kingdom holds no proportion with this: machination of war against the laws, or kingdom, is against the king, they cannot be severed.

The Third general Head.

My lords, if no actual war within the statute; if the counselling of a war; if neither of these single acts be treason within statute; the commons, in the next place, have taken it into their consideration, what the addition of his other words, counsels, and actions, do operate in the case; and have conceived, that, with this addition, all being put together, that he is brought within the stat. 25 Edw. 3.

The words of the statute are, 'If any man shall compass or imagine the death of the 'king:' the words are not, 'If any man shall plot or consult the death of the king:' no, my lords, they go further than to such things as are intended immediately, directly, and determinatively against the life and person of the king; they are of larger extent: to compass, is to do by circuit, to consult or practise another thing directly, which, being done, may necessarily produce this effect. However it be in the other treasons within this statute, yet in this, by the very words, there is room left for constructions, for necessary inferences and consequences. What hath been the judgment and practice of former times concerning these words, of compassing the king's death, will appear to your lordships by some cases of attainders upon these words.

One Owen, in king James's time, in the thirteenth year of his reign, at Sandwich in Kent, spoke these words: "That king James, being excommunicated by the pope, may be killed by any man; which killing is no murder." Being asked, by those he spoke to,

"How he durst maintain so bloody an assertion?" He answered, "That the matter was not so heinous as was supposed; for the king, who is the lesser, is included by the pope, who is the greater: and, as a malefactor, being condemned before a temporal judge, may be delivered over to be executed; so the king, standing convicted by the pope's sentence of excommunication, may justly be slaughtered without fault; for the killing of the king is the execution of the pope's supreme sentence, as the other is the execution of the law." For this, judgment of high-treason was given against him, and execution done. My lords, here is no clear intent appearing, that Owen desired the thing should be done; only arguments, that it might be done. This is a compassing: there is a clear endeavour to corrupt the judgment, to take off the bonds of conscience, the greatest security of the king's life. "God forbid, (saith one of better judgment than he,) that I should stretch out my hand against the Lord's anointed." "No, (saith he,) the Lord doth not forbid it: you may, for these reasons, lawfully kill the king."

He that denies the title to the crown, and plots the means of setting it upon another head, may do this without any direct or immediate desiring the death of him that then wears it: yet this is treason, as was adjudged, in 10 Hen. 7. in the case of Burton, and in the duke of Norfolk's case, 13 Eliz. This is a compassing of his death; for there can no more be two kings in one kingdom, than two suns in the firmament: he that conceives a title, counts it worth venturing for, though it cost him his life; he, that is in possession, thinks it as well worth the keeping. John Sparhawke, in king Henry the Fourth's time, meeting two men upon the way, among other talk, said, "That the king was not rightful king, but the earl of March; and that the pope would grant indulgences to all that would assist the earl's title; and that, within half a year, there would be no liveries, nor cognisances of the king: that the king had not kept promise with the people, but had laid taxes upon them." In East. term, in the 3 Hen. 4. in the King's-bench, rot. 12. this was adjudged treason. This denying the title with motives, though but implicitly, of action against it, was adjudged treason: this is a compassing the king's death. How this was a compassing the king's death is declared in the reasons of the judgment: 'That the 'words were spoken with an intent to withdraw the affections of the people from the 'king, and to excite them against the king, that in the end they might rise up against him, '*in mortem & destructionem* of the king.' My lords, in this judgment, and others, which I shall cite to your lordships, it appears that it is a compassing the king's death by words, to endeavour to draw the people's hearts from the king; to set discord between the king and them; whereby the people should leave the king, and should rise up against him, to the death and destruction of the king. The cases, that I shall cite, prove not only that this is treason, but what is sufficient evidence to make this good.

Upon a commission held 18 Edw. 4. in Kent, before the marquis of Dorset, and others; an indictment was preferred against John Atwater, of high-treason, in the form beforementioned, for words which are entered in the indictment, *sub hâc formâ*, "That he had been servant to the earl of Warwick; that, though he was dead, the earl of Oxford was alive, and should have the government of part of the country; that Edward, whom you call king of England, was a false man; and had, by art and subtlety, slain the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Clarence his brother, without any cause, who, before, hath been both of them attainted of high-treason." My lords, this indictment was returned into the King's bench in Trin. term, 18 Edw. 4.; and in East. term, 22 Edw. 4. he was outlawed: by the stay of the outlawry so long, it seems the judges had well advised before, whether it was treason or not. At the same session, Thomas Heber was indicted of treason for these words, "That the last parliament was the most simple and insufficient parliament that ever had been in England: that the king was gone to live in Kent, because that, for the present, he had not the love of the citizens of London; nor should he have it for the future: that, if the bishop of Bath and Wells was dead, the archbishop of Canterbury, being cardinal of England, would immediately lose his head." This indictment was returned into the King's-bench in Trin. term, 18 Edw. 4. Afterwards, there came a privy-seal to the judges to respite the proceedings, which (as it should seem) was, to the intent

the judges might advise of the case; for afterwards he is outlawed of high-treason upon this indictment. These words were thought sufficient evidence to prove these several indictments, 'That they were spoken to withdraw the people's affection from the king, to 'excite them against him, to cause risings against him by the people, in *mortem & de-* 'structionem of the king.' Your lordships are pleased to consider, that in all these cases, the treason was for *words* only, words by private persons, and, in a more private manner, but once spoken and no more, only amongst the people, to excite them against the king. My lords, here are words, counsels more than words, and actions too, not only to disaffect the people to the king, but the king likewise towards the people; not once, but often; not in private, but in places most public; not by a private person, but by a counsellor of state, a lord-lieutenant, a lord-president, a lord-deputy of Ireland.

First, to his majesty, "That the parliament had denied to supply him;" a slander upon all the commons of England, in their affections to the king and kingdom; in refusing to yield timely supplies for the necessities of the king and kingdom. From thence, "That the king was loosed and absolved from rules of government, and was to do every thing that power would admit." My lords, more cannot be said, they cannot be aggravated; whatever I should say would be in diminution. Thence, "You have an army in Ireland you may employ to reduce this kingdom."

To counsel a king not to love his people, is very unnatural; it goes higher to hate them, to malice them in his heart; the highest expressions of malice, to destroy them by war. These coals they were cast upon his majesty, they were blown, they could not kindle in that breast.

Thence, my lords, having done the utmost to the king, he goes to the people. At York, the country being met together for justice, at the open assizes upon the bench, he tells them, speaking of the justices of the peace, "That they were all for law, nothing but law; but they should find, that the king's little finger should be heavier than the loins of the law." '*They shall find*,' My lords, who speaks this to the people? A privy-counsellor. This must be either to traduce his majesty to the people, as spoken from him, or from himself, who was lord-lieutenant of the country, and president; intrusted with the forces and justice of those parts, that he would employ both this way: add, my lords, to his words there, the exercising of an arbitrary and vast jurisdiction, before he had so much as instructions, or colour of warrant.

Thence, we carry him into Ireland; there he represented, by his place, the sacred person of his majesty. There, at Dublin, the principal city of that kingdom, whither the subjects of that country came for justice; in an assembly of peers, and others of greatest rank, (upon occasion of a speech of the recorder of that city, touching their franchises and legal rights,) he tells them, 'That Ireland was a conquered nation, and that the king 'might do with them what he pleased.' Not long after, in the parliament of 10 Car. I. in the chair of state, in full parliament, again, 'That they were a conquered nation, and 'that they were to expect laws as from a conqueror: *before*, the king might do with them 'what he would; *now*, they were to expect it, that he would put this power of a con-'queror in execution.' The circumstances are very considerable, in full parliament, from himself *in cathedrâ*, to the representative body of the whole kingdom. The occasion adds much, when they desire the benefit of the laws, and that their causes and suits might be determined according to law, and not by himself, at his will and pleasure, upon paper petitions.

Upon like occasion of pressing the laws and statutes, 'That he would make an act of 'council-board, in that kingdom, as binding as an act of parliament.' He made his words good by his actions, assumed and exercised a boundless and lawless jurisdiction over the lives, persons, and estates of his majesty's subjects; procured judgment of death against a peer of that realm, and commanded another to be hanged: this was accordingly executed, both in times of high peace, without any process, or colour of law. By force, for a long time, he seized the yarn and flax of the subjects, to the starving and undoing

of many thousands: besides the tobacco business, and many monopolies and unlawful taxes, he forced a new oath not to dispute his majesty's royal commands; determined men's estates at his own will and pleasure upon paper petitions to himself; and forced obedience to these, not only by fines and imprisonment, but likewise by the army; assessing soldiers upon the refusers in a hostile manner.

He was an incendiary of the war between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

My lords, we shall leave it to your lordships' judgments, whether these words, counsels, and actions, would not have been a sufficient evidence to have proved an indictment drawn up against him, as those beforementioned, and many others are; that they were spoken and done, to the intent to withdraw the king's heart from the people, and the affections of the people from the king, that they might leave the king, and afterwards rise up in judgment against him to the destruction of the king? If so, here is a compassing of the king's death within the words of the stat. 25 Edw. 3. and that warranted by many former judgments.

The Fourth general Head.

My lords, I have now done with the three treasons within the stat. 25 Edw. 3. I proceed to the fourth, upon the stat. 18 Hen. 6, cap. 3, in Ireland. I shall make bold to read the words to your lordships: 'That no lord, nor any other, of what condition soever 'he be, shall bring or lead hoblers, kerves, or nooded men, nor any other people nor 'horses, to lie on horseback or on foot, upon the king's subjects, without their good-will 'and consent, but upon their own costs, and without doing hurt to the commons; and if 'any so do, he shall be judged as a traitor.'

The argument that hath been made concerning the person, that it extends not to the king, and therefore not to him, weighs nothing with your lordships. *Rex non habet in regno parem:* from the greatness of his office to argue himself into the same impossibility with his sacred majesty of being incapable of high-treason, it is an offence, no reason: the words in the statute, 'No lord, nor any other, of what condition soever he be,' includes every subject.

In Trin. term, in the 33 Hen. 8. in the King's-bench, Leonard lord Grey, having immediately before been lord-deputy of Ireland, is attainted of high-treason, and judgment given against him, for letting divers rebels out of the castle of Dublin, discharging Irish hostages and pledges that had been given for securing the peace, and for not punishing one that said "the king was an heretick." I have read the whole record: there is not one thing laid to his charge, but was done by him as lord-lieutenant; he had the same plea with my lord of Strafford, that these things were no adhering to the king's enemies, but were done for reasons of state: that he was not within those words of the stat. 25 Edw. 3, himself being lord-lieutenant there: but they cost his life.

Obj. It hath been said, "That the soldiers, assessed upon the subjects by him, were not such persons as are intended by that statute, hoblers, kerves, and hooded men; those rascally people."

Answ. My lords, they were the names given to the soldiery of those times: hoblers, horsemen; the other the foot. But the words of the statute go further, 'Nor any other people, 'neither horse nor foot:' his lordship assessed upon them both horse and foot.

Obj. The statute extends only to them that lead or bring: Savill led them; my lord only gave the warrant.

Answ. To that I shall say only thus, *Plus peccat author quàm actor:* by the rule of law, *agentes & consentientes pari plectuntur pœnâ;* if consent, much more a command to do it, makes the commander a traitor. If there be any treason within this statute, my lord of Strafford is guilty.

Obj. It hath been therefore said, "That this statute, like Goliath's sword, hath been wrapped up in a cloth, and laid behind the door; that it hath never been put in execution."

Answ. My lords, if the clerk of the crown in Ireland had certified your lordships, that upon search of the judgments of attainders in Ireland, he could not find, that any man had been attainted upon the statute, your lordships had had some ground to believe it; yet it is only my lord of Strafford's affirmation. Besides, your lordships know that an act of parliament binds, until it be repealed.

It hath been therefore said, that this statute is repealed by the stat. 8 Edw. 4. cap. 1. and 10 Hen. 7. cap. 22: because, by these two statutes, the English statutes are brought into Ireland.

The argument, if I mistook it not, stood thus: that the stat. 1 Hen. 4. cap. 10. saith, that, in no time to come, treason shall be adjudged otherwise, than it was ordained by the stat. 25 Edw. 3: that the treason mentioned, 18 Hen. 6, in the Irish statute, is not contained in the stat. 25 Edw. 3, and therefore, being contrary to the stat. 1 Hen. 4. it must needs be void.

My lords, the difference of the times, wherein the stat. 1 Hen. 4. and 18 Hen. 6. were made, clears the point, as is humbly conceived: that of Henry the Sixth was made forty years after the other. The stat. 8 Edw. 4. and 10 Hen. 7. bringing in the English statutes in order and series of time, as they were made one after another, (as afterwards is proved, they did,) it cannot be that the stat. 1 Hen. 4. made forty years before, should repeal or make void the stat. 18 Hen. 6. made so long after. The rule of law is, that *Leges posteriores priores abrogant*, that 'latter laws repeal former;' but, by this construction, a former law should repeal and make void a *non ens*, a statute that then 'was not.'

If this were law, then all the statutes that made any new treason, after the 1 Hen. 4. were void in the very fabrick, and at the time when they were made: hence likewise it would follow, that the parliament now, upon what occasion soever, hath no power to make any thing treason, not declared to be so, in the stat. 25 Edw. 3. This, your lordships easily see, would make much for my lord of Strafford's advantage: but, why the law should be so, your lordships, as yet, have only heard an affirmation of it, no reason.

But some touch was given that this stat. 10 Hen. 7. in words makes all the Irish statutes void, which are contrary to the English. The answer to this is a denial, that there are any such words in the statute. This statute declares, that the English statutes shall be effectual and confirmed in Ireland; and that all statutes, before time, made to the contrary, shall be revoked: this repeals only the Irish stat. 10 Hen. 4. and 29 Hen. 6. which say, that the English statutes shall not be in force in Ireland, unless particularly received in parliament: it makes all the Irish statutes void, which say that the English statutes shall not be in force there.

It is usual, when a statute saith, that such a thing shall be done or not done, to add further,—that all statutes, to the contrary, shall be void. It is not likely, that this statute intended to take away any statute of treason; when, but in the chapter next before this, murder there is made treason, as if done upon the king's person.

That this stat. 18 Hen. 6. remains on foot, and not repealed, either by stat. 8 Edw. 4. or 10 Hen. 7. appears expressly by two several acts of parliament, made at the same parliament of the 10 Hen. 7.

By an act of parliament, in Henry the Sixth's time, in Ireland it was made treason for any man to procure a privy seal, or any other command whatsoever, for apprehending any person in Ireland, for treason done without that kingdom, and to put any such command in execution: divers had been attainted of treason, for executing such commands. Here is a treason, so made by act of parliament, in Henry the Sixth's time. In the parliament of 10 Hen. 7. cap. 3. an act is passed for no other end, than to repeal this statute of Henry the Sixth of treason. If this statute of Henry the Sixth of treason had been formerly repealed by the stat. 8 Edw. 4. or then by the parliament of 10 Hen. 7. cap. 22. by bringing in the English statutes, the lawmakers were much mistaken now to make a particular act of parliament to repeal it; it being likewise so unreasonable an act as it was.

In the parliament of 10 Hen. 7. cap. 8. it is enacted, 'That the statutes of Kilkenny,

'and all other statutes made in Ireland, (two only excepted, whereof this of 18 Hen. 6. is 'none,) for the commonwealth shall be enquired of, and executed.' My lord of Strafford saith, that the bringing in of the English statutes hath repealed this statute, 18 Hen. 6: the act of parliament, made the same time, saith no; it saith that all the Irish statutes, excepting two, whereof this is none, shall still be in force.

Object. Oh! but, however it was in the 10 Hen. 7. yet it appeareth by judgment in parliament afterwards, that this statute of 18 Hen. 6. is repealed; and that is, by the parliament of the 11 Eliz. cap. 7; that by this parliament, it is enacted, 'That if any 'man, without licence from the lord-deputy, lay any soldiers upon the king's subjects; if 'he be a peer of the realm, he shall forfeit one-hundred pounds; if under the degree of a 'peer, a hundred marks.' This statute, as is alleged, declares the penalty of laying soldiers upon the subjects, to be only a hundred pounds; and therefore it is not treason.

Answ. My lords, if the offence for which this penalty of one-hundred pounds is laid upon the offender, be for laying soldiers, or leading them to do any acts offensive, or invasive upon the king's people, the argument hath some force; but that the offence is not for laying soldiers, upon the true subjects, that this is not the offence intended in the statute, will appear to your lordships, *ex absurdo*, from the words of it: The words are, that 'if any man shall assemble the people of the county together, to conclude of 'peace or war, or shall carry those people to do any acts offensive or invasive, then he 'shall forfeit one-hundred pounds.' If concluding of war, and carrying the people to acts invasive, be against the king's subjects, this is high-treason, within the words of the stat. 25 Edw. 3: for if any subject shall assemble the people, and conclude a war, and accordingly shall lead them to invade the subject; this is a levying of war within the words of that statute, and then the stat. 25 Edw. 3, 1 Hen. 4, and 1 Mary, (which the earl of Strafford, in his answer, desires to be tried by,) are as well repealed in this point, as the statute of 18 Hen. 6: he might then, without fear of treason, have done what he pleased with the Irish army; for all the statutes of levying war, by this stat. 11 Eliz. were taken out of his way. In Ireland a subject gathers forces, concludes a war against the king's people, and actually invades them; blood-shed, burning of houses, and depredations ensue; two of those (that is, murder and burning of houses) are treason, and the other felony: by this construction, the punishment of treason and felony is turned only into a fine of one-hundred pounds, from loss of life, lands, and all his goods, only to loss of part of his goods. The third absurdity:—a war is concluded, three several inroads are made upon the subjects in the first, a hundred pounds damage; in the second, five-thousand pounds damage; in the third, ten-thousand pounds damage is done to the subjects: the penalty for the last inroad is no more than for the first, only one-hundred pounds. This statute, by this construction, tells any man how to get his living without long labour. Two parts of the hundred pounds are given to the king, a third part to the informer: here is no damage to the subject, that is robbed and destroyed.

My lords, the statute will free itself, and the makers of it, from these absurdities. The meaning of this statute is, that if any captain shall, of his own head, conclude of peace or war against the king's enemies or rebels, or shall upon his own head invade them, without warrant from the king or the lord-deputy of Ireland; that then he shall forfeit a hundred pounds. The offence is not for laying of soldiers upon the king's people, but making of war against the Irish rebels, without warrant; the offence is not in the matter, but in the manner; for doing a thing lawful, but without mission. This will appear,

First, by the general scope of the statute, all the parts being put together.

Secondly, by particular clauses in the statute: and,

Thirdly, by the condition of that kingdom, at the time of the making of that statute.

For the first, the preamble recites, that in time of declination of justice, under pretext of defending the country and themselves, divers great men arrogated to themselves regal authority under the names of captains; that they acquired to themselves that government, which belonged to the crown: for preventing of this, it is enacted, that no man, dwelling within the shire-grounds, shall thenceforth assume or take upon himself

the authority or name of a captain, within those shire-grounds, without letters patents from the crown; nor shall, under colour of his captainship, make any demand of the people of any exaction; nor, as a captain, assemble the people of the shire-grounds; nor, as a captain, shall lead those people to do any acts offensive or invasive, without warrant under the great-seal of England, or of the lord-deputy; upon penalty that, if he do any thing contrary to that act, then the offender shall forfeit a hundred pounds.

My lords, the rebels had been out; the courts of justice scarce sat, for defence of the country; divers usurped the place of captains, concluded war against the rebels, and invaded them without warrant. Invading the rebels, without authority, is the crime. This appears further, by particular clauses in the statute: none shall exercise any captainship, within the shire-grounds, nor assemble the men of the shire-grounds to conclude of war, or lead them to any invasion.

That that had anciently been so continued to this time, that is, the Irish and the English pale: they within the shire-grounds were within the English pale, and *ad fidem & legem Angliæ;* the Irish, that were without the pale, were enemies always either in open act of hostility, or upon leagues, and hostages given for securing the peace; and therefore, as here in England, we had our marches upon the frontiers in Scotland and Wales, so were there marches between the English and Irish pale, where the inhabitants held their lands by this tenure, to defend the country against the Irish, as appears in the close rolls of the Tower, in the 20 Edw. 3. m. 15. b. and in an Irish parliament held in the 42 Edw. 3. it is declared, that the English pale was almost destroyed by the Irish enemies, and that there was no way to prevent the danger, but only that the owners reside upon their lands for defence, and that absence should be a forfeiture: this act of parliament, in a great council here, was affirmed, as appears in the close roll, in the 22 Edw. 3. m. 20. b.

Afterwards, as appears in the stat. 28 Hen. 6. in Ireland, this hostility continued between the English marches and the Irish enemies: who, by reason there was no difference between the English marches and them, in their apparel, did daily (not being known to the English) destroy the English, within the pale. Therefore it is enacted, that every Englishman shall shave the hair of his upper lip, for distinction-sake. This hostility continued till the 10 Hen. 7. as appears by the stat. 10 Hen. 7. cap. 17. and so successively downwards, till the making of this very statute 11 Eliz. as appears fully in the ninth chapter.

Nay, immediately before, and at the time of the making of this statute, there was not only enmity between those of the shire-grounds, (that is, the English and Irish pale,) but open war and acts of hostility; as appears by history of no less authority, than that statute itself: for, in the first chapter of this statute, is the attainder of Shane O'Neale, who had made open war, and was slain in open war. It is there declared, that he had gotten by force all the North of Ireland, for 120 miles in length, and above 100 in breadth; that he had mastered divers places within the English pale, when the flame of this war (by his death immediately before this statute) was spent; yet the firebrands were not all quenched, for the rebellion was continued by John Fitz-Gerard, called the White Knight, and Thomas Queverford. This appears by the stat. 13 Eliz. in Ireland, but two years after this of 11 Eliz. where they are attainted of high-treason, for levying war this eleventh year, wherein this statute was made. So that, my lords, immediately before, and at the time of the making of this statute, there being war between those of the shire-grounds, mentioned in this statute, and the Irish; the concluding of war and acts offensive and invasive, there mentioned, can be intended against no others, but the Irish enemies. Again, the words of the statute are, 'No captain shall assemble the people of the shire-'grounds to conclude of peace or war.' Is it to be presumed, that those of the shire-grounds will conclude of war against themselves? 'Nor, (saith the statute,) shall carry 'those of the shire-grounds to do any acts invasive.' By the construction which is made on the other side, they must be carried to fight against themselves.

Lastly, the words are, 'as a captain.' 'None shall assume the name or authority of 'a captain:' 'or *(as a captain)* shall gather the people together;' 'or *(as a captain)*

'lead them.' The offence is not in the matter, but in the manner. If the acts offensive were against the king's good subjects, those that went under command were punishable, as well as the commanders: but, in respect the soldiers knew the service to be good in itself, being against the enemies, and that it was not for them to dispute the authority of their commanders; the penalty of a hundred pounds is laid only upon him, that, as captain, shall assume this power without warrant: the people commanded are not within the statute.

My lords, the logick, whereupon this argument hath been framed, stands thus. Because the stat. 11 Eliz. inflicts a penalty of an hundred pounds, and no more, upon any man that, as a captain without warrant, and upon his own head, shall conclude of, or make war against the king's enemies; therefore the stat. 18 Hen. 6. is repealed, which makes it treason to lay soldiers upon, or to levy war against the king's good people.

But, my lords, observation hath been made upon other words of this statute, that is, that 'without licence of the deputy,' these things cannot be done. This shews, that the deputy is within none of these statutes. My lords, this argument stands upon the same reason with the former. Because he hath the ordering of the army of Ireland, for the defence of the people, and may give warrant to the officers of the army, upon eminent occasions of invasion, to resist or prosecute the enemy, because of the danger that else might ensue forthwith, by staying for a warrant from his majesty out of England; therefore it is no treason in the deputy to employ the army in Ireland, whensoever he pleaseth, for the subversion of the king's good people, and of the laws. My lords, the stat. 10 Hen. 7. cap. xvii. touched upon for this purpose, clears the business in both points: for there it is declared, that none ought to make war upon the Irish rebels and enemies, without warrant from the lieutenant; the forfeiture a hundred pounds, as here: the statute is the same with this, and might as well have been cited for repealing the stat. 18 Hen. 6. as this of 11 Eliz.; but if this had been insisted upon, it would have expounded the other two clear against him.

Object. My lords, it hath been further said, although the statute be in force, and there be a treason within it, yet the parliament hath no jurisdiction: the treasons are committed in Ireland, therefore not triable here.

Answ. My lords, sir John Perrot, his predecessor, in the 24 Eliz. was tried in the King's-bench for treason done in Ireland, when he was deputy; and Orucke, in the 33 Eliz. judged here for treason done in Ireland.

Object. But it will be said, these trials were after the stat. 34 Hen. 8. which enacts, that 'treasons beyond sea may be tried in England.'

Answ. My lords, his predecessor, my lord Gray, was tried and adjudged here in the King's-bench, that was in Trin. term, in the 33 Hen. 8: this was before the making of that statute.

Object. To this again will be said, that it was for treason by the laws and statutes of England; but this is not for any thing that is treason by the law of England, but by an Irish statute.

So that the question is only, "Whether your lordships in parliament here, have cognisance of an offence made treason by an Irish statute, in the ordinary way of judicature without bill?" For so is the present question.

For the clearing of this, I shall propound two things to your lordships' consideration:

1. Whether the rule for expounding the Irish statutes and customs be one and the same in England as in Ireland?

2. That being admitted; whether the parliaments in England have cognisance or jurisdiction of things there done in respect of the place; because the king's writ runs not there.

For the first, if, in respect of the place, the parliament here hath cognisance there; and, secondly, if the rules for expounding the Irish statutes and customs be the same here as there; this exception (as I humbly conceive) must fall away. In England there is the common-law, the statutes, the acts of parliament, and customs peculiar to certain places,

differing from the common-law; if any question arise concerning either a custom or an act of parliament, the common-law of England, the first, the primitive, and the general law, is the rule and expositor of them, and of their several extents. It is so here, it is so in Ireland; the common-law of England is the common-law of Ireland likewise; the same here and there, in all the parts of it. It was introduced into Ireland by king John, and afterwards by king Henry the Third, by act of parliament, held in England; as appears by the patent-rolls of Hen. 3. m. 1. The words are; *Quia pro communi utilitate terræ Hiberniæ, & unitate terrarum regis, rex vult, & de communi concilio regis provisum est, quòd omnes leges & consuetudines, quæ in regno Angliæ tenentur, in Hiberniâ teneantur; & eadem terra eisdem legibus subjaceat & per easdem regatur; sicut dominus Johannes rex, cùm ultimò esset in Hiberniâ, statuit, & fieri mandavit. Quia, &c. Rex vult quòd omnia brevia de communi jure, quæ currunt in Angliâ, similiter currant in Hiberniâ sub novo sigillo regis; mandatum est archiepiscopis, &c. quòd, pro pace & tranquillitate ejusdem terræ, per easdem leges eos regi & deduci permittant, & eas in omnibus sequantur. In cujus, &c. Teste rege, apud Woodstock, decimo-nono die Septembris.* Here is an union of both kingdoms, and that by act of parliament, and the same laws to be used here as there, *in omnibus.* My lords, that nothing might be left here for an exception; that is, that in treasons, felonies, and other capital offences concerning life, the Irish laws are not the same as here; therefore it is enacted, in a parliament held in England, in the 14 Edw. 2. (it is not in print neither, but is in the parliament-book,) that the laws concerning life and member shall be the same in Ireland as in England. And, that no exception might yet remain in England; the 5 Edw. 3. it is enacted, *Quòd una & eadem lex fiat tam Hibernicis quàm Anglicis.* This act is enrolled in the patent rolls of 5 Edw. 3. p. 1. m. 25. The Irish therefore receiving their laws from hence, they send their students at law to the inns of courts in England, where they receive their degree; and of them, and of the common lawyers of this kingdom, are the judges made. The petitions have been many from Ireland, to send from hence some judges more learned in the laws than those they had there. It hath been frequent, in cases of difficulty there, to send sometimes to the parliament here; sometimes to the king; by advice from the judges here, to send them resolutions of their doubts. Amongst many, I will cite your lordships only one, because it is in a case of treason upon an Irish statute, and therefore full to this point. By a statute there made in the 5 Edw. 4. there is provision made for such as upon suggestions are committed to prison for treason; that the party committed, if he can procure twenty-four compurgators, shall be bailed, and let out of prison. Two citizens of Dublin were by a grand-jury presented, to have committed treason: they desired the benefit of this statute, that they might be let out of prison upon tender of their compurgators. The words of the statute, of the 5 Edw. 4. in Ireland, being obscure; the judges there, not being satisfied what to do, sent the case over to the queen, and desired the opinion of the judges here; which was done accordingly. The judges here sent over their opinion, which I have out of the book of Justice Anderson, one of the judges, consulted withal. The judges here delivered their opinion upon an Irish statute, in case of treason. If it be objected, that it this case the judges here did not judge upon the party; their opinions were only *ad informandam conscientiam* of the judges in Ireland; that the judgment belonged to the judges there. My lords, with submission, this and the other authorities prove that for which they were cited; that is, that no absurdity, no failure of justice would ensue, if this great judicatory should judge of treason so made by an Irish statute. The common-law, the rule of judging upon an Irish statute, the pleas of the crown for things of life and death, are the same here and there. This is all that hath yet been offered.

For the second point, That England hath no power of judicature for things done in Ireland; my lords, the constant practice of all ages proves the contrary. Writs of error in pleas of the crown, as well as in civil causes, have in all king's reigns been brought here; even in the inferior courts of Westminster-hall, upon judgments given in the courts of Ireland. The practice is so frequent, and so well known, that I shall cite none of them to your lordships. No precedent will, I believe, be produced to your lordships, that ever

the case was remanded back again into Ireland, because the question rose upon an Irish statute or custom.

Object. But it will be said, that writs of error are only upon a failure of justice in Ireland; and that suits cannot originally be commenced here for things done in Ireland, because the king's writ runs not in Ireland.

Answ. This might be a good plea in the King's-bench, and inferior courts at Westminster-hall: the question is, whether it be so in parliament? The king's writ runs not within the counties-palatine of Chester and Durham, nor within the Cinque-ports; neither did it in Wales, before the union in Henry the Eighth's time: after the laws of England were brought into Wales, in king Edward the First's time, suits were not originally commenced in Westminster-hall, for things done in them; yet this never excluded the parliament. Suits for life, lands, and goods, within those jurisdictions, are determinable in parliament, as well as in any other parts of the realm.

Ireland, as appears by stat. 30 Hen. 3. beforementioned, is united to the crown of England. By stat. 28. Hen. 6. in Ireland, it is declared in these words: 'That Ireland is 'the proper dominion of England, and united to the crown of England; which crown of 'England is of itself, and by itself, fully, wholly, and entirely endowed, with all power 'and authority sufficient to yield to the subjects of the same full and plenary remedy, in 'all debates and suits whatsoever.' By stat. 23 Hen. 8. cap. 1. when the kings of England first assumed the title of king of Ireland, it is there enacted, 'That Ireland still is to 'be held, as a crown annexed and united to the crown of England.' So that, by the same reason, from this, that the king's writ runs not in Ireland; it might as well be held, that the parliament cannot originally hold plea of things done within the counties-palatine of Chester and Durham, nor within the Cinque-ports and Wales: Ireland is part of the realm of England, as appears by those statutes, as well as any of them. This is made good by constant practice. In all the parliament-rolls, from the first to the last, there are receivers and triers of petitions appointed for Ireland. For the Irish to come so far with their petitions for justice, and the parliament not to have cognisance, when from time to time they had, in the beginning of the parliament, appointed receivers and triers of them, is a thing not to be presumed.

An appeal in Ireland, brought by William lord Vesey against John Fitz-Thomas, for treasonable words there spoken, before any judgment given in the case there, was removed into the parliament in England, and there the defendant acquitted; as appears in the parliament-pleas of 22 Edw. 1. The suits for lands, offices, and goods, originally begun here, are many: and if a question grew upon matter of fact, a jury was usually ordered to try it, and the verdict returned into parliament; as in the case of one Balliben, in the parliament 35 Edw. 1. If doubt arose upon a matter triable by record, a writ went to the officers, in whose custody the record remained, to certify the record; as was in the case of Robert Bagot, the same parliament of 35 Edw. 1. where the writs went to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer. Sometimes they gave judgment here in parliament, and commanded the judges there in Ireland to do execution; as in the great case of partition between the copartners of the earl-marshal, in the parliament of 33 Edw. 1. where the writ was awarded to the treasurer of Ireland.

My lords, the laws of Ireland were introduced by the parliaments of England; as appears by three acts of parliament before cited. It is of higher jurisdiction *dare leges*, than to judge by them. The parliaments of England do bind in Ireland, if Ireland be particularly mentioned; as is resolved in the book-case of the 1 Hen. 7. Coke's seventh report, Calvin's case; and by the judges in Trin. term, in 33 Eliz. The stat. of 8 Edw. 4. cap. 1. in Ireland, recites, 'That it was doubted amongst the judges, whether all the 'English statutes, though not naming Ireland, were in force there:' if named, no doubt. From king Henry the Third's time, downward, to the 8 Eliz. (by which statute it is made felony to carry sheep from Ireland beyond seas) in almost all these kings' reigns there are statutes made concerning Ireland. The exercising of the legislative power there, over their lives and estates, is higher than of the judicial in question. Until the 29 Edw. 3,

erroneous judgments, given in Ireland, were determinable no-where but in England; no, not in the parliaments of Ireland; as it appears in the close-rolls in the Tower, in 29 Edw. 3. m. 12. Power to examine and reverse erroneous judgments in the parliaments of Ireland is granted from hence. Writs of error lie in the parliament here, upon erroneous judgments after the time given in the parliaments of Ireland; as appears in the parliament-rolls of 8 Hen. 6. No. 70. in the case of the prior of Lenthan. It is true, the case is not determined there; for it is the last thing that came into the parliament, and could not be determined, for want of time; but no exception at all is taken to the jurisdiction. The acts of parliament made in Ireland have been confirmed in the parliaments of England; as appears by the close-rolls in the Tower, in 42 Edw. 3. m. 20. d.; where the parliament of Ireland, for the preservation of the country from the Irish, who had almost destroyed it, made an act, That all the land-owners that were English, should reside upon their lands, or else they were to be forfeited: this was here confirmed. In the parliament of 4 Hen. 5, cap. 6. acts of parliament in Ireland are confirmed, and some privileges of the peers in the parliaments there are regulated. Power to repeal Irish statutes, power to confirm them, cannot be by the parliament here, if it hath not cognisance of their parliaments; unless it be said, that the parliament may do it knows not what.

Guernsey and Jersey are under the king's subjection, but are not parcels of the crown of England, but of the duchy of Normandy: they are not governed by the laws of England, as Ireland is, and yet parliaments in England have usually held plea of, and determined all causes concerning lands or goods. In the parliament of 33 Edw. 1. there are *Placita de Insulâ Jernesey;* and so in the parliament of 14 Edw. 2.; and so for Normandy and Gascoigne: and always, as long as any part of France was in subjection to the crown of England, there were, at the beginning of the parliaments, receivers and triers of petitions for those parts appointed.

My lords, I believe your lordships will have no cases shewed of any plea to the jurisdiction of the parliaments of England, in any things done in any parts wheresoever in subjection to the crown of England.

The last thing, I shall offer to your lordships, is the case of 19 Eliz. in my lord Dyer, 306. and Judge Crompton's book of the jurisdiction of courts, fol. 23. The opinion of both these books is, 'That an Irish peer is not triable here.' It is true, a Scotch or French nobleman is triable here, as a common person: the law takes no notice of their nobility, because those countries are not governed by the laws of England; but Ireland being governed by the same laws, the peers there are triable, according to the law of England, only *per peres*. My lords, by the same reason, the earl of Strafford, not being a peer of Ireland, is not triable by the peers of Ireland: so that if he be not triable here, he is triable no-where.

My lords, in case there be a treason and a traitor within the statute, and he be not triable here for it in the ordinary way of judicature, if that jurisdiction fails, this by way of bill doth not: attainders of treason in parliament are as legal, as usual, by act of parliament, as by judgment.

I have now done with the stat. 25 Edw. 3. and 18 Hen. 6.; my lord of Strafford hath offended against both the kingdoms, and is guilty of high-treason by the laws of both.

The Fifth general Head.

My lords, in the fifth place I am come to the treasons at the common-law; the endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government. In this I shall not at all labour to prove, that the endeavouring by words, counsels, and actions, to subvert the laws, is treason at the common-law, if there be any common-law-treasons at all left. Nothing is treason, if not this, to make a kingdom no kingdom. Take the polity and government away, England is but a piece of earth, wherein so many men have their commorancy and abode, without ranks or distinction of men, without property in any thing further than possession; no law to punish the murdering or robbing one another.

That of 33 Hen. 8. of introducing the imperial law, sticks not with your lordships: it was in case of an appeal to Rome. These appeals, in cases of marriages, and other causes counted ecclesiastical, had been frequent; had in most kings' reigns been tolerated. Some, in times of popery, put a conscience upon them; the statutes had limited the penalty to a *præmunire* only. Neither was that a total subversion; only an appeal from the ecclesiastical court here, in a single cause, to the court at Rome; and, if treason or not, that case proves not. A treason may be punished as a felony, a felony as a trespass, if his majesty so please: the greater includes the lesser. In the case of *præmunire* in the Irish Reports, that, which is there declared to be treason, was proceeded upon only as a *præmunire*. The thing most considerable in this, is, whether the treasons at common-law be taken away by stat. 25 Edw. 3. 1 Hen. 4. or 1 Mary, or any of them? My lords, to say there are taken away by stat. 25 Edw. 3. is to speak against both the direct words and scope of that statute. In it there is this clause, 'That, because many other like cases 'of treason might fall out, which are not there declared, therefore it is enacted, that if any 'such case come before the judges, they shall not proceed to judgment till the case be 'declared in parliament, whether it ought to be adjudged treason or not.'

These words and the whole scope of that statute shew, that it was not the meaning to take away any treasons that were so before; but only to regulate the jurisdiction and manner of trial. Those that were single and certain acts, as conspiring the king's death, levying war, counterfeiting the money, or great-seal, killing a judge; these are left to the ordinary courts of justice: the others not depending upon single acts, but upon constructions and necessary inferences, they thought it not fit to give the inferior courts so great a latitude here, as too dangerous to the subject; those they strained to the parliament. This statute was the great security of the subject, made with such wisdom as all the succeeding ages have approved it. It hath often passed through the furnace, but, like gold, hath lost little or nothing.

The stat. 1 Hen. 4. cap. x. is in these words: 'Whereas, in the parliament held the 'twenty-first of Richard 2. divers pains of treasons were ordained, insomuch that no 'man did know how to behave himself, to do, say, or speak: It is accorded, that, in no 'time to come, any treason be adjudged otherwise than it was ordained by the stat. 2 Edw. '3.' It hath been said, To what end is this statute made, if it takes not away the common-law treasons remaining after the stat. 25 Edw. 3? There are two main things which this statute doth. *First*, it takes away for the future all the treasons made by any statute since 25 Edw. 3. to 1 Hen. 4. even to that time. For, my lords, in respect that, by another act in that parliament, the stat. 21 Rich. 2. was repealed; it will not be denied, but that this statute repeals more treasons than these of 21 Rich. 2: it repeals all statute treasons but those in 25 Edw. 3. *Secondly*, it not only takes away the statute-treasons, but likewise the declared treasons in parliament after 25 Edw. 3. as to the future. After declaration in parliament, the inferior courts might judge these treasons; for the declaration of a treason in parliament, after it was made, was sent to the inferior courts, that *(toties quoties)* the like case fell out, they might proceed therein. The subject for the future was secured against these: so that this statute was of great use. By the very words of it, it still refers all treasons to the provision of 25 Edw. 3. it leaves that entire, and upon its old bottom.

The stat. 1 Mar. cap. i. saith, 'That no offences, made treason by any act of par- 'liament, shall thenceforth be taken or adjudged to be treason, but only such as be de- 'clared and expressed to be treason by the stat. 25 Edw. 3. concerning treason, or the 'declaration of treason, and no others.' And further provides, 'That no pains of death, 'penalty, or forfeiture, in any wise shall ensue for committing any treason, other than 'such as be in the stat. 25 Ewd. 3. ordained and provided: any acts of parliament, or 'any declaration or matter to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.' By the first part of this statute, only offences made treason by act of parliament are taken away, the common-law-treasons are no way touched. The words 'and no others' refer still to

offences made treason by act of parliament; they restrain not to the treasons only particularly mentioned in the stat. 25 Edw. 3. but leave that statute entire as to the common law-treason; as appears by the words immediately foregoing, or the declaration of treason By the second part, for the pains and forfeitures of treasons, if it intend only the punishment of treason, or if it intend both treason and punishment, yet all is referred to the provision and ordinance of 25 Edw. 3. any act of parliament, or other declaration, or thing notwithstanding. It saith not, other than such penalties or treasons as are expressed and declared in the stat. 25 Edw. 3. that might perhaps have restrained it to those that are particularly mentioned. No; it refers all treasons to the general ordination and provision of that statute, wherein the common-law-treasons are expressly kept on foot.

If it be asked, what good this statute doth, if it take not away the common-law-treasons?

First, It takes away all the treasons made by act of parliament, not only since the 1 Hen. 4. which were many, but all before 1 Hen. 4. even until 25 Edw. 3. by express words.

Secondly, By express words it takes away all declared treasons, if any such had been made in parliament: these for the future are likewise taken away; so that, whereas it might have been doubted, whether the stat. 1 Hen. 4. took away any treasons but those of 21 and 22 Rich. 2; this clears it both for treasons made by parliament, or declared in parliament, even to the time of making the statute. This is of great use, of great security to the subject: so that, as to what shall be treason, and what not, the stat. 25 Ed. 3. remains entire, and so by consequence the treasons at the common-law.

Only, my lords, it may be doubted whether the manner of the parliamentary proceedings be not altered by the stat. 1 Hen. 4. cap. xvii. and more fully in the parliament-roll, No. 144; that is, whether since that statute the parliamentary power of declaration of treasons, whereby the inferior courts received jurisdiction, be not taken away and restrained only to bill, that so it might operate no further than to that particular contained in the bill; that so the parliamentary declarations for after-times should be kept within the parliament itself, and be extended no further. Since 1 Hen. 4. we have not found any such declaration made, but all attainders of treason have been by bill. If this be so, yet, the common-law-treasons still remaining, there is one and the same ground of reason and equity since 1 Hen. 4. for passing of a bill of treason, as was before for declaring of it without bill. Herein the legislative power is not used against my lord of Strafford in the bill; it is only the jurisdiction of the parliament.

But, my lords, because that either through my mistaking of the true grounds and reasons of the commons, or my not pressing of them with apt arguments and precedents of former times, or that perchance your lordships from some other reasons and authorities, (more swaying with your lordships' judgements, than these from them,) may possibly be of a contrary or dubious opinion concerning these treasons, either upon the stat. 25 Edw. 3. and 18 Hen. 6. or at the common-law. My lords, if all these five should fail, they have therefore given me further in command to declare to your lordships some of their reasons, why they conceive that in this case the mere legislative power may be exercised.

Their reasons are taken from these three grounds:

1. From the nature and quality of the offence.
2. From the frame and constitution of the parliament wherein this law is made.
3. From practices and usages of former times.

1. My lords, the horridness of the offence, in endeavouring the overthrowing the laws and present government, hath been fully opened to your lordships heretofore. The parliament is the representation of the whole kingdom, wherein the king as head, your lordships as the more noble, and the commons the other members, are knit together into one body-politick. This dissolves the arteries and ligaments that hold the body together, the laws. He, that takes away the laws, takes not away the allegiance of one subject alone, but of the whole kingdom. It was made treason by the stat. 13 Eliz. for her time, to

affirm, that the laws of the realm do not bind the descent of the crown; no law, no descent at all. No laws, no peerage, no ranks or degrees of men; the same condition to all.

It is treason to kill a judge upon the bench: this kills not *judicem, sed judicium*. He that borrowed Apelles, and gave bond to return again Apelles the painter, sent him home after he had cut off his right-hand; his bond was broken, Apelles was sent, but not the painter. There be twelve men, but no law; there is never a judge amongst them.

It is felony to embezzle any one of the judicial records of the kingdom; this at once sweeps them all away, and from all.

It is treason to counterfeit a twenty-shilling-piece: here is a counterfeiting of the law; we can call neither the counterfeit nor true coin our own.

It is treason to counterfeit the great-seal for an acre of land; no property hereby is left to any land at all. Nothing is treason now either against king or kingdom; no law to punish it.

My lords, if the question were asked in Westminster-Hall, Whether this were a crime punishable in the Star-Chamber, or in the King's-Bench, by fine or imprisonment? they would say, it went higher. If, whether felony? they would say that is for an offence only against the life or goods of some one, or few persons. It would, I believe, be answered by the judges, as it was by the chief-justice Thirning, in 21 Rich. 2, that, though he could not judge the case there before him; yet, if he were a peer in parliament, he would so adjudge it. My lords, if it be too big for those courts, we hope it is in the right way here.

2. The second consideration is from the frame and constitution of the parliament: the parliament is the great body-politick; it comprehends all from the king to the beggar: If so, my lords, as the natural, so this body; it hath power over itself, and every one of the members, for the preservation of the whole. It is both the physician and the patient. If the body be distempered, it hath power to open a vein to let out the corrupt blood for curing of itself; if one member be poisoned or gangrened, it hath power to cut it off for the preservation of the rest.

But, my lords, it hath been often inculcated, that law-makers should imitate the supreme lawgiver, who commonly warns before he strikes; the law was promulged before the judgment of death, for gathering the sticks: no law, no transgression. My lords, to this the rule of law is, *frustrà legis auxilium invocat, qui in legem committit*: from, the *lex talionis* he that would not have had others to have law; why should he have any himself? why should not that be done to him, that himself would have done to others?

It is true, we give law to hares and deers, because they are beasts of chace. It was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock foxes and wolves on the head, as they can be found; because these be beasts of prey. The warrener sets traps for polecats and other vermin, for preservation of the warren.

Further, my lords, most dangerous diseases, if not taken in time, they kill. Errors in great things, as war and marriage, they allow no time for repentance; it would have been too late to make a law, when there had been no law.

My lords, for further answer to this objection, he hath offended a law, a law within. The endeavouring to subvert the laws and policy of the state wherein he lived, which had so long, and with such faithfulness, protected his ancestry, himself, and his whole family; it was not *malum quia prohibitum*, it was *malum in se*, against the dictates of the dullest conscience, against the light of nature: they, not having the law, were a law to themselves. Besides this, he knew a law without, that the parliament in cases of this nature had *potestatem vitæ et necis*. Nay, he well knew, that he offended the promulged and ordinary rules of law. Crimes against law have been proved, have been confessed, so that the question is not *de culpâ, sed de pœnâ*; what degree of punishment those faults deserve? We must differ from him in opinion, that twenty felonies cannot make a treason, if it be meant of equality in the use of the legislative power: for he that deserves death for one of these felonies alone, deserves a death more painful and ignominious for all together,

Every felony is punished with loss of life, lands, and goods: a felony may be aggravated with those circumstances, as that the parliament with good reason may add to the circumstances of punishment, as was done in the case of John Hall, in the parliament of 1 Hen. 4. who, for a barbarous murder committed upon the duke of Gloucester, (stifling him between two feather-beds at Calais,) was adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

Batteries by law are punishable only by fine and single damages to the party wounded. In the parliament held in 1 Hen. 4. cap. vi. one Savadge committed a battery upon one Chedder, servant to sir John Brooke, a knight of the parliament for Somersetshire: it is there enacted, that he shall pay double damages, and stand convicted, if he render not himself by such a time. The manner of proceedings quickened, the penalty doubled, the circumstances were considered; it concerned the commonwealth, it was battery with breach of privilege of parliament.

This made a perpetual act, no warning to the first offender; and in the King's Bench, as appears by the book-case of 9 Hen. 4. fol. 1. double damages were recovered.

My lords, in this of the bill the offence is high and general, against all, and the best of all. If every felony be loss of life, lands, and goods; what is misuse of the legislative power, by addition of ignominy in the death and disposal of the lands to the crown, the public patrimony of the kingdom? But it was hoped that your lordships had no more skill in the art of killing of men, than your worthy ancestors.

My lords, this appeal, from yourselves to your ancestors, we admit of; although we do not admit of that from your lordships to the peers of Ireland. He hath appealed to them. Your lordships will be pleased to hear what judgment they have already given in the case; that is, the several attainders of treason in parliament, after the stat. 25 Edw. 3. for treasons not mentioned, nor within that statute, and those upon the first offenders without warning given them.

By the stat. 25 Edw. 3. it is treason to levy war against the king. Gomines, and Weston afterwards, in parliament in 1 Ric. 2, No. 38, 39, were adjudged traitors, for surrendering two several castles in France only out of fear, without any compliance with the enemy: this is not within the stat. 25 Edw. 3.

My lords, in 3 Rich. 2. John Imperial, that came into England upon letters of safe-conduct, as an agent for the state of Genoa, sitting in the evening before his door in Bread-street, as the words of the records are, *paulò ante ignitegium*; John Kirby and another citizen coming that way, casually Kirby trod upon his toe. It being twilight, this grew to a quarrel, and the ambassador was slain: Kirby was indicted of high-treason; the indictment finds all this, and that it was only done *se defendendo*, and without malice. The judges, it being out of the stat. 24 Edw. 3. could not proceed; the parliament declared it treason, and judgment afterwards of high-treason there. Nothing can bring this within the stat. 25 Edw. 3: but it concerns the honour of the nation, that the public faith should be strictly kept: it might endanger the traffick of the kingdom. They made not a law first; they made the first man an example. This is in the parl. roll 3 Ric. 2. No. 18. and Hil. term, 3 Ric. II. Rot. 31. in the King's-Bench, where judgment is given against him.

In 11 Ric. 2. Tresilian and others were attainted of treason for delivering opinions in the subversion of the law; and some others for plotting the like. My lords, the case hath upon another occasion been opened to your lordships; only this is observable, that in the parliament of 1 Hen. 3. where all treasons are again reduced to the stat. 25 Edw. 3. these attainders were by a particular act confirmed and made good, that the memory thereof might be transmitted to succeeding ages: they stand good unto this day. The offences there, as here, were endeavouring the subversion of the laws.

My lords, after 1 Hen. 4. sir John Mortimer, being committed to the Tower upon suspicion of treason, broke prison, and made an escape. This is no way within any statute or any former judgment at common-law: for this, that is, for breaking the prison only, and no other cause, in the parliament held 2 Hen. 6. he was attainted of high-treason by bill.

My lords; poisoning is only murder; yet, one Richard Coke having put poison into a

pot of pottage in the kitchen of the bishop of Rochester, whereof two persons died, he is attainted of treason; and it was enacted, that he should be boiled to death by the stat. 22 Hen. 8. cap. ix.

By the stat. 25 Hen. 8. Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent, for pretending revelations from God, that God was highly displeased with the king for being divorced from the lady Catharine, and that, in case he persisted in the separation, and should marry another, that he would not continue king above one month after; because this tended to the depriving of the lawful succession to the crown, she was attainted of treason.

In the parliament 2 and 3 Edw. 6. cap. xvi. the lord-admiral of England was attainted of treason, for procuring the king's letters to both houses of parliament, to be good to the said earl, in such matters as he should declare unto them; for saying that he would make the parliament the blackest parliament that ever was in England; endeavouring to marry the lady Elizabeth the king's sister; taking a bribe of Sherrington, accused of treason; and thereupon consulting with council for him, and some other crimes; none of them treason, so clearly within the stat. 25 Edw. 3. or any other statute, as is the case in question.

My lords, all these attainders, for aught I know, are in force at this day; the stat. 1 Hen. 4. and 1 Mar. although they were willing to make the stat. 25 Edw. 3. the rule to the inferior courts, yet they left the attainders in parliament precedent to themselves untouched, wherein the legislative power had been exercised. There is nothing in them whence it can be gathered, but that they intended to leave it as free for the future.

My lords, in these attainders, there were crimes and offences against the law; they thought it not unjust, circumstances considered, to heighten and add to the degrees of punishment, and that upon the first offender.

My lords, we receive, as just, the other laws and statutes made by these our ancestors: they are the rules we go by in other cases: why should we differ from them in this alone?

These, my lords, are in part those things which have satisfied the Commons in passing of the bill. It is now left to the judgment and justice of your lordships.

A Narrative of unheard-of Popish Cruelties towards Protestants beyond Seas: Or a new Account of the bloody Spanish Inquisition. Published as a Caveat to Protestants. By Mr. Dugdale.

London, Printed for John Hancock, at the Three Bibles in Pope's-Head Alley, over-against the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill, 1680.

[Folio; containing thirty-two pages.]

To the most excellent Prince James, Duke of Monmouth, &c.

I HAVE often wondered that the cruelties as well as villainies of the Romish church, have not long before this provoked Almighty God to avenge upon her all the blood of his saints, which she hath every-where, as so much water, spilt upon the face of the whole earth;

but reflecting upon the many sins of God's own people, which certainly have been the only cause of the withholding of his most just and expected judgments from being poured forth upon her from the fullest vials of his wrath, I have again considered of the justice as well as goodness of God herein: justice to be revealed from heaven upon her, when the fulness of her abominations shall be accomplished; and his goodness and mercy to his people, in purging them by these his chastisements from the dross and tin of their iniquities. Here we have a revelation of the great God in two of his greatest and most glorious Attributes, his Mercy and his Judgment, according to their respective objects. The holy king and prophet David wondered no less than he grieved at this matter, till he went into the sanctuary of God, where he 'understood the end of wicked men; and that verily there is 'a reward for the righteous, and a God that judgeth in the earth.'

With what antichristian, no less than inhuman cruelty, she hath behaved herself towards the saints and servants of God, whom she calls hereticks, this small history will sufficiently acquaint your Grace; and will, I hope, prove a sufficient alarm to the nation, to rouse her up as one man, to prevent and hinder the rooting or springing of her vile superstitions here for the time to come. No, Sir; the people of England are doubtless sufficiently cautioned and fortified against any such attempt: however, it may not perhaps be unseasonable to remind them, and fully set before them the barbarous cruelties and unchristian severities, wherewith the Holy Inquisition (for so they falsely style it) is to the shame and sorrow of the best amongst them in foreign countries, where it is suffered in the highest pitch of rigour to be managed: no, we hope so great is the goodness of God, both towards our prince and people; that it is past not only the strength, but malice of our Romish adversaries to hurt either his sacred person or the government. May the good-will of Him that dwelt in the bush, preserve and ever keep your Grace from any of their wicked attempts upon your Excellency's person, from dividing you from your prince's favour; or (which can never be) our most sacred and ever dread sovereign from his good subjects and people; and let all true-hearted Englishmen say Amen.

Your Grace's most humble Servant, and daily Orator,

RICH. DUGDALE.

WHEN king Ferdinand and Isabel had expelled the Turks out of the city and territories of Granada, and other places of Spain, (who had lived there seven-hundred and seventy-eight years,) they set upon the reformation of religion, and gave the conquered Moors liberty to stay, and to enjoy all their goods, provided they would turn Christians; and, whereas also there were many Jews, who had continued there since Titus conquered Jerusalem, they gave them leave to stay, upon the same condition: but all such, as refused, were commanded presently to depart out of Spain. Yet afterwards, finding that those persons were Christians only in name, and had submitted only to save their estates, instead of providing godly ministers with meekness to instruct them, and to reprove them for their errors; by the advice of the Dominican friars, they erected the Inquisition; wherein the poor wretches, instead of instruction, were robbed of all their estates, and either put to most cruel deaths, or else suffered most intolerable torments, by whipping, &c. and led the rest of their lives in ignominy and poverty. Neither was this inflicted only upon such as blasphemed Christ; but for the observation of the least Jewish or Moorish ceremony, or the smallest error in the Christian religion. But this Inquisition, at first erected against Jews and Moors, was afterwards turned against the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, and for the suppressing of the Gospel and the profession of it.

As soon as information is given in against any one, though but for a very small matter, they do not presently cite the person to appear before them; but they suborn one of their own officers, called a Familiar, to insinuate himself into his company; who, taking occasion to meet the party thus accused, uses thus to greet him: "Sir, I was yesterday, by accident, at my Lords-Inquisitors, who said, that they had occasion to speak with you

about certain of their affairs; and therefore they commanded me to summon you to appear before them to-morrow, at such an hour." The party, daring not to refuse, goes to the place, and sends in word, that he is come to attend on them; and so, when he is called in, they ask him, "What suit he hath to them?" And, when he answers, that he comes upon summons, they enquire his name: "for," say they, "we know not, whether you are the same man or not; but, since you are come in, if you have any thing to inform this court of, either concerning yourself, or any other, you may let us hear it, for the discharge of your own conscience." The party's safest way is constantly to deny that he hath any thing to declare to them; but if, through simplicity, he doth accuse himself or any other, they rejoice, as having attained their desires; and so presently commit him to prison. If nothing be confessed, they dismiss him; pretending that, for the present, they know not whether he be the party, or no. After his departure, they let him alone for some space, and then send for him again; exhorting him, that if he know or hath heard any thing that concerns their holy court, he disclose it to them: "for," say they, "we know that you have had dealings with some person suspected in religion; and therefore remember yourself well. If you confess, you shall fare the better, and you shall but do therein, as a good Christian ought to do." If still he refuse; they threaten, and so dismiss him.

Yet they have always one or other to keep him company, to creep into his bosom, and grope into his conscience; who, under the colour of friendship, shall visit him daily, and have an eye to all his dealings; observe what company he keepeth, with whom he confers, &c. so that, without God's special assistance, it is not possible to escape their snares. The Inquisitors also, if they meet him, speak courteously to him, promise to befriend him, &c. and all to make him more careless of himself, that they may undo him before he be aware. But, if the party be a stranger, or one that is like to make an escape, or from whom they hope to gain any thing by his confession, they presently clap him up in prison; in which prison great numbers die, either starved with hunger, or by extremity of racking of them, &c.

If any one that is accused chance to make an escape, they have many devices to find and fetch him in again. They have store of searchers, to whom, besides the common signs, they give his lively picture, whereby they may easily know him. An Italian, at Rome, having wounded an apparitor, fled to Seville: the Familiars were sent to seek him, and when they had found him, though they had his counterfeit, yet, by reason that he had altered his habit, they were doubtful whether it was he, or no; the rather, because he had changed his name: whereupon, they followed him only upon suspicion. But one day, as he was walking and earnestly talking with some gentlemen, two of those Familiars suddenly called him by his old name. The party, earnest in talk and not minding it, looked behind him and made answer; whereupon they presently apprehended him, clapped him in irons for a long time, then whipped him, and condemned him to the galleys during his life. So soon as any is arrested by the Familiars, they take from him all the keys of his locks or chests whatsoever; and then they take an inventory of all his goods, leaving them to some man that will undertake to be accountable for them: but, in the sequestering or rifling the houses, if they have any gold, silver, or jewels, these Familiars (which are usually bawds, thieves, shifters, and the vilest of people) will be sure to filch some of it; and the reason of this sequestration is, that if the party be condemned, the holy Inquisition may enjoy his whole estate.

As soon as the prisoner is entered within the first gate of the prison, the gaoler asketh him, "If he hath a knife about him, or money, or rings, or jewels?" And, if a woman, "Whether she hath knives, rings, chains, bracelets, or other ornaments?" And all these the gaoler strips them of, as his fee: and this is done, that the poor prisoners may have nothing to relieve themselves with, during their imprisonment. They search them also, to see whether they have any writing, or book about them, which likewise they take from them; then they shut them up in a cabin (like to a little-ease), where they have little room for cleanliness, and but little light.

Some are thus kept all alone for two or three months; some as long as they live: others have company, as the lords-Inquisitors please. When the party hath been in prison a week or two, the gaoler persuades him to petition for a day of hearing, telling him, "The sooner the better; and that it will much further his cause, and bring it to some good effect," &c. whereas it were far better for him to stay till he be called for; for then he hath nothing to do but to answer their objections. But the poor prisoner, not knowing this mystery, is usually ruled by his keeper, entreating him to stand his friend to procure him a day of hearing; whose suit is easily heard, and the prisoner is brought into the consistory. Then the Inquisitors ask him, "What is his request?" The prisoner answereth, "That he would gladly have his matter heard." Then they labour, by threatening him with worse usage if he conceal the truth, to cause him to confess the thing whereof he is accused; and if they can but draw him to this, they have their desires: for usually they draw more from him than they could have proved against him. Then they advise him to let him come from himself; promising, that, if he acknowledge his faults, he shall presently be released and sent home. If yet he stands mute, they then charge him to disburden his conscience; and, in the mean time, to return to his prison, till he hath better bethought himself; and then he may sue for a new day of hearing, and so they dismiss him. And, some days after, they call for him again; asking him, "Whether he be yet determined to tell aught?" But whether he plead his innocency, or confess some little; they still urge him to disburden his conscience, and persuading him, that they advise him for the best, and in love and compassion to him; but, if he now refuse the favour proffered, he shall find them afterwards sharp justices, &c. and so send him back again to prison.

The third time he is called for, they use the like subtlety, to draw him to confession; telling him, that if he refuse, they must use extremity, and do what they can by law: by which word, they mean extreme tormenting and mangling of him. Then, if the party confess any thing, "Nay, (say they,) we are not yet satisfied, we have not all you can say, you keep back something on purpose:" and so they remand him to prison.

Having thus excruciated him day by day, if they can get nothing out of him, they then require an oath of him, and hold a crucifix or cross before him, whereby the poor Christian must at last needs shew himself: for knowing, that he ought to swear by God alone, who hath reserved this honour to himself, he must refuse the oath; which if he do, then they read a large indictment against him, wherein they lay to his charge things that never any man accused him of; and which, it may be, himself never thought of: and this they do to amaze him, and so to try if he will confess any of these misdemeanours; or, if they can trip him in his answers, and so catch him in their net. Then they put him to answer to every article particularly *ex tempore*, without any time of deliberation; then they give him pen, ink, and paper, requiring him to set down his answer in writing, to see if they can find any difference betwixt his former answer, and this. And if the party chance to confess aught, then they enquire of whom he learned it, and whether he hath spoken of it before others, and who they are; and hereby many are brought into trouble: for, whether they liked it or not, they are sure to be questioned, because they did not come and declare it to the fathers-Inquisitors. Then, pretending to shew him favour, they appoint him an advocate, to blind the people's eyes, as if they proceeded according to the rules of justice; but this advocate dares not tell his client any point of law that may do him good, for fear of angering the Inquisitors; neither may he speak privately with his client, but either before an Inquisitor or a notary.

Two or three days after the party hath had the copy of his accusation, he is called into the court, where his advocate is; as if he intended to defend his cause: but, indeed, he dares say nothing to the purpose, for fear of angering the Inquisitors; only he chears up his client, and bids him tell the truth in any case, as the only way to prevail in that court; and then is the prisoner sent back again, who hopes that now his case will be heard, and his business dispatched; whereas, usually, these good fathers let him lie two, or three, or four years in prison, without ever calling for him again. And if, through loathsomeness and intolerableness of the prison, any suit to come to hearing; it may be, with much ado,

he obtains it; but, usually, that favour is denied them: yet at length, when they please, they call for him to hear the depositions of the witnesses against him; which yet is not done, till the poor prisoner, by his grievous imprisonment, is brought so low, as that they think he will rather chuse death, than such a life; and therefore will be willing to tell all, that so he may be rid out of his misery. Then, between rebuking and a gentle admonition, they tell him, that though he hath stood out so long, yet at length they would have him wiser, to confess the truth: but if he yet refuse to be his own accuser, then the fiscal produceth the depositions, which are delivered to the prisoner; but they are drawn up so intricately and ambiguously, that he knows not what to make of them; and this they do to conceal the witnesses, lest he should except against them, and so to set him on gue s-ing; that so, if he chance to reckon up any others to whom he spoke any thing about any of those matters, they may, thereby, get more grist to their mill; for they presently outlaw such persons, as favourers of hereticks, for suffering an heretick to sow such pestilent seed among them, without complaining thereof to the Inquisitors. The keeper of the prison also is examined what he hath seen and observed of him in the prison; and his testimony is as good as two testimonies to take away the prisoner's life.

They have also promoters to bring in accusations, who are admitted, though frantic bedlams, or the veriest varlets that be; and if, in their informations, they chance to want words of weight, the Inquisitors will help them out, and prompt them word by word. Then, after three or four days, the prisoner is called again, to put in his answer to the depositions. But, in the interim, his advocate never comes at him, to assist or direct him; but he is left to himself, without any help, save of God alone. His answer being viewed, he is remanded to prison again, with this *item;* that if he confess not the truth, they will extort it out of him by extremity.

After two or three months more, he is called for once again, and required to speak what he hath for himself, or else they must draw to an end; and, if he still shrinks not, but stands firm in his justification, they proceed to other dealings, in comparison of which, all their former dealings are not only sufferable, but seem reasonable and full of gentleness: for their future actions far exceed all barbarousness, the Devil himself being not able to go beyond them in their monstrous cruelty and tyranny. For, not long after, the prisoner is called in before the Inquisitors, who tell him, they have deeply considered his whole case, and found out that he doth not declare the whole truth, and therefore they are resolved that he shall be racked; that by force they may draw from him, what by fair means he will not acknowledge; and therefore they advise him, rather to do it voluntarily, and thereby to avoid the pain and peril that yet attends him. Yet whether he confess, or not confess, all is one, to the rack he must go. Then is he led into the place where the rack standeth; which is a deep and dark dungeon, under ground, with many doors to pass through, before a man comes to it; because the shrieks and cries of the tormented should not be heard. Then the Inquisitors seat themselves upon a scaffold, hard by the rack; and the torches being lighted, the executioner comes in, all arrayed from top to toe, in a suit of black canvas: his head is covered with a long black hood, that covereth all his face, having only two peep-holes for his eyes; which sight doth more affright the poor soul, to see one in the likeness of a devil to be his tormentor. The lords being set in their places, they begin again to exhort him to speak the truth freely and voluntarily: then, with sharp words, they command him to be stripped stark naked; yea, though the modestest maid, the chastest matron in the city; whose grief, in regard to the rack, is not so great, as to be seen naked in the presence of such manner of persons: for those wicked villains, without any regard of modesty, will not, by any prayers of godly matrons, or chaste maidens, forbear one jot of that barbarous impudence; as if a shirt or smock could hinder the violence of the rack from sufficiently tormenting them.

The party being thus stripped, the Inquisitors signify to the tormentor, how they would have him or her ordered. The first kind of torment is the gibbet or pulley: but first one comes behind him, and binds his hands with a cord, eight or ten times about; the Inquisitors calling upon him to strain each harder than the other. They cause also his thumbs

to be bound extreme hard, with a small line; and so both hands and thumbs are fastened to a pulley, which hangs on the gibbet: then they put great and heavy bolts on his heels, and hang upon those bolts between his feet certain weights of iron, and so hoist him or her up from the ground; and, while the poor wretch hangs in this plight, they begin to exhort him again to accuse himself and as many others as he knows of: then they command him to be hoisted up higher, to the very beam, till his head touch the pulley. Having hung thus a good while, they command him to be let down, and twice so much weight to be fastened to his heels, and so hoisted up again, and one inch higher, if it may be: then they command the hangman to let him up and down, that the weights of the irons, hanging at his heels, may rend every joint in his body asunder; with which intolerable pains, if the party shriek or cry out, they roar out aloud to him, to confess the truth, or else he shall come down with a vengeance. Then they bid the hangman suddenly to slip the rope, that he may fall down with a sway, and in the midway to stop; thus they give him the strappado, which being as soon done, it rends all his body out of joint; arms, shoulders, back, legs, &c. by reason of the sudden jerk, and the weights hanging at his heels. If yet he remain constant, they add more weight to his heels the third time; and the poor wretch, already half-dead, is hoisted up the third time: and to increase his misery, they rail at him, calling him dog and heretick, telling him that there he is like to make his end. If the poor creature in his pangs calls upon Christ, entreating that he would vouchsafe to aid and assist him, thus miserably tormented for his sake; then they fall to mocking and deriding him, saying, "Why callest thou on Jesus Christ? Let Jesus alone, and tell us the truth; what a crying out upon Christ makest thou?" &c. But if the party desire to be let down, promising to tell somewhat; that is the ready way to make him be worse used: for now they think that he begins only to broach the matter; for, when he hath done, they command him to be hauled up again, and to be let down as before; so that usually these torments are exercised upon him, for three hours together. Then they ask the gaoler, if his other torments are ready?—to affright the poor soul. The gaoler answereth, that they are ready, but he hath not brought them with him. Then the Inquisitors bid him to bring them against the morrow; "for," say they, "we will try other ways to get the truth out of this fellow." And so, turning to him that lies in miserable pain, having all his joints out: "How now, sirrah, (say they) how like you this geer? Have you enough of it yet? Well, see that you call your wits to-morrow, or look to die then; for what you have felt is but a flea-biting, in comparison of what is behind." And so they depart.

Then the gaoler plays the bone-setter, as well as he can, setting his joints, and so carries him back again to prison, or drags him by the arms or legs most pitifully. And if they mean to rack him no more, after two or three days they send for him again, and cause him to be brought by the rack; where the hangman stands in the likeness of a devil, as before, the more to affright him. When he comes before the Inquisitors, they fall to persuading him to confess the truth at last: and, if he confess any thing, he may chance to go to the rack again, whereby they hope to extort more; and, when indeed they intend to rack the party again, then, at three days' end, (when the ache in his joints is most grievous and painful to him,) they send for him, requiring him to declare all his heresies, and to impeach all such as he hath had conference with about them, and all such as he knows to be of that mind, or else he must prepare himself for the rack: and if he continue constant, he is again stripped of his clothes, and hoisted up with weights at his heels, as before. Besides which, as he hangs at the pulley, they bind his thighs together, and legs about the calf, with a small strong cord, and with a short piece of wood they twist the cord, till it be shrunk so deep in the flesh that it is past sight; which is extreme and terrible torment, worse than any he hath yet endured: and in this plight they let the poor soul lie two or three hours; the Inquisitors, in the mean time, not ceasing to exhort, persuade, threaten, and scoff at him.

Yea, sometimes they proceed to another kind of torture, called 'the Aselli,' which is after this manner: There is a piece of timber somewhat hollowed on the top, like a trough,

about the middle whereof there is a sharp bar going a-cross, whereon a man's back resteth, that it cannot go to the bottom; it is also placed so, that his heels shall lie higher than his head; then is the naked party laid thereon, his arms, thighs, and legs, bound with strong small cords, and wrested with short truncheons, till the cords pierce almost to the very bone; then they take a thick fine lawn-cloth, laying it over the party's mouth, as he lies upright on his back, so that it may stop his nostrils also; then, taking a quantity of water, they pour it in a long stream, like a thread, which, falling from on high, drives the cloth down into his throat, which puts the poor wretch into as great an agony as any endure in the pains of death: for in this torture he hath not liberty to draw his breath, the water stopping his mouth, and the cloth his nostrils; so that, when the cloth is drawn out of the bottom of his throat, it draws forth blood with it, and a man would think that it tore out his very bowels. This is iterated as often as the Inquisitors please, and yet they threaten him with worse torments, if he confess not: and so he is returned to prison again. Yet many times, after he hath lain there a month or two, he is brought again to the rack, and used as before; yea sometimes five or six times, even as often as they please; for their lust is their law. And yet they have another torment with fire, which is no whit inferior to the former: They take a pan of burning charcoal, and set it just over-against the soles of the party's feet, just before he goes to the rack; and that the fire may have the more force upon them, they baste them with lard or bacon. But, if all extremity of torments will not force him to confess what they desire, nor to deny the truth, they use other means, by subtle interrogatories, and frequent questionings, to draw him into some snare or other. Yea, if yet they cannot prevail, then some one of the Inquisitors comes to him in private, and shews himself much affected with his misery; weeps with him, comforts him, gives him advice, and seems to impart such a secret to him, as he would scarce impart to his father, or dearest friend alive; and this they use most with women: whereas, they are but fair baits upon deadly hooks, whereby they seek to destroy them; whereof we have this example:

At Seville there were apprehended a godly matron, two of her daughters and her niece, who all of them underwent the fore-mentioned torments with manly courage, and Christian constancy; because they would not betray each other, nor other godly persons in that city. Then one of the Inquisitors sent for the youngest maid often to his chamber, pretended much compassion towards her, spoke much to comfort her, told her what a grief it was to him to see her torments, and then he used familiar and pleasant communication to her; and told her he would advise her the best way to free herself, mother, and sister, from these troubles; that he would undertake the ordering of their business, and then persuaded her to tell the whole truth to him; and he bound himself with an oath, that he would stop all further proceedings against them, and procure their dismission. Having thus outwitted the poor maid, who gave too much credit to him; she told him of some points of religion which they had wont to confer of amongst themselves; and so, when he had gotten out of her what possibly he could, like a perfidious villain, (contrary to his vows, promises, and oaths,) he caused her to be racked again, to get more out of her: yea, they put her also to the intolerable pain of the trough, and through extremity of pangs and torments, they at last extorted from her a betraying of her own mother, sister, and divers others, who were immediately apprehended, tortured, and at last burnt with fire. But, when they were brought with great pomp upon the scaffold, and had the sentence of death passed upon them, this maid went to her aunt (who had instructed her in the principles of religion), and boldly, without change of countenance, gave her hearty thanks for the great benefit which she had received by her means, entreating her to pardon her for what she had offended her at any time, for that she was now to depart out of this life: her aunt cornforted her stoutly, and bid her be of good cheer, for that now ere long they should be with Christ. This woman was openly whipped, and kept in prison during her life: the rest were all presently burned.

Another device they have is this: When they think that prisoners, which are together,

do talk together of religion, exhorting and comforting one another, as they have occasion or opportunity; the Inquisitors commit to prison, under a colour, a crafty knave, whom they call 'a Fly;' who, after two or three days, will cunningly insinuate himself into the bosom of the other prisoners, and then (pretending a great deal of zeal to religion) he will proffer discourse to them, and by degrees get out of their mouths something whereof he may accuse them. Then doth he move for a day of hearing, and so, getting in to the Inquisitors, impeaches the prisoners, who shall be sure afterwards to hear of it to their smart: yea, these Flies, as soon as they are out of one prison, for the hope of gain, will be content presently to be put into another, and then into a third; where they will lie in chains, as the other prisoners do, enduring hunger, cold, stink, and the loathsomeness of the prison, and all to betray others; and this man's accusation is as strong and valid as the testimony of any other witness whatsoever. Other Flies also there are that serve the holy Inquisition abroad, slily insinuating themselves into the company of the common people, who are suspected to be Lutherans; and when they can pump any thing out of them, they presently betray them. They have yet this other advice, when they can catch any man that is noted for religion, or a minister that hath instructed others, after he hath been in prison a while; they give it out, that he, upon the rack, hath discovered all his disciples and acquaintance, and they suborn others to aver, that they heard it. And this they do to draw the simple people to come of their own accord, and to confess their faults to the Inquisitors, and to crave pardon; whereupon they promise them favour.

The Inquisitors and their officers use to call their prisoners dogs and hereticks, and indeed they use them much worse than most men do their dogs; for, first, the place where usually each of them is laid, (by reason of the straitness, ill air, and dampness of the earth,) is liker a grave than a prison; and if it be aloft, in the hot weather, it is like a hot oven or furnace: and in each of these holes usually two or three are thronged together, so that they have no more room than to lie down in. In one corner is a stool of easement, and a pitcher of water to quench their thirst: in these cells they have no light, but what comes in at the key-hole, or some small cranny: others there are much worse, not being long enough for a man to lie in; so that such, as are put into them, never likely come out till they be half rotted away, or die of a consumption.

Their diet is answerable to their lodging: the rich pay large fees to the holy house, and every prisoner is rated as the Inquisitors please; but to such as are poor the king allows three-pence a day, out of which the steward, laundress, and some other necessary charges are deducted; so that not one half of it comes to the prisoner's share: and if any be moved with compassion to relieve them, it is counted such an heinous offence, that it will cost him a scourging till blood come, at least. It once happened that there was a keeper appointed for their prison in the castle of Triana in Seville, that was of a courteous disposition by nature, who used the prisoners well; and closely, for fear of the Inquisitors, shewed them some favour: at which time there were a godly matron, and her two daughters, committed to prison, who being put into several rooms, had a great desire to see each other for their mutual comfort in their distress; whereupon they besought the keeper to suffer them to come together, if it were but for one quarter of an hour. The keeper yielded, and so they were together about half an hour, and then returned to their former prisons. Within a few days after, these women being racked in a terrible manner, the keeper fearing, lest they would confess that little favour which he had shewed them, of his own accord went to the Inquisitors, confessed his fact, and craved pardon: but they deemed this so heinous an offence, that they presently commanded him to be hauled to prison, where, by reason of the extremity shewed him, he fell mad. Yet this procured him no favour; for, after he had been a whole year in a vile prison, they brought him upon their triumphant stage, with a Sambenito upon him, and a rope about his neck; and there they censured him to be whipped about the city, and to have two-hundred stripes, and then to serve in the galleys for six years. The next day, one of his mad fits coming upon him, as he was set on an ass's back to be scourged, he threw himself off,

snatched a sword out of the officer's hand, and had slain him, if the people had not immediately laid hold on him; whereupon he was bound faster on the ass's back, had his two-hundred stripes, and was for this offence condemned four years longer to the galleys.

Another keeper, at another time, had a maid, who, seeing how miserably the prisoners were used, pitying their distressed condition, who were hunger-starved and almost pined, she would sometimes speak to them at the grate, exhort and comfort them as well as she could, and sometimes would help them to some good and wholesome food; yea, by her means the prisoners came to understand one another's condition, which was a great comfort to them. But, this, at last, coming to the Inquisitors' ears, they enjoined her to wear the Sambenito, to be whipped about the streets, to receive two-hundred stripes, and to be banished the city for ten years, with this writing on her head, 'A favourer and aider of hereticks.' And, whereas all other sorts of persons in prison and bondage are allowed to recreate and refresh themselves with singing at their pleasure, these poor souls are forbidden this small solace, in their great misery: for, if any of them sing a Psalm, or openly recite any portion of Scripture, the Inquisitors take it very heinously, and presently send to them, requiring them to be silent upon the pain of excommunication; and if the prisoner make light of this warning, he shall have a bit set on his tongue to teach him obedience; and this they do both to deprive the poor souls of all kinds of solace, and to keep other prisoners from knowing how their friends do: so that it often falls out, that a man and his friend, the father and son, yea, the husband and wife, shall be in one prison-house two or three years together, and not know of each other's being there, till they meet upon the scaffold, upon the great day of triumph.

By reason of this cruel usage, many of the prisoners die; some of their torments, others of the stink of the prison, and others of diseases contracted by hunger and cold, ill diet, &c. They have also an hospital, unto which they remove such as fall sick in their prisons, where yet they are not dealt more gently with in any thing, save that they have physick allowed them for their health's sake: but none are suffered to come to them, but the physician and the servants of the hospital; and, as soon as the patient is on the mending hand, he is carried back to the place from whence he came.

If the prisoner be half naked, or want something to lie on, and thereupon pray the Inquisitors that his necessity may be considered; the answer which he receives is this: "Well, now the weather is warm, you may live full well, without either clothes or couch:" and, if it be the winter-time, his answer is, "True, it hath been a great frost of late, but now the cold is come down again, and it will be more seasonable weather: care you for the garments wherewithal you should clothe your soul, which consisteth in uttering the truth, and discharging your conscience before this holy house." And, if the prisoner desire to have some good book, or the Holy Bible, to enable him to pass that troublesome and careful time to some profit; the Inquisitors answer him, "that the true book is to speak the truth, and to discharge his conscience to that holy court; and that he ought to be occupied in laying open his wounds to their lordships, who are ready to give him a plaister:" whereby it appears that all their care and desire is, that the poor prisoner may have nothing to look on, or think on, but his present miserable state; that the grief thereof, grating upon him, may force him to satisfy their request.

The last act of the tragedy remaineth, wherein both parties are pleased, and have their desire; the Inquisitors in obtaining their prey, the prisoners in finding some end of their miserable usage. But, two or three days before the solemnity, they use severally to call before them all such whose estates are confiscated; examining them what lands or goods they have; where they lie; charging them upon great penalties, not to conceal one jot; telling them, that, if any thing be afterwards found, felony shall be laid to their charge, and he with whom it is found shall pay soundly for it: and, when all is confessed, they are returned to prison again.

The night before the festival, they cause all the prisoners to be brought into a large room, where they are informed of the several times of penances that they are to do the next day. The next morning, very early, the Familiars come, and attire the prisoners in

their several habits, in which they are to appear before the people; some in Sambenitoes (which is a long garment painted all over with ugly devils), on his head he hath a high-crowned hat, whereon a man is painted burning in the fire, with many devils about him, plying him with fire and faggots; besides, their tongues have a cleft piece of wood, put upon them, which nips and pincheth them that they cannot speak: they have also about their necks cords, and their hands fast bound behind them. On this sort come these constant martyrs disguised first to the stage, and then to the stake; and in the like sort do all the rest come forth arrayed as the others, and set forth with the like notes of infamy, either more or less, as the Inquisitors please to disgrace them in the sight of the people: on each hand of every prisoner goeth a Familiar, all armed to guard him; as also two friars, with every one that is to die, who persuade him, tooth and nail, to deny that doctrine that formerly he hath professed, now at the going out of this world; which wicked importunity is a grief to the poor servants of Jesus Christ.

The Inquisitors also pass in great pomp from the Castle of Triana to their scaffold; and, when all are set in their places, a sermon begins, framed on purpose in commendation of the holy house, and in confutation of such hereticks as are presently to suffer: but the greatest part is spent in slanderous reproaches, wherewith they vilify and disgrace the Truth, and the profession of it. The sermon being ended, the sentences against the prisoners are read; first against such as have easiest punishment, and so in order to the greater; which sentences are commonly these,—Death without mercy; Whipping in such extremity, that the persons seldom escape with their lives; Condemnation to the Galleys; Forfeiture of all their Estates, &c.

Then doth the chief Inquisitor absolve all such as have forsaken Christ, and are come home to the church of Rome, from all the errors for which they shewed themselves penitent: but, though hereby they are absolved from the fault, yet not from the punishment; for, notwithstanding their recantation, they must abide the punishment without mercy.

And whereas multitudes of people resort to this spectacle, (some coming twenty leagues to see it,) the Inquisitors have this trick to uphold their kingdom: they cause all the people present to take an oath to live and die in the service of the church of Rome, hazarding both lives and goods against any that shall oppose it; as also, to their power, to uphold and maintain the holy Inquisition, and to defend all the officers thereof, &c.

Then, if there be any amongst the prisoners to be degraded, they proceed after this manner: First they apparel him in his massing robes, then they despoil him again of every part thereof; then are his hands, lips, and the crown of his head scraped with a piece of glass, or sharp knife, till they bleed again; to scrape off the holy oil wherewith he was anointed at his ordination. In the end of their sentence, which is pronounced upon such as are to be burned, they use this abominable hypocrisy: they bequeath him to the secular power, with this humble request to them, to shew the prisoner as much favour as may be, and neither to break any bone, nor pierce the skin of the body. This shews their great impudence, that having already given sentence on him to be burned, they yet should pretend such mercy and clemency towards him, whom all along themselves have used with such extreme cruelty.

They use also this trick further, that in reading the crimes, for which he is condemned, they do not only misreport such things as he confessed upon his examination, but they devilishly father upon him such things as he never spoke, or thought of, in all his life: and this they do to disgrace him, and to make him and his opinions more abhorred of all men; and to increase their own estimation and credit, as being necessary officers to rid the world of such pestilent persons; and all this while the prisoner's tongue hath a cleft piece of wood upon it, to his intolerable pain and grief, that he cannot answer for himself, nor gainsay that they charge him with.

All these things being finished; the magistrate takes them into his hand, and conveys them presently to the place of execution, with divers instruments of Satan about them, calling and crying to them, to forsake the truth: and when they cannot prevail; after the

prisoner is tied to the stake, they break his neck in a trice, and then they report amongst the common people, that they recanted their heresies at the last hour, and so came home to the church of Rome; and therefore they felt no pain in the fire at all.

Such as are not condemned to die, are carried back, and the next day brought up to be whipped; after which some of them are sent to the galleys; others, kept in prison all their life-time. But all have this special charge given them, that they never speak of any thing that they have heard, seen, or felt, during their imprisonment in the Inquisition: for, if the contrary be ever proved against them, and that they utter any of their secrets, they shall be taken for persons relapsed, and be punished with greatest severity; their judgment being death without redemption: and hereby they keep in all their knavery and tyranny close and secret to themselves. And if any of them be released, because their faults were but small; they are yet so careful, lest their cruelty should come to light, that they inhibit him the company and conference with any other, than such as they shall appoint and allow him: neither will they suffer him to write to any friends, except they first have the perusing of the letters.

Sometimes also, after they have imprisoned men in such a miserable state for a year or two, and can extort nothing out of them by their torments, nor prove any thing against them by witness, so that they must necessarily dismiss them; they then call them into the court, begin to flatter them, and tell them what a good opinion they have of them; and that they are resolved to send them home: for the which fatherly favour extended toward them, in saving their lives and goods, they are to account themselves much beholden to their lordships, &c. and so at last they dismiss him with special charge of silence: and, when he is gone, they have special spies abroad, to see how he takes the matter; and, if they find that he complains of his punishments, or discloses their secrets, they presently commence a new suit against him.

On a time, the Inquisitors at Seville apprehended a noble lady: the cause was, for that a sister of hers, a very virtuous virgin, who afterwards was burned for religion, had confessed in the extremity of her torments, that she had sometimes had conference with this her sister about matters of religion. This lady, when she was first apprehended, was gone with child about six months, in respect whereof they did not shut her up so close, nor deal so severely with her, as they did with others; but, within four days after she was brought to bed, they took the child from her, and the seventh day after they shut her up in close prison, and used her in all things as they did other prisoners: the only worldly comfort she had in her misery was, that they lodged her with a virtuous maiden, that was her fellow-prisoner for a time, but afterwards burned at the stake. This maid, whilst they were together, was carried to the rack, and so sore strained and tore thereon, that she was almost pulled in pieces; then was she brought back and thrown upon a bed of flags, that served both to lie on: the good lady was not able to help her, yet shewed singular tokens of love and compassion towards her.

The maid was scarce recovered, when the lady was carried out to be served with the same sauce, and was so terribly tormented in the trough, that, by reason of the strait straining of the strings, piercing to the very bones of her arms, thighs, and shins, she was brought back half-dead to her prison, the blood gushing out of her mouth abundantly, which shewed that something was broken within her; but after eight days the Lord delivered her from these cruel tigers, by taking her mercifully to himself.

Upon one of their days of triumph, there was brought out one John Pontio, of a noble family, a zealous professor of the truth, and one of an holy and blameless life, and well learned; he was eminent also in works of charity, in which he had spent a great part of his estate. Being apprehended for the profession of the Gospel, he was cast into prison, where he manfully maintained the Truth, in the midst of all their cruel dealings with him. At last, they cast into prison to him one of their Flies; who by his subtlety and craft so wrought upon him, that he drew from him a promise to yield obedience to the Romish church. But, though God suffered him to fall a while, to shew him his frailty; yet afterwards in much mercy he raised him up again with double strength, to that which

he had before; and, before his execution, he manfully defended the Truth against a subtle friar. The things, which he was condemned for, were these: that he should say, that from his heart he abhorred the idolatry, which was committed in worshipping the host; that he removed his household from place to place, that he might shun coming to mass; that the justification of a Christian resteth only in the merits of Jesus Christ, apprehended by faith, &c. that there was no purgatory; that the pope's pardons were of no value. "And for myself, (saith he,) I am not only willing, but desirous to die; and ready to suffer any punishment, for the Truth which I have professed. I esteem not of this world, nor of the treasures of it, more than for my necessary use; and the rest to bestow in the propagation and maintenance of the Gospel; and I beseech God daily upon my knees, for my wife and children, that they may always continue in this quarrel even unto death:" and, when he came to his execution, he patiently and comfortably slept in the Lord.

At the same time, there was also brought forth one John Gonsalvo, formerly a priest; but, by his diligent study of the Scripture, it pleased God to reveal his Truth to him, so that he became a zealous preacher of it; labouring in all his sermons to beat into men's minds, that the Truth and means of our justification consist in Christ alone, and in stedfast faith in him: for which he was apprehended and cast into prison, where he endured all their cruelty with Christian courage. At last, with two of his sisters he was condemned; his mother also and one of his brothers were imprisoned with him for the Truth, and executed shortly after. When he with his sisters went out at the Castle-gate, having his tongue at liberty, he began to sing the cvith Psalm before all the people, who had often heard him make many godly sermons; he condemned all hypocrites as the worst of people: whereupon, they stocked his tongue. Upon the stage he never changed countenance, nor was at all daunted. When they all came to the stake, they had their tongues loosed, and were commanded to say their creed; which they did carefully. When they came to those words, 'the holy Catholic church,' they were commanded to add, 'of Rome;' but that they all refused: whereupon their necks were broken in a trice; and then it was noised abroad, that they added those words and died, confessing the church of Rome to be the true Catholic church.

There was, in Seville, a private congregation of God's people; most of which, the Inquisitors consumed in the fire, as they could discover any of them. Amongst others that were apprehended, they took four women, famous above the rest, for their holy and godly conversation; but especially the youngest of them, who was not above one and twenty years old; who, by her diligent and frequent reading of the Scriptures, and by conference with godly and learned men, had attained to a very great measure of knowledge; so that, whilst she was in prison, she nonplussed and put to shame many of those friars that came to seduce her.

Another of these women was a grave matron, whose house was a school of virtue, and a place where the saints used to meet and serve God day and night. But the time being come, wherein they were ripe for God, they together with other of their neighbours were apprehended and cast into prison; where they were kept in dark dungeons, and forced to endure all the cruel and extreme torments before mentioned: at last they were condemned, and brought forth to the scaffold amongst other prisoners. The young maid, especially, came with a merry and cheerful countenance, as it were triumphing over the Inquisitors; and having her tongue at liberty, she began to sing psalms to God: whereupon, the Inquisitors caused her tongue to be nipped, by setting a barnacle upon it. After sentence was read, they were carried to the place of execution, where, with much constancy and courage, they ended their lives: yet the Inquisitors, not satisfied herewith, caused the house of the matron, where the church used to meet, to be pulled down, and the ground to be laid waste; and a pillar to be erected upon it, with an inscription shewing the cause.

There was also apprehended another worthy member of the same congregation, called Ferdinando; he was of a fervent spirit, and very zealous in doing good; a young man,

but for his integrity of life very famous. He had spent eight years in educating of youth, and had endeavoured to sow the seed of piety in the hearts of his scholars, as much as lay in him to do, in a time of so great persecution, and tyranny: being at last apprehended for a Lutheran, he was cast into prison, and terribly tormented upon the gibbet, and in the trough; whereby he was so shaken in every joint, that when he was taken down, he was not able to move any part of his body: yet did those cruel tormentors drag him by the heels into his prison, as if he had been a dead dog; but, notwithstanding all his torments, he answered the Inquisitors very stoutly, and would not yield to them one jot. During his imprisonment, God used him as an instrument, to recall and confirm a monk, who had been cast into prison, for confessing the Gospel openly. But, by means of the Inquisitors' flatteries and fair promises, he had somewhat relented: God's Providence so ordering it, that Ferdinando was cast into the same prison; and finding the monk wavering, he rebuked him sharply; and afterwards having drawn him to a sight of, and sorrow for his sin, he at last strengthened him in the promise of free grace and mercy. Hereupon, the monk desired a day of hearing, where before the Inquisitors he solemnly renounced his recantation, desiring that his former confession might stand; whereupon a sentence of death passed upon them both: after which the Inquisitors asked Ferdinando, "Whether he would revolt from his former heresies?" To which he answered, "That he had professed nothing but what was agreeable to the pure and perfect word of God, and ought to be professed of every Christian man, and therefore he would stick to it to his death." Then they did clap a barnacle upon his tongue, and so they were burned together.

There was also one Juliano called 'the Little,' because he was of a small and weak body; who, going into Germany, was there conversant with divers learned and godly men; by which means he attained to the knowledge of the Truth, and became a zealous professor of it; and earnestly longing after the salvation of his countrymen, he undertook a very dangerous work, which was to convey two great dry fats,[1] full of Bibles printed in Spanish, into his own country. In the attempt he had much cause of fear; the Inquisitors had so stopped every port, and kept such strict watch to prevent the coming in of all such commodities; but through God's mighty protection, he brought his burden safely thither: and (which was also miraculous) he conveyed them safe into Seville; notwithstanding the busy searchers, and catchpoles that watched in every corner. These Bibles, being dispersed, were most joyfully and thankfully received; and, through God's blessing, wrought wonderfully amongst God's people, to ripen them against the time of harvest. But at last, the matter broke out by the means of a false brother, who going to the Inquisitors, played the Judas, and betrayed the whole church to them; so that there were taken at Seville, at one time, eight-hundred Christians; whereof twenty of them were afterwards roasted at one fire.

Amongst these, this Juliano was one of the first that was apprehended and sent to prison, where he lay without any company, loaden with irons above three years: yet was his constancy so great and wonderful, that the tormentors themselves were sooner wearied in inflicting, than he in suffering torments; and, notwithstanding his weak and wearyish body, yet he remained undaunted in mind, in the undergoing of all their tyrannies; so that he departed from the rack less dejected than he came to it. Neither threatenings, nor pains, nor torments, made him shrink or yield one jot to them; but, when he was drawn back to his prison, he would tell his fellows how he had conquered and confounded his enemies; saying, "They depart vanquished; the wolves fly with shame; they fly with shame."

In the day of their triumph, when he was brought out apparelled, with his other fellow-prisoners, in all their shameful habits, he exhorted them with a cheerful countenance, saying, "My brethren, be of good cheer; this is the hour wherein we must be faithful witnesses unto God and his Truth before men, as becomes the true servants and soldiers of Jesus Christ; and before long we shall have him to witness with us again; and within a few hours we shall triumph with him in heaven for ever." But hereupon they presently

[1] [Or vats.]

clapped a barnacle upon his tongue, that he should speak no more; and so he was led to his execution. But though he could not speak, yet, by his countenance and gestures, he shewed his cheerful and quiet mind: then, kneeling down, he kissed the step whereon he stood; and being tied to the stake, he endeavoured by his looks and gestures to encourage his fellow-martyrs in their sufferings: and so they quietly and patiently resigned up their spirits unto God.

There was also one John Leon, a tailor by trade, who, out of a blind devotion to serve God, resolved to enter into a monastery; but by God's Providence it so fell out that he entered into a cloister at Seville, wherein most of the monks were well affected to the true religion; amongst whom, in two or three years space, he was so grounded in the principles of religion, that he resolved to leave that kind of life; which accordingly he did, and went into the country. Yet, after a time, he had a great mind to confer with his former schoolmasters; but, when he came back to the cloister, he found that they were all fled into Germany. Hereupon, he resolved to follow them; and through many dangers and perils it pleased God at last, after a long and tedious journey, to bring him safe to Frankfort, where he met with some of his old acquaintance; and with them he travelled to Geneva. About this time queen Mary suddenly dying, and queen Elizabeth of blessed memory succeeding her; the English exiles, who lived in those parts, were called home. Whereupon, divers Spaniards that sojourned at Geneva, thinking England a fitter place for their congregation, resolved to accompany the Englishmen: and, for this end, they dispersed themselves into several companies, that they might travel with the more safety. The Inquisitors took the departure of these monks so ill; that, not sparing any cost, they sent Flies abroad to apprehend them, who way-laid them, especially at Cologne, Frankfort, Antwerp, and in all the ways that led from Geneva. This John Leon had gotten him a companion, with whom he travelled towards England, who, being discovered at Argentine, were dogged into Zealand; and, as they were ready to take ship, they were apprehended:—John Leon took his arrest very composedly, never changing countenance at it. They were presently carried back into the town, where they were miserably racked to discover their fellows, and not long after were shipped for Spain; having great irons wrought like a net that covered both head and feet, within which also was another piece of iron made like a tongue, which being thrust into their mouths took away their speech: they were also loaden with other engines and fetters of iron, wherewith they were bound hand and foot, and in these continual pains and torments they lay a-shipboard till they came into Spain; and then John Leon was sent to Seville, and his companion to Valladolid, where afterwards in defence of the Truth he suffered martyrdom. But John remained long in prison, where he tasted of the Inquisitors' tyranny; suffering both hunger and cold, and enduring all their torments one after another, and at last was brought out in their solemn show, arrayed after the usual manner. It was a sad sight to see such a ghost as he was; his hair so grown, his body so lean, that he had nothing but skin and bones left on him; and his pain much increased, by having a barnacle upon his tongue. After sentence of death pronounced upon him, they set his tongue at liberty, hoping that he would have recanted: but he made a stout and godly confession of his faith, and so quietly ended his life in the flames.

There was also burned at the same time a godly virgin, that had formerly been a nun, but, being through God's grace converted, she left her cloister, and joined herself to the church of Christ. Being apprehended by the Inquisitors, she was treated as others had been before her, and at last was brought on the scaffold; where, with manly courage, she put the Inquisitors to a foul foil; not only constantly affirming the Truth, but sharply rebuking those fathers, calling them dumb dogs, a generation of vipers, &c. Being brought to the stake, with a cheerful countenance she underwent the pains of death; and so quietly slept in the Lord.

There was also one Christopher Losada, a physician, a learned man and very well studied in the Scriptures, as also of a very holy conversation, insomuch that he was chosen superintendant of the church of Christ in Seville; which at this time was very great,

though dispersed into corners. At last he was apprehended by the Inquisitors, before whom he had made a good confession of his faith: for which he endured hard and sharp imprisonment with most cruel torments, and the open infamy of their solemn show; and lastly was adjudged to the fire. As he stood at the stake, the barnacle being taken from his tongue, he disputed notably with some monks that came to seduce him; and when they spake Latin, (that the common people might not understand them,) Losada also began to speak in Latin so copiously and eloquently, as was strange to hear that he should have his wits so fresh when he was ready to be burned; after which, he patiently resigned up his spirit to God in the fire.

There was also in Seville one Arias, a man of a sharp wit, and well studied in divinity, but withal of a crafty wit and inconstant nature, which vices he yet covered with a cloke of religion, whereby he deceived many. About this time there were also in this city two sorts of preachers, and both had a great number of auditors; the one taught school-divinity, and were continually calling upon their hearers to often fastings, mortification, self-denial, frequency of prayer, humility, &c. but themselves practised nothing less than these things: and indeed all their religion consisted in words and bodily exercises, as running to masses, hallowed places, confession, &c. The other sort dealt more sincerely with the Holy Scriptures, out of which they declared what was true righteousness and perfect holiness; by means whereof that city, above all others in Spain, bore the name for just and true dealing: and it pleased God, that the brightness of this light did discover all the counterfeit holiness, and pharisaical devotion of the other party. The chief labourers in this harvest were Constantine, Ægidius, and Varguius, all doctors; and sober, wise, and learned men; who by this kind of preaching procured to themselves many enemies, but, above all others, Arias was the most spiteful and malicious: yet he carried it so cunningly, that he still kept up his reputation with these men; but it was not long before he discovered himself, and that upon this occasion. There was one Ruzius, a learned man, questioned before the Inquisitors for something that he delivered in a sermon about the controversies in religion: the Inquisitors appointed him a day of hearing; and two or three days before Arias met him, saluted him courteously, and discoursed familiarly with him: then did he pump out of him all those arguments wherewith he intended to defend himself before the Inquisitors. When the day came, and Ruzius appeared, Arias went on that side where his opponents were, which much amazed Ruzius; and in the disputation, Arias (being prepared) did so wittily enervate all his arguments, that Ruzius had nothing to say for himself, and so was fain to yield the cause; and Arias went away with the honour of the field, though he got it by treachery. Yet did this Arias, being of St. Isidore's monastery, preach so practically, that a great light began to dawn in that dark place; for the whole scope of his sermons was to overthrow their profession: he taught them, that singing and saying of their prayers night and day was no service of God; that the Holy Scriptures were to be read and studied with diligence, whence alone the true service of God could be drawn, and which alone tells us the true obedience to his will; to the obtaining whereof we must use prayer as a means, proceeding as well from a sense and feeling of our own infirmities, as grounded upon a perfect trust and confidence in God.

By laying these foundations, through God's blessing, he began to make them out of love with their monkish superstition, and much provoked them to the study of the Holy Scriptures: besides also his sermons, he read daily a lecture upon Solomon's Proverbs very learnedly, and made application thereof with good judgment and discretion; also in private conference he did much good. The Lord also so ordered it in his wisdom, that he met with scholars that were very tractable; such as were not greatly wedded to their superstitions. And such was the force and might of God's election, that these few good seeds so fructified, that in the end they brought forth a great increase of godliness; for divers of the monks, that hereby had their consciences awakened and cleared, to see their former hypocrisy and idolatry, sought out for further instruction; and, through God's mercy, they light upon those preachers which taught the Truth with more sin-

cerity; of whom they learned the principles of pure and perfect religion: so that, by degrees, they left that evil opinion which they had formerly conceived against the Lutherans, and were desirous to read their books. And God miraculously provided for them; they had all sorts of books brought them that were extant at that time, either in Geneva or Germany; whereby it came to pass, that there were very few in all that cloister but they had some taste of true religion and godliness: so that, instead of mumbling their mattens, they brought in divinity-lectures, and vain fasting was turned into Christian sobriety; neither were any taught to be monkish, but to be sincerely and truly religious.

But considering, that when this should be once known, they could not live in any safety, they resolved among themselves to forsake their nest, and to fly into Germany; where they might enjoy more safety of their lives, and freedom of their consciences. But how to get thither was all the difficulty: if one or two should go first, the rest would be exposed to danger; if many should go together, a thousand to one but they would be taken again, being to travel from the furthest part of Spain into Germany. Yet, upon debate, they concluded, that they must all either speedily depart, or shortly be apprehended by the Inquisitors, who now had got some inkling of the matter: and God, seeing them in this distress, shewed them a means how, under an honest pretence, a dozen of them might depart together within a month, and each of them betake himself a several way to Geneva; where they appointed, by God's assistance, all to meet within a twelvemonth. The rest, which were but young novices, were left behind; who yet not long after were so strengthened by God, that they endured the brunt of persecution when it came; three of them being burned, and divers others diversly punished.

The aforementioned servants of Jesus Christ forsook that place where they lived in honour, ease, and plenty; and, by undertaking for Christ's sake a voluntary exile, exposed themselves to shame, ignominy, wants; yea, and were in continual danger of their lives also. And, under God, Arias was a great means of this, who by his ministry had first enlightened them with the knowledge of the Truth; for which he was often complained of to the Inquisitors, and was convened before them; where he so cunningly answered the matter, that he was still discharged. But this last apprehension, through the mercy of God, brought forth in him the fruits of true repentance; for he did so deeply and unfeignedly bewail and repent of his former withholding of the Truth in unrighteousness, that whereas he used to be exceeding fearful of the rack, he being brought to it, and upon it, with a marvellous constancy withstood the enemies of God's Truth, and took up the Inquisitors roundly; without telling them, "that he was heartily sorry, and did most earnestly repent him, for that he had wittingly and willingly in their presence impugned the Truth, against the godly defenders of the same." Many other sharp rebukes he gave to the Inquisitors, as often as he came to his answer. But at last he was brought forth, arrayed in their accustomed manner, upon the day of triumph; at which time he also made a notable profession of his faith, and so was led from the stage to the stake with a merry and cheerful countenance; where, by the notable example of his repentance at his death, he made satisfaction to the church of Christ for all his former, unfaithful, and hypocritical dealing with it; and so quietly slept in the Lord.

And thus you see what hath been the lot and portion of the church and people of God, *viz.* that 'through many tribulations they should enter into the kingdom of Heaven.' Here you have a certain and infallible mark of the true Church of Christ, *viz.* 'to be hated 'and persecuted by the Devil and his instruments.' Herein, as in a perspective, you may look back upon the persecution of the Church of Christ, by reason of that cruel Spanish Inquisition.

Upon the whole, let us consider, if that religion should be set up amongst us, which allows of such cruelty and tyranny; whether or no we have no cause to fear the worst, and to prepare for it. '*Fore-warned, fore-armed.*'

APPENDIX.

THE institution of this Spanish Inquisition, at first, was not only necessary, as the condition of affairs then was, but exceeding laudable, had it been kept within the bounds at first intended. But, instead of being used on the Jews and Moors, it hath been turned on the Protestants, and that with such violence and extremity of torture, that it is counted the greatest tyranny, and severest kind of persecution under heaven; insomuch that many Papists, who would willingly die for their religion, abhor the very name and mention of it; and, to the death, withstand the bringing in of this slavery amongst them. This was it which caused the irremediable revolt of the Low-Countries; the greatest part of that nation, at the time of their taking arms, being Roman-Catholicks: yet it is planted and established in Spain, and all Italy, Naples and Venice excepted; the management thereof is committed to the most zealous and rigorous friars in the whole pack: the least suspicion of heresy (as they call it), affinity or commerce with hereticks, reproving the lives of the clergy, keeping any books or editions of books prohibited, or discoursing in matters of religion, are offences sufficient; nay they will charge men's consciences, under the pains of damnation, to detect their nearest and dearest friends, if they do but suspect them to be herein culpable. Their proceedings are with great secrecy and severity: For,

1. The parties accused shall never know their accusers, but shall be constrained to reveal their own thoughts and affections.

2. If they be but convinced of any error, in any of their opinions, or be gainsayed by two witnesses, they are immediately condemned.

3. If nothing can be proved against them, yet shall they with infinite tortures and miseries be kept in the house divers years, for a terror unto others.

And, lastly, if they escape the first brunt, with many torments, and much anguish; yet the second question or suspicion brings death remediless. And, as for torments and kinds of death, Phalaris and his fellow-tyrants came far short of these blood-hounds.

The administration of this office, for the more orderly regulation and dispatch thereof, is distributed into twelve courts, or supreme tribunals, for the several provinces of Spain; no one depending upon another, but, in a sort, subordinate to the General Inquisition, remaining in the court, near the king's person, which hath a kind of superintendency over those tribunals. In all which, those of the secular clergy sit as judges, the friars being only used as promoters, to inform the court, and bring more grist unto the mill of these Inquisitors; every one hath the title of Lord, and are a great terror to the neighbouring peasants: certain it is, that, by this means, the people of this kingdom are so kept under, that they dare not hearken after any other religion, than what their priests and friars shall be pleased to teach them; or entertain the Truth, if it comes amongst them, or call in question any of those palpable and gross impostures, which every day are put upon them; for, by this means, the people of this kingdom have been, and still are, punctual followers of the church of Rome; and that too in the very errors and corruptions of it; taking up their religion on the pope's authority, and therein so tenacious or pertinacious, that the king doth suffer none to live in his dominions, which profess not the Roman-Catholic religion; of which they have been, since the time of Luther, such avowed patrons, that one of the late popes, being sick, and hearing divers men to bemoan his approaching end, uttered some words to this effect: "My life (said he) can nothing benefit the church; but pray for the prosperity of the king of Spain, as its chief supporter."

And thus you have the original of the Inquisition.

The Catholick Cause: or, The horrid Practice of Murdering Kings, justified, and commended by the Pope, in a Speech to his Cardinals, upon the barbarous Assassination of Henry the Third of France; who was stabbed by Jaques Clement, a Dominican Friar.[1] The true Copy of which Speech, both in Latin, and also faithfully rendered into English, you have in the following pages.

London: Printed for Walter Kettilby, at the Bishop's-Head, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1678.

[Quarto; containing twenty-four pages.]

This Speech is taken from that printed at Paris in the year 1589, (the year of the king's death,) by Nicholas Nivelle and Rollin Tierry; and set forth with approbation of three doctors of the faculty of Paris, as followeth:

'*Nous soubsignez docteurs en théologie de la faculté de Paris, certifions avoir conféré ceste Harangue pronouncée par sa saincteté, avec l'exemplaire Latin envoyé de Rome, & avoir trouvé conforme l'un à l'autre.* BOUCHER; DECREIL; ANCELIN.'

Sixti Quinti Pont. Max. de Henrici Tertii Morte, Sermo, Romæ in Consistorio Patrum habitus, 2 Septemb. 1589.

ANIMO meo sæpè ac seriò revolvens, mentisque aciem intendens in ea, quæ nuper Dei voluntate acciderunt, videor mihi verè posse illud prophetæ Abacuch usurpare: 'Quia opus factum est in diebus vestris, quod 'nemo credet, cùm narrabitur;' (Abak. i. ver. 5.) Mortuus est rex Francorum per manus monachi.

An Oration of Pope Sixtus the Fifth, upon the Death of King Henry the Third, in Rome, in the full Assembly of the Cardinals.

CONSIDERING oftentimes and seriously with myself, and applying the utmost of my understanding unto these things which now of late, by the will of God, are come to pass; I think I may fitly use the words of the prophet Habakkuk, saying, 'I have wrought a work in your 'days, which no man will believe when it 'shall be told him;' (Habak. i. ver. 5.) The French king is slain by the hands of a friar.

[1] [Vide the fourth volume of this Work, p. 240. The life of pope Sixtus the Fifth has been written, in Italian, by Gregori Leti; and translated into English by Ellis Farneworth, A. M. 1754, fol. Vide also Bower's History of the Popes; 5 vols. 4to.

In the year 1590, was printed 'Anti-Sixtus; an oration of pope Sixtus upon the death of the late French 'king, Henrie iii; with a confutation, &c. Translated out of Latin by A. P. Lond, 1590.' 4to. And in the next year, 'Martin Mar-Sixtus, a second reply against the defensory and apologie of Sixtus V. late pope of 'Rome, defending the execrable fact of the Jacobine frier, upon the person of Henry iii. late kinge of Fraunce, '&c. Wherein the said apologie is faithfully translated, directly answered, and fully satisfied. By R. W. 'Lond. 1591.' 4to.]

Nam ad istud potest rectè applicari; licèt de aliâ re, nempè de incarnatione Domini, quæ omnia mira ac mirabilia superat, propheta propriè locutus sit: sicut & apostolus Paulus eadem verba (Actorum xiii. ver. 41.) ad Christi resurrectionem verissimè refert. Quando propheta nominat 'opus,' non vult innuere aliquid vulgare, vel ordinarium, sed rarum, insigne, ac memorabile facinus; quomodo de creatione mundi, 'Opera manuum 'tuarum sunt cœli.' Item, 'Requievit die 'septimo ab omni opere quod patrarat.' Cùm verò 'factum' ait; eo verbo tale aliquid in Scripturis exprimi, quod non temerè, casu, fortunâ, aut per accidens evenire dicitur; sed quod expressâ Dei voluntate, providentiâ, dispositione, ac ordinatione obvenit. Ut cùm dicit Salvator, 'Opera quæ ego facio vos fa-'cietis, & majora horum facietis;' et similia in sacris litteris plurima. Quod autem loquatur, in præterito factum esse; id more aliorum prophetarum facit qui propter certitudinem eventûs solent sæpè de futuris, ac si jam facta essent, prædicere. Dicunt enim philosophi, res præteritas esse de necessitate, præsentes de inesse, futuras de possibili tantùm: ita illi loquuntur. Propter quam certitudinem Isaias propheta, longè antè vaticinatus de morte Christi, sic dixit, sicut in Act. Apostolorum cap. viii. etiam recitatur, 'Tanquam ovis ad occisionem ductus 'est, & sicut agnus coram tondente se, non 'aperuit os suum;' &c.

Atque hoc, de quo nunc verba facimus, & quod hic diebus nostris evenit, verè insigne, memorabile, & penè incredibile opus est; nec sine Dei Opt. Max. particulari providentiâ & dispositione perpetratum. Occidit monachus regem; non pictum aut fictum in chartâ, aut pariete; sed regem Francorum, in medio exercitûs sui, milite & custodiâ undique septum: quod reverà tale est, & eo modo effectum, ut nemo nunc credat, cùm narrabitur; & fortasse apud posteritatem pro fabulâ reputabitur.

For unto this it may truly be compared; though the prophet spoke of another thing, namely, of the incarnation of our Lord, which exceedeth all other wonders and miracles: as also the apostle St. Paul referreth the same words unto the resurrection of Christ. (Acts xiii. ver. 41.) When the prophet says, 'a work,' he means not by it some common or ordinary thing, but a rare and notable matter, and worthy to be remembered; as that of the creation of the world, 'The Heavens are the works of thy 'hands.' And again, 'He rested the se-'venth day from all the works which he had made.' When he saith, 'I have 'wrought;' with these words the Scripture is wont to express things not to come to pass casually, by fortune, or accident; but things falling out by the determined counsel, will, providence, and ordinance of God. As our Saviour says, 'The works that I do shall 'ye do also, and greater works than these;' (John xiv. v. 12.) and many more in Holy Writ to the like purpose. Now that he says, that it is done in times past; herein he follows the use and manner of the other prophets, who, for the certainty of the event, are wont to predict things to come, as if they were past already. For, as the philosophers say, things past are of necessity; things present, of being; and things to come, only of possibility: so do they speak. For which certainty the prophet Esay[2], long before, prophesying of the death of Christ, hath thus spoken: 'He was led 'as a sheep to the slaughter, and like a 'lamb dumb before his shearer, so opened 'he not his mouth;' &c. as it is likewise repeated, Acts viii.

And this, of which we are now speaking, and which has happened in these our days, is a very famous, memorable, and well nigh incredible thing; not done, or accomplished, without the particular providence and disposition of the Almighty. A friar has killed a king; not a painted one in paper, nor pictured out upon a wall; but the French king, in the middle of his army, encompassed round about with his guard, and soldiers: which truly is such an act, and done in such a manner, that none will believe, when it shall be told them; and

[2] [Isaiah.]

Quòd rex sit mortuus, vel etiam peremptus, facilè creditur; sed eum sic sublatum, vix est credibile. Sicut Christum natum ex fœminâ statim assentimur; sed si addas porro ex fœminâ virgine ortum esse, tunc secundùm hominem non assentior: ita etiam quòd mortuus sit Christus facilè credimus, sed quòd mortuus jam resurrexerit ad vitam, quia ex privatione ad habitum non fit regressio, redditur secundùm intellectum humanum impossibile, propterea incredibile. Quòd homo ex somno, ex morbo, etiam ex syncope, vel extasi resuscitatur, quia id sæpè secundùm naturam fit, humanitùs credimus; sed resurrexisse à mortuis, ita secundùm carnem videbatur incredibile, ut Paulo apud philosophos Athenienses de hâc resurrectione disserenti, improperarent, quòd esset novorum dæmoniorum annunciator: et alii (sicut D. Lucas narrat) irridebant; alii dicebant, 'Audiemus te de hoc iterum.' De talibus igitur, quæ secundùm naturæ leges, & ordinarium cursum, fieri non solent, dicit propheta, quòd nemo credet, cùm narrabitur: sed hujusmodi tantùm fidem adhibemus ex consideratione Omnipotentiæ Divinæ, & per subjectionem intellectûs nostri in obedientiam fidei, & obsequium Christi. Nam hoc modo quod erat incredibile naturalitèr, sit credibile. Igitur, qui secundùm hominem non credo Christum de virgine natum; tamen quando additur hoc factum esse supra naturæ terminos per operationem Spiritûs Sancti; tunc verè assentior & credo.

perhaps our posterity after us will account, and esteem it, but a fable.

That the king is dead, or else slain, it is easily to be believed; but that he is killed, and taken away in such sort, is hardly credible. Even as we presently assent, that Christ is born of a woman; but if we further add, of a virgin-woman, then, according to human reason, we cannot assent unto it: and so we can readily believe, that Christ died; but that he rose from the dead to life again, this, to man's natural understanding, is impossible, and therefore incredible; because there is no return from a privation to an habit. That one is awakened again out of a sleep, ecstacy, or a swoon, because it is not against nature, we naturally believe it; but to be risen again from the dead, it seemed so incredible a thing to nature, that St. Paul, disputing with the Athenian philosophers, about this very point, was disgusted for it, and accused to be a setter forth of new, or strange gods: and some (as St. Luke reports) mocked him; others said, 'We will hear thee again of 'this matter.' Of such things therefore, which befall not according to the laws of nature, and the ordinary course thereof, speaketh the prophet, *viz.* that none shall believe it, when it shall be told them: but we give credit unto it, whilst we consider the Omnipotency of God, and by submitting our own understandings to the obedience of faith, and the commands of our Saviour Christ: and, by these means, what was incredible before, by nature, becometh credible by faith. We therefore, that, as mere men, cannot believe Christ to be born of a virgin; when this is further added, that it was wrought supernaturally, by the operation of the Holy Ghost; then we truly assent to it, and faithfully believe it.

Ita quando dicitur Christum ex mortuis resurrexisse; humanitùs non credo: sed cùm id factum esse per Divinam, quæ in ipso erat, naturam affirmatur, tunc omninò credo.

So likewise, when it is said, that Christ is risen again from the dead; naturally we believe it not: but when it is affirmed, that this was done by the power of the Divine nature, which was in him; then we readily, and without any kind of doubting, believe it.

Eodem modo, licèt tantum regem in medio exercitûs, tot stipatum militibus, ab uno simplici & imbelli religioso occisum esse, secundùm prudentiam carnis, & intellectum humanum, sit incredibile, vel omninò impro-

In the same manner, though to natural reason and human capacity it may seem a thing incredible, or altogether improbable, that such a mighty king should be murdered in the midst of his army, environed round

babile; tamen considerando ex alterâ parte gravissima regis peccata, & specialem Dei Omnipotentis in hâc re Providentiam, & quàm inusitato & mirabili modo justissimam voluntatem suam erga ipsum impleverit, omninò & firmitèr credo. Rem etenim istam tam grandem & inusitatam aliò referre, quàm ad particularem Dei Providentiam, sicut quosdam ad alias causas ordinarias, vel etiam ad fortunam & casum, aut similes accidentarios eventus perperàm referre intelligimus, prorsùs non licet; sicut ii (qui totius facti seriem pressiùs observant) facilè videre possunt, ubi plurima intervenerunt, quæ ab homine, nisi Dei speciali concurrente auxilio, expediri non quiverant. Et sane regum ac regnorum rationes, cæteraque tam rara tantique momenti negotia, à Deo temerè administrari non est existimandum. Sunt in sacrâ Historiâ nonnulla hujus generis, nec eorum quidquam potest aliò, quàm ad Deum authorem referri: tamen nihil est, ubi magis claret superna operatio, quàm in isto, de quo nunc agimus.

with his guards and soldiers, by a poor simple, weak religionist or friar; yet, considering, on the other side, the great and grievous sins of this king, and the special Providence of the Almighty herein, and by what a strange and wonderful way he hath accomplished his most just will and judgment against him, then we fully and most firmly believe it. And therefore this great and miraculous work we are to ascribe to a particular Providence of God only; not as those that erroneously refer all things unto some ordinary causes, or unto fortune, or such like accidentary events; but as those who (more nearly observing, and looking into the course of the whole matter) do easily see that there were many things intervening in it, which could not have been brought to pass, and dispatched, without the special help of God. And truly the state of kings and kingdoms, and all other such rare and weighty affairs, should not be thought to be governed of God rashly, and unadvisedly. There are some instances in Holy Writ of this nature, and none of them can be referred unto any other cause, but God only: but yet there is none wherein the celestial operation more appeareth, than in this, whereof we are now speaking.

Lib. Macchab. 1, *cap.* 6, *legimus Eleazarum, ut regem populi Dei persecutorem ac hostem tolleret, seipsum certæ morti obtulisse. Nam in conflictu conspiciens elephantem cæteris eminentiorem, in quo videbatur rex esse, concito cursu in mediam hostium turmam se conjiciens, hinc indè viam vi sternens, ad belluam venit, atque sub eam intravit, subjectoque gladio peremit, quæ cadens oppressit Eleazarum & extinxit. Hic quoad zelum, & animi robur, reique tentatæ exitum, aliquid hujus nostri simile cernimus; tamen in reliquis nihil est comparabile. Eleazarus erat miles armis & pugnâ exercitatus, in ipso prælio constitutus, ardoreque animi, & furore (ut fit) accensus: iste monachus prœliis ac pugnis non erat assuefactus, & à sanguine vitæ suæ instituto ita abhorrens, ut nec ex venæ incisione fusum cruorem forsan ferre potuerit.*

We read in the first book of Macchabees, ch. vi. how Eleazar run himself upon a certain death, to kill the king that was an enemy and a persecutor of the people and children of God. For, in the battle, espying an elephant higher and more stately than the rest, whereon it was like the king rode, with a swift pace, casting himself into the midst of his enemies' troops, here and there making his way by force, he came to the beast at last, and went under her, and thrust his sword into her belly, and slew her, who falling, with the great weight of her body, pressed him to death, and killed him out of hand. Here in this instance, we may see something not unlike to ours, *viz.* as to zeal, valiantness of mind, and the issue of the enterprise; but in the rest there is no comparison to be made. Eleazar was a soldier exercised in weapons, and trained up in wars, set in battle, emboldened with courage, and inflamed with rage and anger: this a friar, not inured to fighting, and so abhorring blood by the order of his profession, that perhaps he could not abide the cutting of a vein.

Ille noverat genus mortis, simulque locum sepulturæ suæ; nempè, quòd ruinâ belluæ inclusus magis, quàm oppressus, suo sepeliretur triumpho. Iste mortem ac tormenta crudeliora & incognita expectabat; sepulchroque se cariturum non dubitabat. Sed & alia multa dissimilia sunt. Nota quoque est insignis illa historia sanctæ mulieris, Judith, quæ & ipsa, ut obsessam civitatem suam ac populum Dei, liberaret, cepit consilium (Deo, sine controversiâ, suggestore) de interimendo Holopherne, hostilis exercitûs principe; quod & perfecit. In quo opere licèt plurima & apertissima supernæ directionis indicia appareant, tamen longè majora Divinæ Providentiæ argumenta in istius regis occisione, ac civitatis Parisiensis liberatione; conspicere licebit, sicut certè, quoad hominem, hoc fuit illo magis difficile, vel impossibile.

He knew the kind of his death, as also the place of his burial; namely, that he should be entombed under the fall of the beast, and so buried in the midst of his triumph and victory. This man looked for a certain death, and expected nothing but unknown and most cruel torments; and did not doubt before, but that he should want a grave to rest within. But there are many other things, wherein these two instances can suffer no comparison. The famous history of the holy woman, Judith, is sufficiently known; who determined with herself (God, no doubt, moving her to it) that she might deliver the city and the people of God; to murder Holophernes, the general and chief-commander of the enemies' forces; which she most effectually accomplished. Wherein although there appear many and most manifest signs of heavenly direction, yet far greater arguments of God's Providence are to be seen in the killing of this king, and the delivering of the city of Paris; far more difficult, and harder to be brought to pass, than was the enterprise of Judith.

Nam illa sancta fœmina intentionem suam aliquibus urbis presbyteris aperuit, portamque civitatis & custodiam pertransiit, illis præsentibus ac approbantibus; ut proindè scrutationi, vel explorationi, quæ obsidionis tempore solet esse tam exacta, ut ne musca ferè sine examine egredi queat, non potuerit esse subjecta.

For this holy woman discovered her intention to some of the governors of the city, and passed through in sight and presence of the elders and princes of that place, and by that means was not subject unto their examination and searching; which is always used so strictly, in times of siege and war, that a fly can hardly without examination escape them.

Apud hostes verò, per quorum castra & varias excubias transeundum erat; sæpiùs explorata & examinata, cùm fœmina esset; nec quidquam haberet vel literarum, vel armorum, unde suspicio oriri potuit; deque adventu in castra, & à suis, fugæ probabiles reddens rationes, facilè dimittebatur. Sicut tam propter easdem causas, quàm propter sexum & formæ excellentiam, ad principem impudicum introduci, & in temulentum, facilè, quod designavit, perficere valuit. Ita illa.

She, being come to the enemy, through whose company and watches she was to go; and oftentimes searched and examined, being a woman; and carrying no letters nor weapons about her, from whence any suspicion might arise; and, withal, yielding reasons of her coming thither, and abandoning her relatives, was easily discharged: and not only upon the forementioned causes, but also for her sex and exquisite beauty, being brought before this lewd and unchaste prince, she might perform that which she had determined before. This is Judith's case.

Hic verò religiosus aggressus est, & confecit rem longè majorem; pluribusque impedimentis, ac tantis difficultatibus, periculisque obsitam, ut nullâ prudentiâ aut astutiâ humanâ, nec alio modo, nisi apertâ Dei ordinatione, ac succursu, confici potuerit. Debebant obtineri literæ commendatitiæ ab iis qui

But this religious-man undertook and performed a matter of greater weight; encompassed with so many impediments, difficulties, and dangers, that no subtlety of man, no human policy, nor any worldly wisdom, but only the clear and visible Providence of God, and his special aid, could bring it to

erant contrariæ factionis; transeundum erat per eam urbis portam, quà itur ad castra hostium; quæ ita, sine dubio, in illis obsidionis angustiis custodiebatur, ut cuncta haberentur suspecta; nec cuiquam sine curiosissimâ exploratione de literis, nunciis, negotiis, armis, pateret exitus. Sed iste (res mira!) vigiles pertransiit sine examine, etiam cum literis credentiæ ad hostem; quæ, si fuissent interceptæ à civibus, sine morâ, ac sine ulteriori judicio, de vitâ fuisset actum: atque apertum hoc Divinæ Providentiæ argumentum. Sed majus miraculum est illud, quod idem mox sine omni exploratione transierit quoque castra hostium, varias militum excubias, ipsamque corporis regis custodiam; ac totum denique exercitum, qui ferè erat conflatus ex hæreticis; ipse religiosus existens, & in habitu ordinis sui; qui ita erat exosus talibus hominibus, ut in illis locis, quæ paulò antè prope Parisios vi ceperant, monachos quosque vel occiderint, vel pessimè tractaverint.

pass. First, letters commendatory were to be procured of the contrary party; then was he constrained to go through the gate of the city, that led to the enemies' camp; the which, without doubt, was so narrowly kept and watched, in the extremity of that siege, that every trifle bred suspicion; and none were suffered to go forth without narrow searching before, touching their letters, messages, business, and affairs they had. But he (a wonderful thing!) passed through the watch unexamined; yea, with letters credential unto the enemy; which if they had been intercepted by the citizens, without any delay and further trial, he should have been executed presently: and therefore this is a manifest argument of God's Providence. But this is a far greater miracle, that he, without searching, went also through the enemies' camp, by divers watches and centinels; and, which is more, through the king's guard-du-corps; and, finally, through the whole army, which was made up mostly of hereticks; he being a religious-man, and clad in the habit of his order; which was so odious a garb to those men, that they either killed, or severely treated, all those friars, whom they found in those places, which, not long before, they had taken about Paris.

Judith erat fœmina, minimèque odiosa, tamen examinata sæpè; illa nihil secum tulit, unde sibi oriretur periculum: iste monachus, & propterea odiosus, ac suspectissimus, etiam cum cultello ad hoc propositum præparato, non in vaginâ condito (unde poterat esse probabilis excusatio) sed nudo, ac in manicâ abscondito; quem si invenissent, mox fuisset in crucem actus.

Judith was a woman, and nothing odious, yet examined often; she carried nothing that might have turned to her danger and destruction. This man, a friar, and therefore hated, and most suspected, having also a knife prepared for that purpose, not in a scabbard (which might have made his excuse probable), but naked, and concealed in his sleeve; which, if it had been found about him, he would, questionless, have been put to death immediately.

Ista omnia clariora sunt particularis Providentiæ Divinæ argumenta, quàm ut negari queat; nec alitèr fieri potuit, quàm ut à Deo occæcarentur oculi inimicorum nè agnoscerent illum.

All these are such clear arguments of the particular Providence of God, that they cannot be denied; neither could it otherwise be, but that God blinded the eyes of the enemy, that they could not see nor know him.

Nam, ut anteà diximus, licèt quidam ista absurdè tribuant fortunæ, aut casui; tamen nos hoc totum non aliò referendum censemus, quàm in Divinam voluntatem.

For, as we have said before, although some do absurdly ascribe this unto fortune, or chance; yet none can refer the whole matter to any other cause, but the will and holy purpose of God.

Nec profectò alitèr factum crederem, nisi captivarem intellectum in obsequium Christi, qui, hoc modo admirabili, & liberare civitatem Parisiensem (quam variis viis

And, indeed, I could not believe this to have been done otherwise, unless I should captive, or submit my understanding to the obedience of Christ, who determined, by

intelleximus fuisse in summo discrimine, maximisque angustiis constitutam), & istius regis gravissima peccata punire, eumque tam infaustâ & infami morte è medio tollere statuit. Atque nos, dolentes sanè, aliquotiès prædiximus fore, ut quemadmodùm erat familiæ suæ ultimus, ita aliquem insuetum & dedecorosum vitæ exitum esset habiturus. Quod me dixisse, non solùm cardinales Joiosa, Lenocortius, & Parisiensis, sed etiam, qui tunc apud nos residebat orator, testes esse possunt.

these miraculous means, to deliver, and set at liberty, the city of Paris, (which, as we have heard, was in great danger and extremity;) and to punish the notorious sins of that king; and to deprive him of this life by such an unhappy and infamous kind of death: and we truly, not without great inward grief, have oftentimes foretold, that, as he was the last of his name and family, so was he like to have, and make, some strange and shameful end of his life. And, that I have, several times, said this thing, not only the cardinals Joiosa, Lenocortius, and Parisiensis, but also the ambassador, at that time here resident, can sufficiently testify.

Neque enim hîc mortuos, sed viventes, in testimonium hujusmodi verborum nostrorum adhibemus; quorum isti omnes probè meminisse possunt. Quidquid tamen in hunc infœlicem regem hoc tempore dicere cogimur, nullo modo volumus, ut pertineat ad nobilissimum illud Galliæ regnum; quod nos imposterùm, sicut hactenùs, semper omni paterno amore ac honore prosequemur. De personâ ergo regis tantùm ista cum dolore diximus, cujus infaustus finis eximit quoque ipsum ab iis officiis, quæ solet hæc sancta sedes (quæ est pia mater omnium fidelium, & maximè Christianorum principum) imperatoribus & regibus post mortem exhibere: quæ pro isto libentèr quoque fecissemus, nisi id fieri in hoc casu sacræ Scripturæ vetarent.

For we mean not to call the dead to attest our words, but the living; some whereof at this very present do yet well remember them. But whatsoever we have been forced to speak against this unfortunate king, we would, by no means, have it thought to be intended against the noble realm of France; which we shall embrace and foster hereafter, as we have hitherto always done, with all fatherly love, honour, and affection. This therefore, which we with grief have spoken, concerns the king's person only, whose unhappy and unlucky end deprives him also of those honourable offices and respects, which this holy seat (the tender mother of all faithful, but especially of Christian princes) is wont to pay to emperors and kings: which we most willingly would likewise have bestowed on him, if the holy Scriptures, in this case, had not altogether forbidden it.

'Est (inquit S. Joannes) peccatum ad 'mortem; non pro illo dico ut roget quis:' quod vel intelligi potest de peccato ipso, ac si diceret, pro illo peccato, vel pro remissione illius peccati nolo ut quisquam roget, quoniam non est remissibile: vel, quod in eundem sensum redit, pro illo homine, qui peccat peccatum ad mortem, non dico ut roget quis. De quo genere etiam Salvator apud Matthæum, quòd ille, 'qui peccat in 'Spiritum Sanctum, non remittetur, neque 'in hoc sæculo, neque in futuro.' Ubi facit tria genera peccatorum, nimirùm in Patrem, in Filium, & in Spiritum Sanctum; atque priora duo esse minùs gravia, & remissibilia, tertium verò irremissibile. Quæ tota differentia, sicut ex Scripturis scholæ tradunt, oritur ex distinctione Attribu-

'There is (saith St. John) a sin unto death; 'I say not that any should pray for it:' which may be understood either of the sin itself, as if he should say, For that sin, or for the remission of that sin, I will that none should pray, because it is not pardonable: or else, which comes to the same sense, For that man who committeth such a sin unto death, I say not that any should pray for: of which sin, our Saviour himself has spoken in St. Matthew, saying, 'That he, that sinneth 'against the Holy Ghost, shall not be for-'given, neither in this world, nor in the 'world to come.' Where he setteth down three sorts or kinds of sins; to wit, against the Father, against the Son, and against the Holy Ghost; and that the two first are less heinous and pardonable, but that the third

torum; quæ singula singulis Personis sanctissimæ Trinitatis appropriantur.

Licèt enim, sicut eadem est essentia, sic eadem quoque est potentia, sapientia, & bonitas omnium Personarum, (sicut ex symbolo S. Athanasii didicimus, cùm ait, 'Omnipotens Pater, Omnipotens Filius, Omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus;') tamen, per attributionem, Patri applicatur potentia, Filio sapientia, Spiritui Sancto amor; quorum singula eo modo, quo Attributa dicuntur, ita sunt propria cujusque Personæ, ut in aliam referri non queant: ex quorum Attributorum contrariis, & distinctionem, & gravitatem peccatorum dignoscimus.

Contrarium Potentiæ, quæ attribuitur Patri, est infirmitas; ut proindè id quod ex infirmitate, seu naturæ nostræ imbecillitate, committimus, dicatur committi in Patrem. Oppositum Sapientiæ est ignorantia; ex quâ cùm quis peccat, dicitur peccare in Filium: ita ut ea, quæ vel ex humanâ infirmitate, vel ignoratione peccamus, faciliùs nobis condonari soleant. Tertium autem Attributum, quod est Spiritûs Sancti, nempe Amor; habet pro contrario ingratitudinem, vitium maximè odibile: unde venit, ut homo non agnoscat Dei erga ipsum dilectionem, aut beneficia; sed obliviscatur, contemnat, ac odio etiam habeat. Ex quo tandem fit, ut obstinatus reddatur atque impœnitens, atque his modis multò graviùs & periculosiùs peccatur in Deum, quàm ex ignorantiâ, aut imbecillitate; proindè hujusmodi vocantur peccata in Spiritum Sanctum. Et, quia rarius, ac difficilius, & non nisi abundantiori gratiâ condonantur, dicuntur irremissibilia quodammodo; cùm tamen sola impœnitentia sit omninò & simplicitèr irremissibilis. Quicquid enim in vitâ committitur, licèt contra Spiritum Sanctum, potest per pœnitentiam deleri ante mortem: sed qui perseverat usque ad mortem, nullum locum relinquit gratiæ ac misericordiæ: atque pro tali peccato, seu pro homine sic peccante, noluit Apostolus ut post mortem oraremus.

is altogether unpardonable. All which difference proceedeth from the distinction of the Attributes, as the schools teach us out of the Holy Scriptures; which severally are appropriated to every several Person of the Holy Trinity.

For although, as the essence of all the three Persons is but one, so also is their power, wisdom, and goodness, (as we have learned out of St. Athanasius's Creed, when he says, 'The Father Almighty, the Son 'Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty;') yet, by attribution, power is ascribed unto the Father, wisdom unto the Son, and love unto the Holy Ghost; whereof every several, as they are termed Attributes, are so proper unto every several Person, that they cannot be attributed and referred unto any other. By the contraries of which Attributes, we come to discern the distinction and greatness of sin.

The contrary to Power, which is attributed to the Father, is weakness or infirmity; and, therefore, that which we do amiss through infirmity, or weakness of nature, is said to be committed against the Father. The opposite unto Wisdom is ignorance; through which, when a man sinneth, he is said to sin against the Son: and, therefore, what we commit through natural infirmity, or ignorance, is more easily forgiven us. The third Attribute, which is the Holy Ghost's, is Love; and hath, for its contrary, ingratitude, a vice most detestable and odious: which causeth men not to acknowledge the love of God, and his benefits bestowed upon them; but to forget, despise, yea, and to hate them: and from hence, at last, it comes to pass, that they prove obstinate and impenitent. And thus to sin against God is far more dangerous and dreadful, than if it was done either through ignorance, or natural infirmity, and therefore it is termed a sin against the Holy Ghost. And, because such sins are seldom and hardly, and not without great abundance of grace pardoned, in some sort, they are said to be unpardonable: whereas final impenitence only is really and simply unpardonable. For whatsoever is done amiss in this life, although it be against the Holy Ghost, yet, by repentance, it may be wiped out, or done away, before we die: but they, that persevere therein till death, are excluded from all

Jam ergo quia magno nostro dolore intelligimus, prædictum regem ex hâc vitâ sine pœnitentiâ, seu impœnitentem excessisse, nimirùm in consortio hæreticorum; (ex talibus enim hominibus confecerat exercitum suum;) & quòd commendaverat moriens regnum in successione Navarræ declarato hæretico, & excommunicato: necnon in extremis, ac in ultimo ferè vitæ spiritu, ab eodem & similibus circumstantibus petierit, ut vindictam sumerent de iis, quos ipse judicabat fuisse causas mortis suæ. Propter hæc, & similia manifesta impœnitentiæ indicia, decrevimus pro ipso non esse celebrandas exequias: non quòd præsumamus quidquam ex hoc de occultis erga ipsum Dei judiciis, aut misericordiis, qui poterat secundùm beneplacitum suum in ipso exitu animæ suæ convertere cor ejus, & misericorditèr cum illo agere; sed ista locuti sumus secundùm ea, quæ nobis exteriùs patent.

grace and mercy hereafter. And therefore, for such sins or sinners, the Apostle hath forbidden to pray after their decease.

Now, therefore, because we understand, not without great grief, that the aforesaid king departed this life without repentance, or impenitent; to wit, in the communion and fellowship of hereticks, (for all his army was made up almost of none other but such men,) and that, by his last will, he commended and made over his crown and kingdom to the succession of Navarre, long since declared an heretick, and excommunicated: as also, in his extremity, and now ready to yield up the ghost, desired of him, and such as he was, then standing by, that they would revenge his death upon those whom he judged to be the cause thereof. For these, and such like manifest tokens of his impenitency, we have decreed not to solemnize his death with funerals: not that we presume any thing by these, concerning God's secret judgments against him, or his mercies towards him; who could, according to his good pleasure, convert and turn his heart, even when his soul was leaving the body, and deal mercifully with him: but this we have spoken, being thereunto moved by these external signs and tokens.

Faxit benignissimus Salvator noster, ut reliqui, hoc horrendo justitiæ supernæ exemplo admoniti, in viam salutis redeant; & quod misericorditèr hoc modo cæpit, benignè prosequatur, ac perficiat, sicut eum facturum speramus: ut de ereptâ ecclesiâ de tantis malis, & periculis, perennes illi gratias agamus.

God grant that all, being admonished and warned by this fearful example of heavenly justice, may repent and amend; and that it may further please him to continue and accomplish that which he hath thus mercifully begun for us, as we firmly hope he will; to the end we may give everlasting thanks to him, that he hath delivered his church from such great and imminent dangers.

In quam sententiam cùm dixisset pontifex, dimisit consistorium cùm benedictione.

When his Holiness had thus ended his speech, he broke up the consistory, and dismissed them with his benediction.

The Speech of the Prince of Orange to some principal Gentlemen of Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, on their coming to join his Highness at Exeter, the Fifteenth of November, 1688.[1]

Exeter, printed by J. B. 1688.

[Folio; containing one page.]

THOUGH we know not all your persons, yet we have a catalogue of your names, and remember the character of your worth and interest in your country. You see we are come according to your invitation and our promise. Our duty to God obliges us to protect the Protestant religion; and our love to mankind, your liberties and properties. We expected you, that dwelt so near the place of our landing, would have joined us sooner: not that it is now too late, nor that we want your military assistance so much as your countenance, and presence, to justify our declared pretensions, rather than accomplish our good and gracious designs. Though we have brought both a good fleet, and a good army, to render these kingdoms happy; by rescuing all Protestants from popery, slavery, and arbitrary power; by restoring them to their rights and properties established by law; and by promoting of peace and trade; which is the soul of government, and the very life-blood of a nation: yet we rely more on the goodness of God and the justice of our cause, than on any human force and power whatever. Yet, since God is pleased we shall make use of human means, and not expect miracles, for our preservation and happiness; let us not neglect making use of this gracious opportunity, but with prudence and courage put in execution our so honourable purposes. Therefore, gentlemen, friends, and fellow-Protestants, we bid you and all your followers most heartily welcome to our court and camp. Let the whole world now judge, if our pretensions are not just, generous, sincere, and above price; since we might have, even a bridge of gold to return back: but it is our principle and resolution rather to die in a good cause, than live in a bad one; well knowing that virtue and true honour is its own reward, and the happiness of mankind our great and only design.

[1] [The above speech of this great prince, soon after his landing in England, breathes the same spirit of manliness, firmness, and good sense, that ever seems to have dictated his words and instigated his actions.

The Prince of Orange, whilst at Exeter, took up his lodgings at the Deanery, and on quitting that city, said of the mayor, who continued loyal to the sovereign to whom he had sworn allegiance, that he was worthy to be trusted, for being faithful to his trust.

The Prince of Orange's army is thus described in a letter written from Exeter, November 24, 1688: "We conclude the prince's army to be about ten thousand men. They are all picked men; most of them were at the siege of Breda. They are well disciplined, stout, and some of them of an extraordinary stature; their civil deportment, and their honesty in paying for what they have, (and the strictness of their discipline hinders them from being otherwise,) winning not a little the affection of the countrymen, who resort hither forty or fifty in a gang to be enlisted."

Vide the fourth part of "A Collection of Papers relative to the present Juncture of Affairs in England. Lond. 1688." 4to.]

A true Copy of the Instrument of Association, that the Protestants of England entered into, in the Twenty-seventh Year of Queen Elizabeth, against a Popish Conspiracy; with an Act, made upon the same, for the Security of the Queen's most Royal Person.

Printed for John Everingham, and sold by E. Whitlocke, near Stationers-Hall. 1695.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

FORASMUCH as Almighty God hath ordained kings, queens, and princes, to have dominion and rule over all their subjects, and to preserve them in the possession and observation of the true Christian religion, according to his holy word and commandment: and, in like sort, that all subjects should love, fear, and obey their sovereign princes (being kings or queens) to the utmost of their power; at all times, to withstand, pursue, and suppress all manner of persons, that shall by any means intend and attempt any thing dangerous or hurtful to the honour, states, or persons of their sovereigns.

Therefore, we whose names are or shall be subscribed to this writing, being natural-born subjects of this realm of England, and having so gracious a lady, our sovereign Elizabeth, by the ordinance of God, our most rightful queen; reigning over us these many years with great felicity, to our inestimable comfort. And finding lately by divers depositions, confessions, and sundry advertisements, out of foreign parts, from credible persons, well known to her majesty's council, and to divers others; that, for the furtherance and advancement of some pretended title to the crown, it hath been manifested, that the life of our gracious sovereign lady, queen Elizabeth, hath been most dangerously exposed, to the peril of her person, if Almighty God, her perpetual defender, of his mercy had not revealed and withstood the same: by whose life we, and all other her majesty's true and loyal subjects, do enjoy an inestimable benefit of peace in this land; do, for the reasons and causes before alleged, not only acknowledge ourselves most justly bound with our lives and goods for her defence, in her safety, to prosecute, suppress, and withstand, all such pretenders, and all other her enemies, of what nation, condition, and degree whatsoever they shall be; or by what council or title they shall pretend to be her enemies, or to attempt any harm upon her person: but do further think it our bounden duties, for the great benefit of peace and wealth, and godly government, we have more plentifully received these many years, under her majesty's government, than any of our fore-fathers have done in any longer time of any other progenitors, kings of this realm: do declare, and by this writing make manifest, our bounden duties to our said sovereign lady for her safety. And to that end, we, and every of us, (first calling to witness the name of Almighty God,) do voluntarily and most willingly bind ourselves, every one of us to the other, jointly and severally, in the band of one firm and loyal society; and do hereby vow and promise by the majesty of Almighty God, that with our whole powers, bodies, lives, and goods, and with our children and servants, we, and every of us, will faithfully serve and humbly obey our said sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, against all states, dignities, and earthly powers whatsoever; and will, as well with our joint and particular forces, during our lives, withstand, offend, and pursue, as well by force of arms, as by all other means of revenge, all manner of persons, of what state soever they shall be, and their abettors; that shall attempt any act, council, or consent, to any thing that shall tend to

the harm of her majesty's royal person; and will never desist from all manner of forcible pursuit against such persons, to the utter extermination of them, their counsellors, aiders, and abettors.

And if any such wicked attempt against her most royal person shall be taken in hand and procured, whereby any that have, may, or shall pretend title to come to this crown, by the untimely death of her majesty, so wickedly procured, (which God for his mercy-sake forbid!) may be avenged: we do not only bind ourselves, both jointly and severally, never to allow, accept, or favour any such pretended successor, by whom, or for whom, any such detestable act shall be attempted or committed, as unworthy of all government in any Christian realm or civil state: but do also further vow and protest, as we are most bound, (and that in the presence of the Eternal and Everlasting God,) to prosecute such person and persons to death with our joint or practical forces; and to ask the utmost revenge upon them, that by any means we or any of us can devise or do, or cause to be devised and done, for their utter overthrow and extirpation.

And, to the better corroboration of this our royal bond and association, we do also testify by this writing, that we do confirm the contents hereof by our oaths corporally taken upon the Holy Evangelists, with this express condition: that no one of us shall for any respect of persons or causes, or for fear or reward, separate ourselves from this association, or fail in the prosecution thereof, during our lives; upon pain of being by the rest of us prosecuted, and suppressed as perjured persons, and public enemies to God, our queen, and to our native country. To which punishments and pains we do voluntarily submit ourselves, and every of us, without benefit of any colour and pretence.

In witness of all which promises to be inviolably kept, we do to this writing put our hands and seals; and shall be most ready to accept and admit any others, hereafter, to this society and association.

An Act for Provision to be made for the Surety of the Queen's Majesty's most Royal Person, and the Continuance of the Realm in Peace: enacted in the twenty-seventh Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

FORASMUCH as the good, felicity, and comfort of the whole estate of this realm consisteth, only next under God, in the surety and preservation of the queen's most excellent majesty: and for that it hath manifestly appeared, that sundry wicked plots and means have of late been devised and laid, as well in foreign parts beyond the seas, as also within this realm, to the great endangering of her highness's most royal person, and to the utter ruin of the whole common-wealth, if by God's merciful Providence the same had not been revealed: Therefore, for preventing of such great perils, as might hereafter otherwise grow, by the like detestable and devilish practices; at the humble suit and earnest petition and desire of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same parliament; Be it enacted and ordained, if, at any time after the end of this present session of parliament, any open invasion or rebellion shall be had or made into or within any of her majesty's realms and dominions; or any act attempted, tending to the hurt of her majesty's most royal person, by or for any person that shall or may pretend any title to the crown of this realm after her majesty's decease; or if any thing shall be compassed or imagined, tending to the hurt of her majesty's royal person, by any person, or with the privity of any person, that shall or may pretend title to the crown of this realm: That then, by her majesty's commission under her great seal, the lords and others of her highness's privy-council, and such other lords of parliament (to be named by her majesty), as with the said privy-council shall make up the number of twenty-four at the least, having with them for their assistance in that behalf such of the judges of the courts of record at Westminster, as her highness shall for that purpose assign and appoint; or the more part of the same council, lords and

judges, shall by virtue of this act have authority to examine all and every the offences aforesaid, and all circumstances thereof; and thereupon to give sentence or judgment as, upon good proof, the matter shall appear unto them. And that, after such sentence or judgment given, and declaration thereof made and published, by her majesty's proclamation, under the great-seal of England; all persons, against whom such sentence or judgment shall be so given and published, shall be excluded and disabled for ever to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the crown of this realm, or any of her majesty's dominions; any former law or statute whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And that thereupon all her highness's subjects shall and may lawfully, by virtue of this act, and her majesty's direction in that behalf, by all forcible and possible means, pursue to death every such wicked person, by whom, or by whose means, assent, or privity, any such invasion or rebellion shall be in form aforesaid denounced to have been made, or such wicked act attempted; or other thing compassed or imagined against her majesty's person, and all their aiders, comforters, and abettors.

And if any such detestable act shall be executed against her highness's most royal person, whereby her majesty's life shall be taken away, (which God of his great mercy forbid!) that then every such person, by or for whom any such act shall be executed, and their issues, being any wise assenting or privy to the same, shall, by virtue of this act, be excluded and disabled for ever, to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the said crown of this realm, or of any other her highness's dominions; any former law or statute whatsoever, to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. And that all the subjects of this realm, and all other her majesty's dominions, shall and may lawfully, by virtue of this act, by all forcible and possible means, pursue to death every such wicked person, by whom or by whose means, any such detestable fact shall be, in form hereafter expressed, denounced to have been committed; and also their issues, being any way assenting or privy to the same, and all their aiders, comforters, and abettors in that behalf.

And to the end that the intention of this law may be effectually executed, if her majesty's life shall be taken away, by any violent or unnatural means; (which God defend!) Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the lords and others which shall be of her majesty's privy-council at the time of such her decease, or the more part of the same council, joining unto them, for their better assistance, five other earls, and seven other lords of parliament at the least, (foreseeing that none of the said earls, lords, or council be known to be persons that may make any title to the crown,) those persons which were chief-justices of either bench, master of the rolls, and chief-baron of the exchequer, at the time of her majesty's death; or, in default of the said justices, master of the rolls, and chief-baron, some other of those which were justices of some of the courts of record at Westminster, at the time of her highness's decease, to supply their places; or any twenty-four, or more of them, whereof eight to be lords of parliament, not being of the privy-council, shall, to the uttermost of their power and skill, examine the cause and manner of such her majesty's death, and what persons shall be any way guilty thereof, and all circumstances concerning the same, according to the true meaning of this act; and, thereupon, shall by open parliament publish the same, and without any delay by all forcible and possible means prosecute to death all such as shall be found to be offenders therein, and all their aiders and abettors. And for the doing thereof, and for the withstanding and suppressing of all such power and force, as shall any way be levied or stirred in disturbance of the due execution of this law, shall, by virtue of this act, have power and authority not only to raise and use such force, as shall in that behalf be needful and convenient; but also to use all other means and things possible and necessary for the maintenance of the same force, and prosecution of the said offenders. And if any such power and force shall be levied or stirred in disturbance of the due execution of this law, by any person that shall or may pretend any title to the crown of this realm, whereby this law may not in all things be fully executed according to the effect and true meaning of the same: that then every person shall by virtue of this act be therefore excluded and disabled for ever to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the crown of this realm, or of any other her highness's dominions; any former law or statute whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the subjects of all her majesty's realms and dominions shall, to the uttermost of their power, aid and assist the said council and all other the lords and other persons to be adjoined unto them for assistance, as is aforesaid; in all things to be done and executed according to the effect and intention of this law: and that no subject of this realm shall in any wise be impeached in body, lands, or goods, at any time hereafter, for any thing to be done or executed according to the tenour of this law; any law or statute, heretofore made to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

And whereas, of late, many of her majesty's good and faithful subjects have, in the name of God, and with the testimony of good consciences, by one uniform manner of writing under their hands and seals, and by their several oaths voluntarily taken, joined themselves together in one bond and association, to withstand and revenge to the uttermost all such malicious actions and attempts against her majesty's most royal person: Now for the full explaining of all such ambiguities and questions as otherwise might happen to grow, by reason of any sinister or wrong construction, or interpretation to be made or inferred of or upon the words or meaning thereof; be it declared and enacted, by the authority of this present parliament, that the same association, and every article and sentence therein contained, as are concerning the disallowing, excluding, or disabling of any person, that may or shall pretend any title to come to the crown of this realm, as also for the pursuing and taking revenge of any person, for any such wicked act or attempt as is mentioned in the same association, shall and ought to be in all things expounded and adjudged according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and not otherwise, nor against any other person or persons.

The Association drawn up and signed by the High Court of Parliament now assembled, on the 24th of February, 1695-6.

WHEREAS there has been a horrid and detestable conspiracy formed and carried on by Papists, and other wicked and traitorous persons, for assassinating his majesty's royal person[1], in order to encourage an invasion from France, to subvert our religion, laws, and liberty: we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do heartily, sincerely, and solemnly profess, testify, and declare, that his present majesty, king William, is rightful and lawful king of these realms. And we do mutually promise and engage to stand by, and assist each other, to the utmost of our power, in the support and defence of his majesty's most sacred person and government, against the late king James, and all his adherents. And in case his majesty come to any violent or untimely death, (which God forbid!) we do hereby further freely and unanimously oblige ourselves to unite, associate, and stand by each other, in revenging the same upon his enemies, and their adherents; and in supporting and defending the succession of the crown; according to an act made in the first year of the reign of king William and queen Mary, intitled, 'An act declaring the Rights 'and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown.'

N. B. In the 13th year of the said queen were enacted two excellent acts, *viz.* 'An 'Act whereby certain Offences were made Treason:' the second, 'against Fugitives over 'the Sea.'

[1] [Vide Burnet's History of his own Times. Vol. ii. pp. 149, 165, *et seq.* Edit. 1734, fol.]

The English Romayne Life[1]: Discovering the Lives of the Englishmen at Rome; the Orders of the English Seminarie; the Dissention betweene the Englishmen and the Welchmen; the Banishing of the Englishmen out of Rome; the Pope's Sending for them againe; a Reporte of many of the paltrie Reliques in Rome; theyr Vautes under the Ground; their holy Pilgrimages; and a Number other Matters, woorthie to be read and regarded of every one. There unto is added, the cruell Tiranny used on an Englishman at Rome; his Christian Suffering, and notable Martirdome, for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, *in Anno* 1581. Written by A. M. sometime the Popes Scholler in the Seminarie among them.

Honos alit Artes.

Seene and allowed: Imprinted at London by John Charlwoode, for Nicholas Ling, dwelling in Paule's Church-yarde, *Anno* 1590.

[In Black Letter. Quarto; containing seventy-two pages.]

To the right-honourable sir Thomas Bromley, knight, lord-chaunceller of Englande; William, lorde Burleigh, and lorde-treasorer; Robert, earle of Leicester; with all the rest of her majestie's most honourable privie-councell, A. M. wisheth a happy race in continuall honour, and the fulnesse of God's blessing in the day of joy.

THIS booke, right honourable, as I have been careful to note downe nothing in it, that might impeach me either with error or untrueth, mallice, or affection to any, but even have ordered the same according to certeintie and knowledge; so, when I had fully finished it, and doone the uttermost of my endevour therein, I considered with my selfe, I was to present the same to such personages of honour, wisdome, and gravitie, as, did mal-

[1] Vide Oldys's Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 223. [Anthony Munday, a writer who took the lead among the disputants that sided in favour of Protestantism. In the year 1582, he detected the treasonable practices of Edmund Campion, and his confederates; of which he published an account, intitled '*A Discoverie*,' &c. 1582, 8vo. vide Oldys's Catalogue, No. 144. A virulent opponent of Munday (*forsan* Parsons) says, that he was "first a stage-player, after an aprentise, which tyme he wel served with deceaving of his master; then wandring towardes Italy, by his own report became a cosener in his journey. Comming to Rome, in his short abode there was charitably releived, but never admitted in the seminary, (as he pleaseth to lye, in the title of his booke) and being weary of well doing, returned home to his first vomite. I omite to declare, how this scholler new come out of Italy did play extempore; those gentlemen and others whiche were present, can best give witnes of his dexterity, who being wery of his folly, hissed him from his stage. Then being therby discouraged, he set forth a balet against playes; but yet (O constant youth!) he now beginnes to ruffle upon the stage. I omit among other places his behavior in Barbican with his good mistres and mother, from whence our superintendent might fetch him to his court, were it not for love (I woulde save slaunder) to their gospel. Yet I thinke it not amiss to remember thee of this boye's infelicitie two several wayes of late notorious. First, he writing upon the death of Everard Haunse, was immediately controled and disproved by one of his owne hatche; and shortely after, seting forth the apprehension of M. Campion, was disproved by George (I was about to saye)

lice rule me, they could quickly espie it; or, affecting myselfe to any, they would soone discerne it: then would honour reproove me for the one, and theyr noble nature reprehende me in the other.

To discharge myselfe of both these, and purchase the favour, wherewith your honours are continually adorned, I directed my compasse by trueth; perswading my selfe, that, albeit in some, *veritas odium parit*; yet, in your honours, *magna est veritas et prevalet.* Fewe wordes sufficeth your wisdomes, and circumstaunce without substaunce may incurre disliking: according, as when I presented your honours with my booke, called the 'Discovery of Campion,' I promised; so nowe, in my 'English Romayne Life,' I have performed; thinking my selfe in as safe securitie, under your honourable favor, as Ulisses supposed himselfe under the buckler of Ajax.

Your Honours' ever in duetie,

ANTONIE MUNDAY.

To the courteous and freendlie READER.

THE thinge longe promised, gentle reader, is nowe performed at last; and that which my adversaries thought I would set foorth, to theyr disproofe and thy profit, I have nowe published. Thou shalt finde a number of matters comprehended within this small volume: some that will irritate the minde of any good subject, and, therefore, to be read with regard; others, importing the whole course of our Englishmen's lives in Rome, with the odde conceits, and craftie juglings of the pope (whereto our Englishmen are likewise conformable) they are in such true and certain order set downe, as if thou were there thy selfe to beholde them. I will not use many wordes: now thou hast it, read advisedlie, condemn not rashlie; and if thou thinkest me worthie any thankes for my paynes, then freendlie bestowe it on me.

Thyne in courtesie,

ANTONIE MUNDAY.

CHAP. I.

First, How the Author left his native Countrey of Englande, betaking himselfe to Travell; and what happened in his Journey toward Rome.

BEECAUSE a number have beene desirous to understand the successe of my journey to Rome, and a number besides are doubtfull whether I have beene there, or no; albeit the proofes thereof sufficiently are extant to be seen: as wel to content the one, as remoove the doubte of the other, I will (God ayding me) heere set downe such a certaintie thereof, that if it happen not to please bothe, yet, if they will, it may profyte bothe.

When as desire to see straunge countries, as also affection to learne the languages, had perswaded me to leave my native countrey, (and not any other intent or cause, God is my record,) I committed the small wealth I had into my purse, a traveller's weede on my backe, the whole state and condition of my journey to God's appointment;

Judas Eliot; who writing against him, proved that those thinges he did were for very lucre's sake only, and not for the truth; althogh he himselfe be a person of the same predicament; of whom I muste say, that if felony be honestie, then he may for his behaviore be taken for a laweful witness againste so good men." *True Reporte of the Death and Martyrdome of M. Campion*, &c. 1581. 16mo.

It will take from the credit of this narrative (says the editor of the Biograph. Dramat.) to observe that our author was after this time servant to the earl of Oxford, and a messenger of the queen's bedchamber; posts which he would scarcely have held, had his character been so infamous as is represented above. This slanderous report receives farther opposition in the Supplement to this work. Vide Munday's "Breefe Aunswer unto two Seditious Pamphlets," 1582.]

and, beeing accompanied with one Thomas Nowel, crossed the seas from England to Bulloine in Fraunce.

From thence wee travelled to Amiens in no small daunger; standing to the mercie of dispoyling souldiers, who went robbing and killing thorowe the countrey; the campe beeing by occasion broken up at that time. Little they left us, and lesse would have doone, by the value of our lives, had not a better bootie come, then wee were at that time. The souldiers, preparing towards them, whom they sawe better provided for theyr necessitie, offered us the leysure to escape; which wee refused not; beeing left bare enough both of coyne and clothes: but, as then wee stoode not to account on our losse, it sufficed us, that wee had our lives: whereof beeing not a little glad, wee sette the better legge before, least they should come backe againe, and robbe us of them too.

This our misfortune uged us to remembraunce of our former quiet being in Englande, carefullie tendered by our parents, and lovingly esteemed among our freendes; all which wee undutifullie regarding, rewarded us with the rodde of our owne negligence; being, as then, fearefull of all company on the way, such cruell and heavie spectacles were still before our eyes. But yet this did somewhat comfort us, wee had nothinge woorth the taking from us but our lives; which wee had good hope to save, either by their pittie, or our owne humble perswasion.

When wee were come to Amiens, wee were given to understand, that there was an olde English priest in the towne, whose name was maister Woodward; of whom wee perswaded our selves, for countrie-sake, to find some courtesie: in hope whereof wee enquired for his lodging, and at last founde him. After such salutations as passe betweene countreymen at theyr meeting, I began to tell him, how wee had left our countrey, for the earnest desire wee had to see forrain dominions; how wee had beene spoiled by the way of all that wee had; and that wee hoped for some freendship at his hands, which, if God vouchsafed us safe returne, should not be cast out of remembraunce.

"Alas, my freendes, (quoth he,) I am your countreyman, I will not denye; but not suche a one as you take me for. I am a poore priest, and heere I live for my conscience-sake; whereas, were thinges according as they shoulde be, it were better for me to be at home in mine own countrey: and yet, trust me, I pittie to see any of my countreymen lack, though I am not able any way to releeve them. There be dayly that commeth this way, to whome, according to my habilitie, I am liberall: but they bee such as you are not; they come not for pleasure, but for profite; they come not to see every idle toye, and to learne a little language, but to learne how to save both theyr owne and theyr freendes soules; and such I woulde you were: then I could say that to you, which, as you be, I may not." "Trust me, sir, (quoth I,) I hope wee have learned to save our soules already, or els you might esteeme us in a very bad case." "If you have, (quoth he,) it is the better for you; but, I feare me, one day, they that teach you to save your soules after that manner, will paye for it deerelie, and you with them for companie."

With these woordes, he began to be somewhat melancholie; which I perceiving, (and remembring that our necessitie stoode not in case to plead pointes of controversie,) rather sought to please him, in hope of some liberallitie, then to contend with him, wee being unable, and so fall into farther daunger. Wherupon, "I desired him not to be offended at any thinge wee had sayd, for wee woulde gladly learne any thinge that might benifit us; and, beside, woulde followe his counsaile in any reasonable cause." Then he began to be somewhat more gentlie disposed, saying, "He could not greatly blame us, if wee were obstinate in our opinion, comming from such a young hell as we did; but he had good hope that, ere long, it woulde be harrowed."

Then he willed us to walke with him, and he woulde bring us where wee shoulde lodge that night, at his charges: all the way rehearsing unto us, howe beneficiall the pope was to our countreymen, and howe highlie wee might pleasure our selves, our freendes, and countrey, if wee woulde follow his councell. Beside, such horrible and unnaturall speeches he used against her majestie, her honorable councell, and other persons that he named, as the very remembraunce maketh me blush, and my hart to bleede. To all which wee gave him the hearing; but, God knowes, on my parte, with what anguishe of minde: for I

woulde have perswaded my selfe, that duety shoulde have withheld the subject from reviling his princesse, and nature from slaundering his owne countrey; but it sufficeth, where grace is absent, good quallities can never be present. When wee were come to our lodgeing, he talked with our hostesse what she shoulde provide for us; and afterward, taking his leave, tolde us, "He would have more talke with us in the morning: in the meane time, wee should thinke on that which he had opened unto us, and resolve our selves on a certaine determination, for he meant us more good then wee were beware off." He being departed, we fel to such simple cheere as was prepared for us, which was simple indeede, scant sufficient to the good stomacks wee had to our victualles: but, because wee had soone done, wee went the sooner to bed, sparing as muche time as wee could, in remembraunce of the priest's words, till the wearines of our journey compelled us to take our rest.

In the morning, the priest sent a poore fellowe, whome he kept to make his bed and run about his erraundes, to our lodgeing; that wee shoulde come to his maister presently, because he had occasion to goe into the towne, and his returne was uncertaine; therefore he woulde speake with us, before he went. Uppon these so hasty summons, wee addressed our selves towards him, finding him in his chamber, reading uppon his portesse. To him wee gave thankes for his courtesie; promising to requite it, if he came where wee might doe it. In breefe, among great circumstaunce of talke, (wherein he manifested the treason toward Englande,) he behaved himselfe, in speaches to us, according as I have alredie declared in my 'Discoverie of Campion;' where you maye perceive the pope's determination, and our Englishmen's unnaturall consent, to bee traytors to their owne princesse, to shorten her life, and overthrowe theyr native countrey, wherein they were borne.

When he had mightely besieged us with a multitude as well threatnings as perswasions, to conform our selves under that obedience: as well to avoyde peril that might otherwise happen, as also to gayne somewhat toward our releefe, wee promised him to doe as he woulde have us, and to go whether he would appoint us. Wherupon he presentlie wrote two letters to doctor Allen[2] at Rheimes. One of them concerned our preferment there, how wee should be entertained into the English seminarie, and take the orders of priesthoode, because wee might doe good in our countrey an other day. The other letter was of such newes as he heard out of Englande, howe matters went forward to theyr purpose; and, beside, other thinges which I am not to speak of heere, because they are not to be read of every one.

The letters finished, and sealed up with singing cake, he delivered unto us, saying: "I thank God that I am ordained the man, both to save your soules, and a number of your freendes heere in Englande, whome I coulde wishe heere present with you; for that I pittie their estate, as well that they are in, as that which is worse, and I feare me will fall on them shortlie."

I put up the letters, and gave him to understand, that wee coulde hardly travell from thence to Rheimes, having nothing wherwithall wee might beare our charges. "Trust me (quoth he), and I have done as much for you as I am able, for I have nothing heere, but to serve mine owne necessity." Then wee offered to sell our cloakes, which the souldiers, against their willes, had left us. "Indeede, (quoth he) to travell in your cloakes will do nothing but hinder you; I will send my man to a freend of mine (as much to say, as his chest) to see what monney he can get for them. The fellowe tooke our cloakes, (after his maister hadde whispered him in the eare,) and went downe the stayers, returning quickly with two French crownes; which the priest delivered to us, with foure or five French souses out of his owne purse: so, willing us to doo his commendations to doctor Allen, and to labour earnestlie in that wee went about, maister Woodwarde and wee parted; he into the towne, and we on our journey.

When wee were about three or foure miles from Amiens, wee sate down on the side of a hyll, recounting what the priest had said unto us, and also the cause why he sent us to Rheimes. The remembraunce of the true and undoubted religion, used in our owne coun-

[2] [Vide Wood, Athenæ Oxon. i. 268.]

trey, and wherin we were trayned up, was of force sufficient to perswade us from yeelding to that, which we judged rather to bee a mummerie, and derision of the true doctrine, then otherwise. So that (notwithstanding many matters my companion alleaged unto me, what daunger wee might come unto, if wee went not to deliver the letters; as also the hard penurie wee should finde in travell, being destitute of money, apparell, and all other needefull thinges) by the onelie appointment of God, who, no doubte, put it in my minde at that time, I willed him to follow me; and, come wo, want, miserie, or any other calamytie, I woulde never leave him to the death. But if any exercise might get it, any paines compasse it, or the extreeme shift of begging attaine it; I woulde dooe all my selfe, whereby to maintaine us, onelie that he woulde but beare me company: for I would trie all meanes that might be, ere I would forsake my fayth.

This to be true, I am sure and certaine himselfe will not denie; who, seeing my earnest intreaty, and the promises I made to the uttermost of my power, agreede to goe with me: and so wee left the way to Rheimes, and wente on strayght to Paris.

In Paris wee met with a Frenchman, who coulde speake a little broken English, and he conducted us where my lord the English ambassador laye, to whom I gave the letters; and after certain talke he used with us, he bestowed his honorable liberallitie upon us, wishing us to returne backe againe to Englande.

Leaving my lord, and walking into the cittie, wee met certaine English gentlemen: some of them, for the knowledge they had of me in Englande, shewed them selves verie courteous unto me, both in money, lodging, and other necessaries. And through them wee became acquainted with a number of Englishmen more, who lay in the cittie; some in colledges, and some at their own houses; where, using dailie companie among them, some time at dinner, and some time at supper, we heard many girdes and nips against our countrey of Englande; her majestie very unreverently handled in wordes, and certaine of her honorable councell undutifully tearmed. Greate talke they had about doctor Saunders, who, they said, eyther as then was, or shortly would be arived in Irelande; howe he had an armie of Spaniardes with him; and howe himselfe, under the pope's standarde, woulde give such an attempte there, as soone after shoulde make all Englande to quake: beside, there were certaine Englishmen gone to the pope, for more ayde, if neede shoulde be; at whose returne certaine noblemen, Englishmen, then being in those partes, whose names I omitte for dyvers causes, woulde prosecute the matter, with as much speede as might be.

The very same did the priest at Amiens give us to understand of, almost in every point agreeing with this; which made us to doubte; because in every man's mouth her majestie still was aimed at, in such manner, as I tremble and shake to thinke on their wordes. All this time that wee remained amongst them, dyvers of the gentlemen and others (who were like factors for the pope, as maister Woodwarde at Amiens, doctor Bristow at Doway, and doctor Allen at Rheimes were, to increase his seminaries with as many Englishmen as they might) very earnestlie perswaded us to travell to Rome; assuring us that wee should be there entertained to our high contentment: beside, they woulde give us letters for our better welcome thether.

Wee were soone intreated to take the journey on us, because wee thought, if wee woulde goe to Rome, and return safely into Englande, wee shoulde accomplish a great matter; the place being so far off, and the voyage so daungerous. Upon our agreement to undertake the travell, wee received of every one liberallie towarde the bearing of our charges, and letters wee had to maister doctor Lewes in Rome, the archdeacon of Cambra, and to doctor Morris, then the rector of the English hospitall or colledge in Rome, that wee might there be preferred among the Englishe students.

Taking our leave of them, and yeelding them thankes for their great courtesie, wee journied to Lyons; where, in the house of one maister Deacon, the wordes were spoken by Henry Orton; one of them condempned, and yet living in the Tower, which in my other booke I have avouched.[3] From thence wee went to Millaine; where, in the cardinall

[3] [Vide the "Breefe Aunswer unto two Seditious Pamphlets," in Supplement.]

Boromeho's pallace, wee found the lodging of a Welchman, named doctor Robert Griffin; a man there had in a good account, and confessor to the aforesayde cardinall. By him wee were very courteouslie entertained, and sent to the house of an Englishe priest in the cittie, named maister Harries, who likewise bestowed on us very gentle acceptaunce; as also three English gentlemen, whoe lay in his house, being very latelie returned from Rome; they likewise, bothe in cost and courtesie, behaved themselves like gentlemen unto us, during the time that we made our abode in Millaine.

Our comming from Millaine was on Christmasse-even, and having lyen that night at Osteria, where maister Harries appointed us; on Christmasse-daye wee dined with doctor Griffin, where wee had great cheere, and lyke welcome. In dinner-time he mooved many questions unto us, as concerning the state of Englande; if wee hearde of any warres towardes, and howe the Catholiques thrived in Englande; and, at the last, quoth he—"Have you not seene three gentlemen that lye at maister Harries his house?" "Yes, that we have (quoth I); to us they seeme mervailous courteous, and offer such friendship as wee have never deserved." "Oh, (quoth he,) if all thinges had fallen right to theyr expectation, they woulde have been jollie fellowes. I am sure you have heard what credite captaine Stukelie was in with the pope, and howe he was appointed with his armie to invade Englande: he being slaine in the battaill of the king of Portugall, thinges wente not forewarde according as they shoulde have done. The three gentlemen came foorth of the North partes of Englande, taking upon them to go foreward with that, which Stukelie had enterprised; which was, to have the pope's armie committed to theyr conduction; and so they would over-runne Englande, at theyr pleasure: then they would make kinges, dukes, and earles, everie one that they thought well off. To helpe them foreward in the matter, they purchased the letters of doctor Saunders, doctor Allen, doctor Bristow, and others; who thought verie well of theyr intent, and therfore furthered them in theyr letters, (so much as they might,) to doctor Lewes, doctor Morris, doctor Moorton, and divers other doctors and gentlemen at Rome: all of them verie earnestlie following the sute heereof, to the pope's holinesse; informing him, howe they had already wun such a number in Englande, to joyne with them, when the matter came to passe; that, graunting them his holines' armie, they would presently over-run all Englande, and yeelde it wholy into his hand.

"But, when the pope had scanned on his hastie businesse, well noting the simple and arrogant behavior of the men, and their unlikelihood of performing these thinges; even according as they deserved, they were denyed their request, and sent away without recompence. The pope was not to trust to any such as they: he well knowes England is too strong yet, and tyll the people be secretly perswaded, (as I doubt not, but there is a good number,) and more and more still shalbe, by the priestes that are sent over daylie; and they must war within, while others holde them playe without: tyll then, Englande will not be conquered any way." Other talke wee had, not heere to be rehearsed: but trulie it would astonish a hart of adamant, to heare the horrible treasons invented against her majestie, and this realme, and so greedilie followed by our owne countreymen.

But some perhaps will demaund, howe wee behaved our selves to the knowledge of such trayterous intentions, judging that they woulde rather keepe them secret, then reveale them to any? To aunswer such as doo so question, thus it was: When I was at Paris, the gentlemen tooke me to be a gentleman's sonne heere in Englande, whome I refuse heere to name; but, as it seemed, they were somewhat perswaded of him. I, perceiving they tooke me for his sonne, called my selfe by his name; where through I was the better esteemed, and, beside, loved, as I had beene he in deede. When they understood my fellowe's name to be Thomas Nowell, they whispered among themselves, and sayde, "Undoubtedlie, he is kinne to maister Nowell, the deane of Paules[4]: and, if they wist certainlie, it were so, they would use him in suche gentle order, as they woulde keepe him there; so that, one day, he shoulde stand and preach against his kinsman."

[4] [Vide Churton's copious and elaborate Life of Dean Nowell, lately published.]

This suppose, serving so well our necessitie, wee were glad to use; which made us well thought on of all: and, keeping companie so familliarlie with them, wee were made acquainted with a number of more matters then may heere be expressed.

While wee were in Millaine, wee visited maister doctor Parker, who likewise tolde us the same tale that doctor Griffin had before rehearsed: beside, he told us that priestes were appointed from Rome and Rheimes, for Englande; and that, ere long, they shoulde be sent.

Soone after, wee departed thence, to Bologna, Florence, Scienna, and so to Rome; where howe wee were received, the chapter following shall amplie unfold. Thus, as wel to certifie the incredulous, and also to content those desirous, howe I attained to Rome: I have breeflie done my good will to please bothe.

You have heard heerein, howe at sundrie places, and by severall speeches, there was a generall agreement of treason, expected and dailie looked for, to the harme of our gracious soveraigne, and hurt of her whole realme; all these matters wee heard, before wee came to Rome, from whence the treason should cheeflie proceede: wee seeing such devillish devises to be talked on by the way, wee might well judge Rome to be hell it selfe, in that all thinges shoulde go foreward, as it was there determined. You are not altogether ignoraunt of theyr intentes at Rome; for that my other booke hath truelie revealed some of theyr trayterous and disloyall practises: and such as modestie will suffer mee to utter, and you to reade, you shall heere finde faithfullie discoursed.

CHAP. II.

The Author beeing come to Rome, entreth into Conference with a Priest in the English Colledge; who sheweth him a Paper, containing villainous and traiterous Determinations, against her Majestie's most Royall Person, her honourable Councell, and other Personnes of Credite and Accoumpt.

OUR entraunce into Rome was uppon Candlemasse-even, when as it drewe somewhat towards night: for which cause, wee refused as then to goe to the English colledge, taking up our lodging in an Osteria, somewhat within the citty, and determining to visite the English house on the next morning. On the morrowe, by enquiring, wee found the English colledge, where after wee were once entered, wee had a number about us quickly, to know what newes in England, and howe all matters went there.

Not long had wee stoode talking with them, but one entered the colledge, with a greate many of waxe-candles in his hand; who gave them to understand, that the pope had sent to every scholler in the colledge a candle, which that day at high-masse he had hallowed, for it was Candlemasse-day. They receiving them with great account, both of the pope's favour, as also the holinesse they credited to consist in the candles, went everie one to lay them up in their chambers. In the meane time, maister doctor Morris, the rector of the house, came to us; to whome, wee delivered the letter sent to him, on our behalf from Paris; which when he had read, he sayd, "wee were welcome:" allowing us the eight dayes entertainement in the hospitall, which by the pope was granted to such Englishmen, as came thither. Then he brought us to doctor Lewes, the archdeacon of Cambra, to whome wee delivered his letter likewise, and with him wee staied dinner; ignoraunt whether he were an English man or no, for that he gave us our entertainment in Latin, demaunded a number of questions of us in Latin, and beside dined with us in Latin: whereat wee mervayled, tyll, after dinner, he bade us walk againe to the colledge, with doctor Morris, in English.

Wee were no sooner come to the colledge, but the schollers who had already dined, and were walking together in the courte, came about us; every one demaunding so many questions, that we knew not which to aunswer first. At last, one of them tooke my fellowe aside, and one of the priestes likewise desired to talke with me, because, he sayd, he knew my father well enough, using the name that I did. So, he and I sitting together

in the garden, among other talke, he asked of me, "Wherfore I came to Rome?" "Trust me, sir, (quoth I,) onelie for the desire I had to see it; that, when I came home againe, I might say, once in my life, I have beene at Rome." "Then I perceive, (quoth he,) you come more upon pleasure, then any devotion; more desirous to see the cittie, then to learne the virtues contayned in it. In sooth, I see you remaine in the same wildenesse you did, when I lay at your father's house: but I do not doubt, now we have you heere, to make you a stayed man, ere you depart; that your father may have joy of you, and all your freendes receyve comfort by you." "In deed, sir, (quoth I,) I have alwaies addicted my mind to so many youthfull devises, that I little regarded any religion; which my parentes seeing, and fearing, I would never be bridled, sent me over to Paris, where I should remaine at my booke. But there I found gentlemen of mine acquaintance, who wyshed me to travell hether: whereto I quicklie gave my consent, beeing, as I have told you, desirous to see a thing so famous." "I thinke very well (quoth he) of your wordes, as well for your parents' sake, as also for your owne. But this will I saye unto you; there ought none to come hether, the place beeing so holie, auncient, and famous, but onelie suche as, with earnest endevour, seeke and thirst after the Catholique faythe: beeing heere taught and maintained, according as Christe ordained it, the Apostles delivered it, Peter himselfe planted it, and all the fathers of the churche, since, have followed it. They must denounce that damnable herisie, crept into the church of Englande, that proude usurping Jezabell, (meaning our dread and gratious princesse;) whome, quoth he, God reserveth, to make her a notable spectacle to the whole worlde, for keeping that good queene of Scottes from her lawfull rule. But I hope, ere longe, the dogges shall tear her fleshe, and those that be her proppes and upholders." Then, drawing a paper out of his pockette he sayd, "I have a beade-role of them heere, who little knowes, what is providing for them; and, I hope, shall not knowe it, tyll it fall uppon them." Then he reade their names unto me, which to be sette downe according, as he rehearsed them, woulde moove offence.

Then, opening the paper farther, at the end thereof was a great many of names of magistrates, and other belonging to this cittie, amonge whome, was maister recorder, maister Nowell, deane of Paules; maister Foxe, maister Crowley, and sundry other, whose names I cannot verie well remember; and therefore am lothe to sette downe any thinge, but that whereof I am certainelie assured: but verie well I remember, there was no one named, but he had the order of his death appoynted, eyther by burning, hanging, or quartering, and suche lyke.

Then, putting up his paper againe, he beganne after this manner: "As I have sayde before, so nowe I say the same; such as come to this holie place must faithfullie bende his lyfe and conversation, to honour and reverence our provident and holie father the pope, in all thinges that shall lyke him to commande; to holde and confesse him the universall supreame heade of Christe's churche, and embrace his decrees, as the onelie ordinaunce and will of God. For he is the personne of God on earth, and he cannot sinne; because the Spirite of Divine grace guideth him continuallie. He hath aucthoritie over all kinges and princes, to erect and suppresse whome he pleaseth; and that shall Englande well knowe ere longe, that he hath suche power and aucthoritie. To honour and obey him, to be a true and faythfull member of his church, and to live and die in his cause; this ought to be the intent of all that commeth heere."

This long tale, contayning a number of more circumstaunces then I canne unfolde, made me studie what aunswere I shoulde make him; which, after some pause, came foorth as thus: "Credite me, sir, I am but a novesse in these matters, and therefore you might as well have disputed with me in the deepest schoolepointes that is, and I shoulde have censured both alike."

"Nay, (quoth he) I thinke not your ignoraunce so great, albeit it seemeth great enough: though you have beene looselie brought uppe, yet you have beene with me, both at masse and at confession, divers times, at such time as I served my lady B. Beside, there are a great many of priestes in Englande, as in Warwickshire, at maister I. T. in Staf-

fordshire, at maister G. of C. and at S. T. F. in the same shyre. All these be neere your father's, and not one of them but visiteth your father's house, three or four times everie yeare, as they did when I was there, (for there is no long tarience in one place for a prieste, but he must shift still, least he be taken); and I am sure your father woulde see you duelie confessed."

Nowe I was put to a hard shift, that I knewe not well what to say. I knewe none of these men he named, but one; and indeede he had a prieste, whoe, after his long raunging about his master the pope's businesse heere in Englande, I thanke God, I have caused to be stayed. Likewyse, I knewe not the gentleman, whom both they at Paris and he sayde to be my father, neither where he dwelt, nor what he was; which made me stand in feare to be disprooved, having avouched my selfe before to be his son. Wherefore, referring my case to God, whoe had so provided for me till that time; in his name I resolved my selfe on this aunswere, not knowing howe it might happen to speede.

"In deede, syr, I cannot denie, but that I have oftentimes hearde masse, as also beene at confession; but my devotion thereto hath beene slender, as you your selfe have seene; knowing me to be so wilde, and, as it were, without government. But, when you departed from my fathers, I tarryed there but a small time after you; for I obtayned leave of my father to goe lye at London, at a kinseman's house of his, because I woulde studye the French tongue, to have some knowledge therein against I went over: for my father tolde me, longe before, that I shoulde goe to Paris and studye there. When I was at London, I grewe in acquaintaunce with divers gentlemen, in whose companie I frequented many delyghtfull pastimes; so that I coulde hardlye refrayne them, when my father sente for me, to the intent I shoulde travile to Paris."

"Well, (quoth he,) and though you did goe to London, so soone after I was gone; any of the priestes that resorted to your father's, or he himselfe, coulde have certified you of such places in London, where you might have heard masse, and beene confessed too, without suspect at all. For at maister S. his house on the backe side of P. you myght divers times have heard masse, and beene confessed there lykewise. I lay there an indifferent while, and sayde masse there, whereas divers were present; also in the afternoone, when they have beene at the play, in all that time I have confessed many. Likewise, you might have gone to the Marshalsea, and enquired for maister Pownde; and you should sildome have missed, but have found a prieste there with him: for sometimes, under the habites of gentlemen, servingmen, or what apparell they imagine most convenient for them, priestes doe daily resort unto him, where they confesse him, and give him such hallowed things, as are sent him from Rome, as *agnus-dei's, grana benedicta,* and other thinges. There, if you had made him privie to your intent, he woulde have appointed one that should have done it for you. He likewise woulde have bestowed on you some of those holie thinges: for he findeth such meanes, what with the priestes that come to him, and other whom he hireth or intreateth to carrie a letter abroade nowe and then for him, that those holie thinges are delivered to theyr hands, whoe, no doubte, a little rejoyce in them. My selfe once made Norris the pursuivant carie a letter for me, to one of my ladie B. her gentlewomen, and therein was two *agnus-dei's,* a hallowed girdle, and above forty or fiftie *grana benedicta;* which makes me to smile everie time I thinke on it, that I could make him my man, when I durst not deliver it my selfe. Maister Norris, being tolde this, offereth his life, if any such thing can be proved: for he sayth, he never delivered any thinge to any of my ladie B. her gentlewomen. And, for his faithfull service to her majestie, I have to shewe, under his owne hand, the penaltie he putteth himselfe to, if any unjust service can be layde to his charge."

By this time, the bell rung for all students to come to supper, which made the prieste to staye at this periodus; else he woulde have continued in discourse I knewe not howe longe. For what with the severall charges, wherewith he sounded me, my care still howe to shape a sufficient aunswer, and the tediousnesse of his tale, mixed with so many wordes, farre distant from civill and duetifull regarde; he was not so readie to goe to his supper, as I was glad for that time to breake off companie.

So after certaine familiar behaviour, used betweene him and I; he glad to see me at Rome, and well hoping in short time to make me a newe man; I applyable with thankes, for everie thing, for that it stoode with wisdome to accept of all thinges; he went into the *refectorium*, which is the name of theyr dining-hall, and I to the chamber, appointed for me and my fellowe; whom I found there sitting with doctor Morris, staying my comming, that we might sup together; which in deede we did. Maister Morris using us very courteously, passing away the supper-time with much variety of talke, amonge which maister doctor sayde his pleasure of divers persons in Englande: which, for that it would rather checke modestie, then challenge any respect of honestie, I admitte it to silence; the talke being so broade, that it woulde stand as a blemish to my booke.

CHAP. III.

In what Manner our English Men passe away theyr Time in the Colledge; the Order of the House; and other Thinges to be regarded.

It is unpossible for me to note downe halfe the speeches, that passed betweene the schollers and me, as also my fellowe: but, as for that was used to hym, I coulde sildome come acquaynted with all, except I had stood by and heard it; for either they had fully perswaded him, or he joined into consent with them: so that he would never reporte any thing that had passed betweene them, he liked so well of every thinge. But, letting these matters passe a while, I thinke it expedient heere to set down, before I goe any farther, the orders used in the English colledge; how the English men spend the time there, and within what compasse they limitte themselves; which so breefelie as I can, I will passe over.

The English colledge is a house both large and faire, standing in the way to the pope's pallace, not far from the castle Saint Angello. In the colledge, the schollers are devided, by certaine number into everie chamber; as in some foure, in some sixe, or so many as the rector thinketh convenient, as well for the health of the schollers, as the troubling not much roome. Every man hath his bedde proper unto himselfe, which is, two little trestles, with four or five boordes laide alonge over them, and thereon a quilted mattresse as we call it in Englande; which, every morning after they are risen, they folde up theyr sheetes handsomelie, laying them in the middest of the bed, and so rowle it up to one ende, covering it with the quilt, that is theyr coverlet all the night time.

First in the morning, he that is the porter of the colledge ringeth a bell; at the sound whereof, every student ariseth and turneth up his bed, as I have said before. Not long after the bell ringeth againe; when as every one presentlie, kneeling on his knees, prayeth for the space of halfe an howre: at which time the bell being touled again, they arise and bestowe a certaine time in studye; every one having his deske, table, and chayre to himselfe very orderly: and all the time of studye, silence is used of every one in the chamber; not one offering molestation in speech to an other.

The time of studye expired, the bell calleth them from theyr chambers, downe into the refectorium: where every one taketh a glasse of wine, and a quarter of a manchet, and so he maketh his *collatione*. Soon after, the bell knowleth againe; when as the students, two and two together, walk to the Romayne colledge, which is the place of schoole or instruction, where every one goeth to his ordinary lecture; some in divinitie, some to phisique, some to logique, and some to rhetorique. There they remaine the lecture-time; which being doon, they return home to the colledg againe: where they spend the time till dinner, in walking and talking, up and downe the gardens.

And an order there is appointed by the rector and the Jesuites, and obeyed by all the students, that whosoever doth not in the morning turne by his bed handsomelie, or is not

on his knees at prayer-time, or heareth not masse before he goe to schoole, or after he comes home, but forgetteth it; or els if he go forth, and put not the pegge at his name in the table. For there is a table hangeth by the doore, which hath a long box adjoyning to it, wherein lyeth a great company of wooden peggs, and against the name of every scholler written in the table, which is observed by order of the alphabet, there is a hole made, wherein such, as have occasion to go abroad, must duly put a peg, to give knowledge who is abroad, and who remaineth within. Beside, divers other orders they have for sleight matters, the neglecting whereof is publique penaunce at dinner-time: when as all the students are placed at the tables, such as have transgressed, goeth uppe into the pulpit, which standeth there, (because one readeth all the dinner-time,) and there he sayth: "Because I have not fulfilled this or that, (whatsoever order it be that he hath broken,) I am adjoyned such a penaunce:" Either to kneele in the middest of the hall on his bare knees, and there to say his beades over: or to say certaine *pater-nosters*, and *ave-marias:* or to stand up right and to have a dish of pottage before him on the grounde, and so to bring up every spooneful to his mouthe: or to loose either one, or two, or three of his dishes appointed for his dinner: or to stand there all dinner time, and eate no meate: and divers other, which according as it is, either afterwarde he hath his dinner or supper, or els goes without it. And all these penaunces I have been forced to doe, for that I was alwayes apt o breake one order or other.

As for the private penaunces, it shall not be greatly amisse to rehearse them here too: so longe as I shall desire you to stay, from hearing the manner of the students dinner. The private penaunces are appointed by the ghostlie father at confession: which are fulfilled without publique knowledge of the cause, and likewise of the person. If his penaunce be, to whip himselfe openly in the hall at dinner time, then the rector ordereth it after this manner; that he shall not be knowne, to be reproached by any of his fellowes, or that they shall certainelie say, it is such a one. At the dinner or supper that this penaunce is to be accomplished, the rector causeth seaven or eight to keepe their chambers, and commonlie but one that time in a chamber: their doores must be made fast to them, and they not so much as looke out at their windowe, to see from which chamber he comes that doth the penaunce. When they are all set at the tables, he commeth in, clothed in a canvas vesture downe to the grounde, a hood of the same on his head, with the holes where through he hath sight, and a good bigge rounde place bare, against the middest of his backe. In this order he goeth up and downe the halle, whipping himselfe at that bare place, in somuch that the bloode doth trickle on the ground after him. The whip hath a verie shorte handle, not much above a handfull longe, and fortie or fiftie cordes at it, about the length of halfe a yard, with a great manie hard knots on every corde; and some of the whippes hath throughe everie knot at the end crooked wiers, which will teare the flesh unmercifullie.

The Jesuites have some of them, to whip themselves, whippes with cordes of wier, wherewith they will beate themselves, tyll, with too much effuse of blood, they be readie to give up the ghoast. And this they will doo in their chambers, either before a crucifix, or the image of our Ladie; turning their backes when they bleed toward the image, that it may see them. One of the Jesuites, because they could never get me to whip my selfe, (for that I wel knew God sayd: 'Rent your harts, and not your skin; and that a con-'trite and sobbing harte is more acceptable to God then a bleeding bodie,') tooke me once with him into his chamber, saying: "I shoulde see, because I was so fearfull, what he woulde inflict upon his owne bodie." So, when he was unapparelled, he tooke a whip, the cordes whereof was wier, and, before the picture of our Ladie, he whipped himselfe verie greevously, saying: '*Sancta Maria, mater Dei, suscipe dolorem meum: Sancta Maria, mater Dei, accipe flagitium meum; et ora pro me, nunc et in horâ mortis:* Which is as much as to say: 'S. Marie, mother of God, receive my dolour: Saint Marie, mother of 'God, accept my whipping; and pray for me, nowe and in the howre of death.' These, with other like wordes, he used to the picture a great many times; and then he went to the crucifix, which stood uppon his deske, and, whipping himselfe stil, he said these, or

the verie like words: *O Jesu! obtestetur te virgo gloriosa Maria mater, quæ, quod pro certo novi, pro me nunc tecum agit. Flagitii tui, sanguinolenti tui sudoris, crucis tuæ, mortis ac passionis tuæ, pro me passæ, memoria ad hoc me faciendum impulit; eò quòd perpessus sis his decies pro me graviora:* In English thus; 'O Jesus! be thou intreated by that 'glorious Virgin thy mother, whoe I am sure at this time maketh intercession to thee for 'me. The remembraunce of thy whipping, bloody sweat, crosse and passion, maketh 'me to do this; in so much as thou hast suffered ten times more for me.'

In these and such like acclamations, he continued whipping himselfe, almoste the space of halfe an howre; bleeding so sore, as it greeved me verie much to see him. Afterward, he willed me to trie it once, and I should not finde any paine in it, but rather a pleasure. "For, (quoth he,) if Christ had his flesh rent and torne with whips, his hands and feete nayled to the crosse, his precious side goared with a launce, his heade pricked with a crowne of thornes, that his deere blood ran trickling downe his face, and all this for you: why shoulde you feare to put your body to any torment, to recompence him that hath doone so much for you?" I desired him to "beare with me a while, for I was not indued with that strength and fortitude, as to abide and suffer the paines he did: but yet in time I doubted not to fulfyll any thinge on my bodie, he woulde command me." My aunswer pleased him indifferently: so I left him in his chamber, and went downe, lamenting to see a spectacle of so great follie.

Now as for the other penaunces, as they be divers, so be they divers wayes fulfylled; either by fasting, wearing a shyrt of haire, trudging to the seaven churches, lying upon the bare boordes, going into the darke vaultes under the grounde, or travelling on pilgrimage: and a number more, which exceedeth my memorie to unfolde, they have amongst them; as there be divers can beare me witnesse, and some of them my confessor hath constrayned me to doo.

Returne we nowe to the students, whoe being come from the schooles, and having recreated themselves somewhat, either in the house or in the gardens, are nowe at the sound of the bell come into the refectorium to dinner. The custome is, that dailie two of the students take it by turnes, to serve all the other at the table; whoe, to helpe them, have the butler, the porter, and a poore Jesuite, that looketh to all the schollers' necessaries, to bring them their cleane shirts, and foreseeth, that neither their gownes, cassocks, dublets, breeches, hose, nor shooes, want mending. These bring in their hands, each of them, a rounde boorde, which hath a staffe about halfe a yarde long, made fast through the middle of it: and rounde about that boord is set little saucers wherein the cooke shareth everie man a little quantitye, which they bring, and hold over the table; when as every man taketh his own messe.

As for their fare, trust me, it is verie fine and delicate; for every man hath his own trencher, his manchet, knife, spoone, and forke laide by it; and then a fayre white napkin covering it, with his glasse and pot of wine sette by him. And the first messe (or antepast, as they call it,) that is brought to the table, is some fine meate to urge them to have an appetite: as sometime the Spanish anchovies, and sometime stued prunes and raysons of the sun together; having such a fine tart sirope made to them, as I promise you a weake stomache would very well digest them. The second is a certaine messe of pottage of that countrey manner, no meate sod in them, but are made of divers things, whose proper names I doe not remember: but me thought they were both good and wholesome. The third is boilde meate, as kid, mutton, chicken, and suche like: every man a prettie modicum of eache thinge. The fourth is roasted meat, of the daintiest provision that they can get; and sometime stude and bakte meate, according as pleaseth maister cooke to order it. The fift and last is sometime cheese, sometime preserved conceites, sometime figges, almonds and raysons, a limon and sugar, a pomegranate, or some such sweete geere: for they knowe that Englishmen love sweete meates.

And, all the dinner while, one of the schollers (according as they take it by weekly turne) readeth, first, a chapter of theyr Bible; and then, in theyr *Martirilogium*, he readeth the martirdome of some of the saintes: as Saint Fraunces, Saint Martin, Saint Longinus,

that thrust the speare into Christe's side; Saint Agatha, Saint Barbara, Saint Cecilia, and divers other. Among whome they have imprinted the martirdome of doctor Storie, the two Nortons, John Felton, and others; calling them by the names of saintes, who were heere executed at Tiborne, for high-treason.

The dinner done, they recreate themselves for the space of an howre; and then the bell calleth them to their chambers, where they staye a while, studying on their lectures given them in the forenoone. Anon the bell summoneth them to schoole againe, where they stay not past an howre, but they returne home againe; and, so soone as they be come in, they go into the refectorium, and there every one hath his glasse of wine, and a quarter of a manchet againe, according as they had in the morning.

Then they depart to their chambers, from whence at convenient time they are called to exercise of disputation: the divines to a Jesuite appointed for them, and everie studye to a severall Jesuite, where they continue the space of an howre; and afterwarde, till supper-time, they are at theyr recreation.

After supper, if it be in winter-time, they goe with the Jesuites, and sit about a great fire talking; and, in all theyr talke, they strive whoe shall speake wurste of her majestie, of some of her councell, of some bishop heere, or suche like. So that the Jesuites themselves will often take up theyr hands and blesse themselves, to heare what abominable tales they will tell them.

After they have talked a good while, the bell calleth them to theyr chamber, the porter going from chamber to chamber, and lighteth a lamp in every one: so, when the schollers come, they alight their lamps, laye downe theyr beddes, and go sitte at theyr deskes and studye a little, till the bell ringes; when every one falles on his knees to prayers.

Then one of the priestes in the chamber, (as in every chamber there is some,) beginneth the Latin Letany; all the schollers in the chamber aunswering him. And so they spend the time till the bell ringes againe; which is, for every one to goe to bed.

CHAP. IV.

Other Matters of our English Students in the Colledge; theyr Dayes of Recreation at theyr Vineyard; theyr Walke to the seaven Churches; a Report of some of the Romish Reliques; and other Thinges concerning theyr Behavior.

THE English students everie thirde or fourth day goe not to the schooles, but have accesse abroad, to sporte and delighte themselves. Sometime they walke to their vineyard, and the Jesuites with them, where they passe awaye the daye in divers disportes: what game, what toy, anie one can devise, they altogether in pastime joyne to performe it.

An other day they goe to the seaven churches, which, according as I remember theyr names, I will here sette them downe: S. Peter's, S. Paule's, S. John Laterane's, S. Maria majore, S. Croce, S. Laurence's, S. Sebastiane's. In all these churches, there be divers reliques, which make them haunted of a mervaylous multitude of people: whereby the lazye lurden fryers that keepe the churches, gettes more ritches then so many honest men shoulde doe. For either at the comming into the church, or else at the aultar where the reliques be, there standeth a basen; and the people cast money therein, with verie great liberallitie. And there standeth a fryer, with a forked sticke in his hand; and thereupon he taketh every bodye's beades, that layes them on the aultar, and then he wipes them along a great proportioned thinge of christal and golde, wherein are a number of rotten bones, which they make the people credite to be the bones of saints. So, wiping them along the outside of this tabernacle, the beades steale a terrible deale of holynesse out of those bones; and, God knowes, the people thinke they doo God good service in it. Oh monsterous blindnesse!

But because every good subject may see into the Romish juglinges, and perceive the

subtiltie of Antycriste, the eldest childe of hell: I will rehearse some of these reliques; as many of them as I can possibly call to my remembraunce.

A breefe Rehearsall of some of the Romishe Reliques; whereby the Pope deceiveth a Number, and hath good Gaines, to the Maintenaunce of his Pompe.

In Saint Peter's Church.

As wee enter into the courte before Saint Peter's church, there standeth the forme of a rocke made of brasse, an old and auncient thinge: the which is kept there, that the ignoraunt people shoulde beleeve that to be the rocke, which our Saviour spake of to Peter; when as, upon Peter's confessing him to be Christ, 'the Sonne of the living God,' he aunswered; 'Upon this rocke will I builde my church:' which rocke he meant by himselfe, and not by Peter. This peece of brasse they make the ignoraunt to beleeve to be that rocke; and therefore a number, as they goe into the church, fall downe on their knees, and worshippe this brasen rock with their prayers.

Going thorowe the churche, wee come to a chappell, wherein is an high aultar, whereon standeth a picture of S. Peter and S. Paule. Within that aultar, they say, lyeth halfe the bodies of these two apostles and saintes; and therefore that aultar is daylie worshipped.

Comming back againe into the church, wee come to a square aultar, wherein (say they) is the head of the speare that was thrust into our Saviour's side: but the point thereof is broken off, and is in an other place. And, in the same aultar, is the hankercher which Christe wiped his face withall, when he caried his crosse sweating, and left the perfect print thereof on the cloath: this is called *vultus sanctus*. Howe this aultar is honored, you shall read more in the chapter, which talketh of the flagellante night.

What other reliques be in this church, I certainlie know not; but they say, there is the bodies of divers saintes, whose names, because I can not remember, I will let passe; because I will not be found in any untrueth.

In Saint Paule's Church.

In this church, under the high aultar, is sayd to be the other halfe of the bodies of S. Peter and Paule: this aultar is likewise adored with mervaylous reverence.

Not farre from this church, there is a place called *Tre Fontana:* at this place, they say, Saint Paule was beheaded: and, when his head was cut off, it leaped three times, and, in those places where it leapt, there sprung up presently three fountaines: there is great devotion likewise used at this place.

In Saint John Laterane's Church.

As wee come first to the little chappelles before the church, wherein, they say, our Ladie hath beene divers times seene; and therefore hath left such holinesse there, as they pray there a good while; there standeth a round piller of stone, seeming to be but latelie made. On this stone, say they, the cock stoode and crowed, at what time Peter denied Christe: and therefore they doe use to kisse it, make courtesie to it, and rub their beades on it.

Neere to this stone is a broad gate, being the entraunce into the aforesayde chappelles; and on the one side of this gate there is two round ringes of yron, whereon sometime a gate hath beene hanged to open and shut. In these ringes, say they, the Jewes did stick banners all the while that Christe was crucified: and therefore, for the holinesse of them, they will draw their beades thorowe the sayde ringes, and kisse them when they have done.

From thence we goe to a fayre large place, in the middest whereof standeth a font, wherein, they saye, Constantinus Magnus was christened. In this font everye yeere on Easter-even, they doo christen Jewes; such as do chaunge to their religion. For there is

a certaine place appointed for sermons, whereat the Jewes, whether they will or no, must be present; because one of their owne rabines preacheth to them, to convert them, as himselfe hath beene a great while.

In Rome the Jewes have a dwelling-place within themselves; being locked in their streetes by gates on either side, and the Romaynes every night keepeth the keyes. All the daye-time they go abroade in the cittie, and will buie the oldest apparell that is; an olde cloke, dublet, or hose, that a man would thinke not woorth a penny, of the Jewes you may have the quantitie of foure or five shillinges for them. Nowe, that the Jewes may be knowne from any other people, every one weareth a yellow cap or hatte; and if he goe abroade without it, they will use him very yll favouredly.

In this order they come to the sermon; and when any of them doth chaunge his faith, he taketh his yellow cap or hatte off from his head, and throwes it away with great violence: then will a hundred offer him a blacke cap or hatte; and greatly rejoyce that they have so wun him. All his ritches he then must forsake; that goes to the pope's use, being one of his shifts. And to this aforesayde font he is brought, clothed all in white; a white cap, a white cloke, and every thing white about him, and a holie candle burning, that he beareth in his hand. Then is he there baptized by an Englishman, whoe is named Bishop Goldwell, sometime the bishop of S. Asaph, in Wales[5]. He hath this office, maketh all the English priestes in the colledge, and liveth there among the Theatines very pontifically. After the Jewes be thus baptized, they be brought into the church, and there they see the hallowing of the paschall, which is a mightie greate wax-taper; and then a devise, wherein is inclosed a number of squibs, is shotte off, when thorowe all the church they crye, *Sic transit gloria mundi.* From thence they goe to a colledge, which the pope hath erected for such Jewes as in this manner turne to his religion: there they staye a certaine time, and after they be turned out to gette their living as they can, none of their former ritches must they have againe; for that goes to the maintenaunce of the pope's pontificalitie. This aforsayde font is a holy thing, and there must prayers be likewyse sayde.

From this font wee goe uppe into a fayre chappell, wherein is an aultar dedicated to our Ladie, in golde and sumptuous showes surpassing: and all about the chappell are hanged little wooden pictures, tapers, and wax-candles, which are the pilgrimes' vowes to our Ladie, and there they leave them to honour her. Heere must be used great devotion.

From thence wee goe into an olde roome, wherein is an olde wall standing alonge in the middest of this roome; and in this wall is three old doores, having painting on them that is not very olde. Thorowe one of these doores, they say, Christe went into judgement; when he came backe from judgement he went thorowe the second; and thorowe the thirde to be whipped: these doores are worshipped every day.

From thence we goe alonge thorowe an olde gallery, and there is a fayre paire of stayres of stone, that commeth uppe into this gallery, being in number of steppes about four or five and twenty. Uppe these stayres, they say, Christe went to judgement; and, as he came backe againe, he let fall a drop of bloode on one of the steppes, over the which place (because the people, with kissing it and rubbing it with their beades, have fretted a deepe hole in the stone) is made a little yron grate. The people must neither goe uppe nor downe these stayres on theyr feete, but creepe them upon theyr knees, and on every steppe say a *pater-noster* and an *ave-maria:* so that, with the number that creepe uppe and downe these stayres dayly, they are kept as cleane as the fine houses in London, where you may see your face in the boordes. These stayres have no small reverence.

Neere to the head of these stayres, on either side of the gallery, there is in the walles two halfe-pillers of stone, much like to alablaster; which they say to be the vaile of the temple that rent in the middest when Christe yeelded uppe the ghost: upon these two halfe-pillers they rubbe theyr beades, in signe of great devotion.

Somewhat neere to these halfe-pillers, there is a longe marble-piller; at which piller,

[5] [Vide Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 706.]

they say, Christe was faste bound when he was whipped in Pilate's hall: this piller is much adored.

Harde by wee goe into a little chappell, which hath a very ritch and costlie aultar, wherin they say to be some of the milke that came out of our Ladie's breastes, and as yet remaineth pure and sweete: to this relique is used mervailous worship.

And in the same chappell, harde by the doore as wee come in, there hangeth, tyed with an yron chayne, a peece of wood, which is crossed every way with divers plates of yron. This peece of woode they name to be a peece of the crosse whereon the theefe was hanged, to whom our Saviour sayde, "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." To this is given much devotion.

Beneath in the Church.

In the church at the aultar, there is, as they say, the first shirt that our Ladie made for Christe when he was young.

In the same aultar are the two sculs, or scalps, of the heads of S. Peter and S. Paule, with the haire as yet on them; which are set in golde and silver verie costly.

There is also a glasse-viall, which is full, as they say, of the bloode of our Saviour, that ran out of his precious side, hanging on the crosse. The people, when this is showen, will take their handes, and hold the palmes of them toward the glasse; and then rub all theyr face with theyr handes, with the great holinesse they receive from the glasse.

Then there is a peece of Christe's cote without seame, and it is the part of the cote, which, when it was turned downe over his bodie that he should be whipped, the bloode did trickle downe upon; and upon this peece of his cote, say they, the bloode yet remaineth as fresh as it was the first day when the bloode fell on it. This is a mervailous precious relique too.

Likewise there is the whole chayne of yron wherewith S. John the Evangelist was led bounde to Ephesus. This chaine is a little olde one, I am sure little above halfe a yard longe.

There is also one of the nayles wherewith our Saviour Christe was nayled on the crosse; and it hath the bloode yet fresh on it.

And, among all the rest, there is a great proportion, or quantitie of the crowne of thornes, wherewith, they say, our Saviour was crowned.

Divers other reliques there be in that church, which I çanne not nowe verie perfectlye remember: but these I am certaine they make the people beleeve to be there; for I have stoode by among a multitude of people, that come thither to see them on the day they are showen, and there have I hearde all these named. Almost all the English students can beare me witnesse; for I have gone in their company, as it is a custome and an order among them, to goe from church to church all the Lent-time, to the Stations as they call them; and then, each day in Lent, one church or other hath their reliques abroade to bee seene. And then they tell the people, this is the reliques of such a saint, and this is such a holie and blessed thing: but they be either covered with golde, silver, or cristall; so that wee can not tell whether there be any thing within or no, except it be sometime in a broade cristall tabernacle, and there you shall see a company of rotten bones, God knows of what they be.

In Saint Maria Majore.

There is an olde rotten crib, or maunger, wherein, say they, our Saviour lay betweene the oxe and the asse, when the sheepeheardes came to honour and reverence him: this is a thing highlie honoured.

There is likewise Aaron's rod, as they call it, which is in the forme of a bishop's staffe: a holie relique.

There is also of the haire that grewe on our Ladye's head: this is there reserved ritchlie, and worshipped for a singuler relique.

There is the forme of a finger in silver, wherein, say they, is the finger of St. Thomas, which he thrust into the side of Christe: this is no simple relique.

There is the point of the head of a speare, which they say to be broken off from the speare that was thrust into our Saviour's side on the crosse: a relique of no small worshippe.

There is also certaine peeces of money, which they name to be of those thirty pence which Judas received when he betrayed his Maister, wherewith (after he had hanged himselfe) they bought a feelde, called, 'The Feelde of Blood:' these are reliques of great estimation.

There is likewise an olde rotten peece of wood, which they make the people to thinke to be a piece of the crosse whereon Christe was crucified: to see this relique the people will come creeping on their knees, and behave themselves with mervailous devoutnesse.

There is also certaine of the thornes, which sometime, as they say, was on the crowne of thornes, wherewith our Saviour Christe was crowned: reliques of great aucthority among them.

In Sancta Croce.

There is an other of the nayles wherewith Christe was nayled on the crosse; and, as they saye, the blood still freshe upon it.

There is also three or foure of the pence which Judas received for the betraying of his Maister, Christe.

There is a good big peece of wood, which they likewise say to be a peece of the crosse whereon Christe was crucified.

There is a whippe, which they reporte to be one of those whippes wherewith Christe was whipped in Pilate's hall: this is a holy and verie precious relique.

There is a tabernacle of cristall; the pillers thereof are of silver, wherein is divers olde rotten bones, which they say to be the bones of saintes and holy martirs.

In Saint Lauraunce's.

There is made fast, in a wall, a great marble stone about two yardes in length, and a yarde in bredth, which is closed in with a great yron: upon this stone, they say, Saint Lauraunce was broyled. This is a relique much sette by.

There also, they say, to be the gredyron whereon Saint Lauraunce was broyled: but that I never sawe, therefore I will not make any certaine reporte thereof.

There, at the high aultar, they say the heade of Saint Lauraunce is: which they have set in silver mervailous costlie.

In Saint Sebastian's.

There, under the high aultar, they say, lyeth the bodye of Saint Sebastian; to whose shrine they offer verie much worshippe.

At all these seaven churches, there are a number more reliques then I can well remember, which maketh the people to resorte to them almost daylie; and our Englishmen, they are as zealous, in these matters, as the best, and beleeve that those reliques are the verie certaine thinges whereof they beare the name: so great is theyr blindnesse and want of faith.

To these places they trudge commonly once everie weeke, and sometime twise; or, as the Jesuites thinke it convenient: but when they have beene at these seaven churches, and honoured all these paltrey reliques, they thinke they have done a most blessed and acceptable service to God.

There are reliques beside these, at most of the other churches and chappels; but, what they be, I do not, as now, remember. Yet thus much I can say, that when the Station hath beene at Saint Appolonia's; all the way as we goe, the streetes are full almost of lame and diseased people, who, when they desire any almes of the passers by, say, "They will pray to Saint Appolonia for theyr teeth, that she will keepe them from the toothach, or any other paine that may happen to theyr teeth." This they doe, because they reporte, that Saint Appolonia, being martired, had all her teeth, by violence, plucked out of her

head; and therefore they imagine, that she can defend any body from having any paine in theyr teeth.

Likewise, Saint Agatha, whose brestes, they say, were clipped off with a paire of tonges, made red hot in the fire; to her they will pray (if the people will give them any money) that, any woman passing by them, this saint will not suffer her to have any paine in her brestes.

Other of their saintes, whoe had any thinge ministred by way of torment, either on theyr heade, armes, bodye, legges, or feete, (because the people shall give them somewhat,) these beggers will pray to any of those saintes, to defende them from paine, in any such place of their body.

Now, some lazy fryer, or some other craftie companion, whoe will compell the people to give him somewhat, he getteth a *pax;* and every one that commeth by him, must make homage to it, come and kisse it, and give him money ere he goe any farther. This fellowe standeth as maister of the beggers: and all these knaveries, and an infinite number more, are our Englishmen so insolent, both to like and alowe off.

And now, seeing I am among the pope's pageants, I will blaze a little more of his holy hell; that those (to whose handes this my booke shall happen to come, and are, by some of our secreate seducing preestes, any thing mooved that way) may behold the egregious follies and devillish drifts whereby God is displeased, and men too much wilfullye blinded. So that, turning to the bare and naked trueth, which craveth neither shadowe, nor any coullored devise; they may vomite up that Antichriste and his abbominable inventions, and cleave to that which God himselfe hath commaunded.

CHAP. V.

A breefe Discourse of their darke Vautes underneath the Grounde, and how they beguile a Number by them. Of the Pilgrimage to Saint James in Gallitia, to Saint Maria di Loreto, to Saint Clare at Mount Falcon, and other Places of like Holinesse.

AMONG a number of theyr inventions to uphold and maintaine their wicked dealinges, they have certaine vautes underneath the ground, wherein they say howe, in the time that the persecuting emperours lived in Rome, the Christians were glad to hide themselves; and there they lived many yeeres, having no foode nor nourishment to maintaine them, but onlie that they were fed by angels. Sometime Christ himselfe came amongst them, and he fed them by his heavenly deitie: when, as he could not come, but was busied aboute other affaires, he sente his mother, the Virgin Marie, to them: at other times, the archangell Michaell, the angell Gabriell, or one angell or other, was still sent unto them; and saintes, that were living on earth, came daylie and preached to them. This our Englishmen hath tolde to me and other, at divers times; yea, and when they have seene me offer doubte of those matters, they have beene ready to sweare it to be certaine and true.

At a church there, called Saint Pancratia, there is a vaute, whereinto I have gone with the Jesuites of the Englishe colledge and the students; and there they have shewed me in divers places, made on either side in the vaute as we go, that there lay such a saint, and there lay such an other; there they were buried, and none was there but they were all saintes. Then (having every one of us a waxe-light in our hands, because it is unpossible to see any light in the vaute; and for those lights the fryers, that keepe the church, must have money, which we put into a basen that standeth at the going downe into the vaute) they looke on the grounde under theyr feete as they goe; and, if they chaunce to find a bone (as some sure are thrown in of purpose to deceive the people) whether it be of a dog, a hog, a sheepe, or any beast, they can presently tell what saint's bone it was, either Saint Fraunces, Saint Anthonie, Sainte Blase, or some other saint that pleaseth them to name. Then

must no bodie touch it without he be a priest, and it must be brought home for an especiall relique; and thus (saving your reverence) encreaseth the genealogie of the holy reliques in Rome.

In this aforesayde vaute of saint Pancratia, (as one of the English priestes in the colledge gave me to understand,) there was sometime a Franciscan fryer, who having long time lived among his brethren in the monastrie, in chastitie of life and devoutnes in religion, walking one day without Rome, saint Fraunces appeared to him in his fryer's cowle; and, calling him by his name, sayd unto him, "I know, my good brother, thou hast long thus lived in my holy order, and hast obeied me in every thing; therefore I will, that thou be no longer a mortall man, but a saint; and from this day forwarde thou shalt leave thy cloister, and go to the vaute under the church of saint Pancratia, where thou shalt be worshipped of every one that commeth into the said vaute, and to them thou shalt give the bones and reliques of holy and blessed saintes, which they, in theyr churches, shall adore with great reverence: what thou wilt have shall be done, and what thou wilt not shall not be done. After these wordes, saint Fraunces vanished from him, and he went home to the monastrie, to tell his brethren what had happened. Soon after, with burning tapers, and great shewes of holinesse, they brought him to the vaute of saint Pancratia; wherein being entred, they found a seate ready prepared for him, which shined as bright as the sun, so that it dimmed the light of all the tapers; it was like unto the clowdes, verie thick besette with twinckling stars; and, over the head of it, was covered with a goodly rainbowe. Nothinge coulde be seene whereon this seate depended; it neither touched the ground, the top of the vaute over head, nor any part of the wall on either side; therefore it was supported by angells, whome though they coulde not discerne, yet they hearde them make verie mellodious harmonie, to welcome this saint to his new seate. Then the fryer, being bashful to see such a glorious seate provided for him, withdrew himselfe, as though he were unworthy to sit therein; but then, out of one of the clowdes, stretched a hand (which they sayd to be Christe's) wherein they saw the fresh bleeding wound, being pierced thorowe with the nayles on the crosse; and this hand pulled the fryer to the seate, and placed him verie roially therein. At the sight hereof, all his brethren fell downe and worshipped him: whereupon he delivered unto every one of them divers holy reliques; as the heade of such a saint, and bones of divers other saintes, which was put into his hand to give them. Some of them, for pure zeale, woulde not depart from him, but stayed there many yeares, being fed and nourished by angells; the other, to looke to the good ordering of their monastrie, were forced to depart. A longe time this saint remained in the vaute, and many other that came to him, whom he daylie made saints; so that, as well on the behalfe of this saint, as divers other as good as he, this vaute is worshipped, as though it were a second heaven."

When he had ended this brave notorious fable, delyvered foorth with farre more reverend jesture than I can sette downe, or you imagine, he sayd: "If a man shoulde tell this to the heretiques of our countrey, they would straite-way condempne it as a lye and untrueth: so mightily doth the devill prevayle with them to deface the daylie myracles showne in the Catholique churche!" Trust me, thought I, I knowe not whether they woulde esteeme it for a lye, or no; but I do allow it for one of the notablest lyes, that ever I hearde in my life.

O my deere countreymen, thinke howe God hath given over these men, that repose credite in such abhominable untruethes; whereby he is robbed of his glorie, and the worship which wee ought of duetie to give to him, is bestowed on a rable of rascall reliques, and dunghill of most irksome and noysome smell; and they themselves become spectacles to the world, following the whore of Rome, as the puddle of accursed filthinesse. Their impietie hath pearced the heavens, and offended the Almighty, to see that his creatures shall thus disdaine theyr Maker; and therefore, while they are glorying and triumphing in the middest of their wickednesse, he hath throwen them downe, accompted them as bastards, and not children, that they might be an example to us howe to live in his feare, and howe to behave our selves like Christians; not to give his honour to stocks and stones,

not to lust after dreames and fantasies of the devill's invention, but while wee have the light, to walke as becommeth the children of light; to keepe our selves true and faithfull subjects to her by whome wee enjoy the light; and to pray to God to blesse her and us all to continue in the light. *Amen.*

I will sette downe one discourse more, of an other like myracle, done in an other of their vautes; and then I will trouble you no longer with suche frivolous and foolishe stuffe; which I will declare even in the same manner as a priest of theyrs, as yet not taken, yet he is heere in Englande, told me; when he, I, and two of the schollers more, went into the sayd vaute.

Without Rome, about the distaunce of halfe a mile from the cittie, there is a huge great vaute, which they call S. Priscillae's Grote: and within this vaute there is a great many of severall places, turning one this way, an other that way; as in one street, there may be divers streetes and lanes turning every way: so that, when they goe into this vaute, they tye the end of a line at the going in, and so goe on by the line; else they might chaunce to loose them selves, and so misse of their comming out againe: or else, if they have not a line, they take chalk with them, and make figures at every turning, that, at their comming againe, (being guided by torch-light, for candles will go out with the dampe in the vaute,) they make accompt, tyll they get foorth: but this is not so ready a way, as by the line.

One day I was desirous to see this vaute; for my fellowe, Thomas Nowell, in the companye of the Jesuites and the schollers, had beene therein; and, I lying sicke in my bed, bothe he and they made such a glorious reporte thereof to me, what a heavenly place it was, what a number of saintes and martirs had beene buried there, and what precious reliques was dailie found there, that I very much desired to see the thing, whereto they gave such an admirable praise. For, in sooth, my fellowe was even all one with them; his company was required of every one, and he as lewde in speeches against his countrey, as the best; so that I was esteemed I can not tell howe: they woulde not misdoubte me, for my parents' sake, and yet they woulde give me many shrewd nips: as, when they demaunded any thinge of me as concerning our gracious princesse, or any of her honorable councell, I shoulde aunswer, Her majestie, God blesse her; or, The right honorable such a noble man, of whome they asked me: whereat they woulde checke me very much for using any reverence in naming her majestie, or any of the lords of her honorable councell.

And this I may say boldly, for that it is true, as God is my witnesse; that, in all the time I was with them, I neither offered motie of misordred or undecent speech, either of her majestie, nor any noble man in the court; no, nor so much as thought yll of any of them, notwithstanding the wordes they used, sufficient (had not God ordred all my dooinges) to have moved a more stayed man then my selfe to an error. I appeale to God (whoe knoweth I sette downe nothing but trueth), and to him that is my cheefest enimie, if he can justlie reporte otherwise by me: for, I thanke God, albeit I were so farre from my countrey, he gave me the grace to consider I was a subject; and I was bound by duetie to regard and honour my prince, so long as I lived. And because my adversaries object against me, that I wente to masse, and helped the priest my selfe to say masse, so that, say they, "Whoe is worst? I am as evill as he." I aunswer, "I did so in deede: for he, that is in Rome, (especiallie in the colledge amonge the schollers,) must live as he may, not as he will: favour comes by conformitie, and death by obstinacie."

These rashe heades, being in Englande, woulde doe manie goodly matters at Rome: they woulde tell the pope of his lascivious and unchristian lyfe; the cardinals, of their sodomiticall sinnes; the fryers, of their secrete jugling with the nunnes; and the priestes, of their painted purgatorie, their wafer-god, and their counterfait blood in the challice. All these they woulde doe, nowe they are in Englande; but I doubte, if they were at Rome, and beheld the mercilesse tiranny executed on the members of Christe, God having not endued them with the spirite of perseveraunce to suffer and abide the like, (for, what can this fraile carkase endure, if God doe not say, 'I will, that thou shalt suffer this?') I

feare me, they woulde be as ready to doe any thinge for the safegard of their lives, as I was. You may note a speciall example, in those our countreymen lately executed; that neither theyr cause was esteemed of God, nor perfectly perswaded in themselves; yet they woulde die in a braverie, to be accompted martirs at Rome: and, in the middest of their braverie, all the world might note their false and faint hearts.

Sherwood, he ranne downe the ladder, when death should arest him; having killed one of his fellowe-papists. Campion, their glorious captaine, he looked dead in the face, so soone as he saw the place of execution, and remained quaking and trembling unto the death. Shert woulde have the people thinke he feared not death, and yet he catched hold on the halter, when the cart was drawn away. Kirbie, quaking when he felt the cart goe away, looked styll how neere the end of it was, till he was quite beside: and Cottom, dismaying, died trembling, and in great feare. These are the martirs of the Romish church: not one of them patient, penitent, nor endued with courage to the extremitie of death; but dismaying, trembling, and fearfull, as the eye-witnesses can beare me recorde. We may therefore well know, that a good cause doth animate the martir, which belongeth to God: let Rome, hell, and all the devilles set themselves against us, they can touch us no farther then God will suffer them. As S. Laurence, being broyled on the gredyron, to witnesse the invincible courage wherewith God had endued him, he sayde, "Thou tiraunt, this side is roasted enough, turne the other." And saint Isidore likewise sayde to the tiraunt: "I knowe thou hast no farther power over me then my God will suffer thee from above."—But now to our matter.

As I have sayde; through the great reporte they made of this vaute, one of the priestes, two of the schollers, and I, tooke with us a line, and two or three great lightes, and so went to this aforesayde vaute. We going alonge in, farther and farther, there we sawe certaine places, one above another, three and three on either side, during a great way in length; and these places, they sayde, to be some of them the graves of persecuted saintes and martirs, where they hid themselves in the time of the cruell emperours of Rome, and there they died.

Proceeding on forwarde, wee came to an olde thinge like an aultar, whereon, in olde and auncient painting, which was then almost clean worne out, was Christ upon the crosse, and our Lady, and S. John by him: there the priest sayde, S. Peter, S. Paule, and many other saintes, had sayde masse to the Christians that hid themselves there. "And besides this (quoth he) there chaunced, not many yeeres since, a poor man of the cittie to come into this vaute, and when he was come so farre as this aultar, the light he carried in his hand suddenlie went out, so that he was forced to sit downe, and stay heere. He being thus without any light, and ignoraunt of the way to gette out againe, fell in prayer to our Lady, who presentlie appeared to him; having about her little angells, holding burning lampes in their handes, where-through the place was illumined verie gloriouslie. And there she questioned with him and he with her, about many and holy religious matters: then she, departing, left him, there accompanied with angells; so that he remained there ten dayes, at the end whereof he came forth, and went and told the pope what he had seene, for which when he died, he was canonized a saint: and in this order arise many of the Romish saintes.

As for the pilgrimage to saint James in Gallitia, it is a thing that is usuallie frequented all the yeere, by suche a number of people, as you woulde scantlie judge; amongst whome divers of our Englishmen be so holie, that they will not sticke to beare them company. There, they say, lyeth the bodie of saint James the apostle; and there is the cock that crowed when Peter denied Christ; some of the heaire of our Ladie's head; certaine of the thornes of the crowne of thornes; the napkin that was about Christe's head in the grave; certaine droppes of his blood; a peece of the crosse whereon he was crucified, and a number such like reliques, which are honoured and worshipped, as if they were God himselfe.

Then one of the cheefe pilgrimages is to a place called *Santa Maria di Loreto;* where within is an old little brick roome, which they name to be the house our Lady dwelt in. There is the image of our Lady all in golde and silver: the house rounde about her beset

with challices of golde and silver, which are oblations and offerings of divers pilgrimes, that come in whole companies thither. And before her is a great barred chest of yron, wherein they throw money to our Lady, by whole goblets-ful at once. Within this little house there is an aultar made right before our Lady, and there is sayde every day fortie or fiftie masses, whereat the people will throng in great heapes, to gette into the house; for they thinke themselves happie, if our Lady have once seene them. And all the churche is likewise hung with pictures, tapers, and waxe-candles, which are the vowes of the pilgrimes to our Lady. I have hearde of some whoe, by the counsaile of their ghostly father, have made money of all their houshold stuffe, and have come five or sixe hundreth miles bare foote and bare legged, to give it all to our Lady there: meane while the holy father hath had liberty to playe with the man's wife at, &c.—In all my life I never sawe a place more frequented with people then this is dailie, only for the admirable myracles that be doone there. Some have come thither for the eye-sighte; and, when they were there, they coulde see a little, as they say, but they have come away starke blind as they were before. A man came thither, being greevously wounded on the sea by his enemies; and, after he had seene our Lady, he went to the hospitall, and within a quarter of a yeere after, at the farthest, the chirurgeons had healed him. When he was well againe, he went and hung up his picture, in the church, that he was healed of his hurte, so soone as he looked uppon our Lady. Divers have beene brought thither in theyr beds, some being sicke, some wounded, or otherwise diseased; and there they were sette before our Lady, looking when she shoulde saye, "Take up thy bed and walke." And because she coulde not intend to speake to them, being troubled with so many other suters: they have beene carried to the hospitall, and there they have beene either buried or cured. Then such, as recover theyr health, must go set up their picture in the church, how that the very looking on our Lady hath holpen them. Sundry other myracles, doone by our Lady of Loreto, I could rehearse; but they be so straunge, that no wise body will care for the hearing them: neverthelesse, the pope findes her a good sweete Lady of Loreto, for the pilgrimage to her encreaseth his treasure many thousandes in a yeere.

To Mount Faulcon there is an other pilgrimage to see the body of S. Clare, which was buried I knowe not how many hundred yeeres agoe; and yet the body remayneth whole and sounde, without any perishing of bone or skinne. I have beene at this place, and ther, in a long ritch tabernacle of glasse, lyeth, as they say, the same bodie of S. Clare: the handes and feete are to be seene, which I can aptly compare to the manner of the anatomie, whereon the chirurgeons shewe every yeere their cunning; as for any fleshe, there is none to be seene but the bare bones, and withered sinues, which, being kept so bravely as that is, standing still at one place, and never mooved, I judge will continue a great while: and truelie I take it to be some anatomie; as divers others have doone, that have seene it as well as I. The whole body, if there be any, is covered with a gowne of blacke velvet, and the head covered, so that none can see it. There lyeth by her a thing which, they say, was her heart; which being cleft a-sunder in the middest, the whole torment and passion of Christ was there in lively forme to be seene. Then there is likewise by her a glasse of her teares, that she shed dailie in remembraunce of the bitter passion of our Saviour; which teares, they say, are as fresh and sweet as they were on the first day.

There are a number other pilgrimages: as to Thurine, to see the winding-sheete wherein Christe was layde; wherein, as they say, he left the perfecte image of his body. This merveilous relique is never showen, but once in fourteene yeeres; and then, to deceive the people with the greater aucthoritie, there must sixe cardinalles come thither, and they muste holde it abroade, for everye one to see it: no other but they may presume to touche it. To Paris, to saint Dennis in Fraunce, to Poiters, and in a number other places, there be daily pilgrimages, to see a number suche lyke reliques, as I have declared before. All these helpe to upholde the pope, least his kingdome should decaye, and so his usurping title be cleane worne out of memorie.

But nowe you shall heare of a newe proppe and piller, wherewith the pope is and will

be merveilously strengthened, that is risen up little more then two yeares since; and at this newe holy place, is wrought myracles of great accompt. In the yeere of our Lord 1580, about the time of Easter, a certaine poore man, one that sawe the simplicity of the people, howe apt they were to beleeve every fained invention; he, being a subtill and crafty fellowe, thought he would come in with some devise of his owne, whereby he might get a great deale of money, and, besides, be canonized for a saint when he died.

He having concluded his practise, with divers other craftie companions, as subtill as himselfe, whoe should maintaine all that he did devise; fained himselfe to dreame in his bed, that a vision appeared unto him, willing him to make cleane his house, and to fall downe and reverence an olde picture of our Ladie, which stoode in his house; when presently there shoulde be merveilous myracles accomplished there. His companions noised this abroade, adding thereto such admirable protestation of speech, as every one, that heard thereof, conceived no small cause of wondering. This aforesaide vision appeared to this man twise, all in one manner, by which time it was spreade abroade sufficientlie; so that when it came the third time, he did according as the voyce badde him: he arose, made cleane his house, and fell downe and worshipped the picture of our Ladie.

His companions had some of them bound up their legs, and went on croutches; some of them fained themselves to be blind: so that they came no sooner before our Ladie, but the lame recovered his legs, and the blind his sight. Then these few croutches, that these counterfait fellowes came withall, were hung up by the picture, and a number more, to make the people beleeve that so many lame folks were healed; and likewise the report of the blind that received their sight: so that it was thoughte a merveilous number were healed at this new found holy place.

Upon this, the resort of people thither was truely incredible. Gentlemen would come thither, and there hang up theyr velvet cloaks, as an offering to our Ladie; gentlewomen woulde come thither, bare foote and bare legged, and there hange up their velvet gownes, their silke gownes, with other costly apparell, and go home in their peticoates. As for money, jewelles, and other treasure, daily offered there, it is most merveilous to see; for therewith they have builded a verie faire church where this house stoode. When they sawe they were growen so ritch, they made no account of the olde picture, wherewith all the aforesaide myracles were doone; but they erected a costly aultar, and thereon made a sumptuous newe picture of our Ladie, which the people do dayly honour with merveilous resorte. This is faithfullie affirmed by one John Yonge, an Englishman, whoe not long since came home from Rome; and, while he was there, he well noted the impudency of our Englishmen, in lauding and extolling this place, and the myracles there wrought: so that they as certainlie beleeve in those myracles, as any Christian doth in God.

This John Yonge once questioned with one of the English priestes, "Why God did not as well suffer suche myracles to be wroughte by his Sonne Jesus Christ, as altogether by our Ladie?" Whereto the priest aunswered, "Because among the heretiques they use little or no reverend regard to our Ladie, but rather dispise and contemne her: therefore it is the will of God, to witnesse the power and heavenlye aucthoritie she hath, by these and many suche myracles, bothe heere and in divers other places, rather then by his Sonne Christ." Heere may everye good Christian beholde the horrible abuses, used among this sathanicall crew: their pilgrimages, their reliques, and all their craftie inventions, it is to be merveiled that people will be so fonde as to beleeve.

As for the nayles wherewith our Saviour was nayled on the crosse, it is evidently registred by learned writers, that they were no more in number then three: yet I am sure, in Rome, there is above a dozen nayles dispearsed there through divers churches; and they are not ashamed to saye, that with every one of those nayles Christe was nayled upon the crosse.

And for those three nayles, wherewith Christe was nayled on the crosse, Platina recordeth, that queene Helena, the mother of Constantine the emperour, searching in the ground, by chaunce found the crosse whereon Christ was crucified, and wherein the

nayles were still sticking; for which cause she builded there a temple in the same place, where she founde the crosse. All these nayles she gave to her sonne Constantine, which he bestowed in this order: one of them he caused to be fastened in the bridle of his horse, whereon he rode to the warres; an other he made to be wrought into his helmet, in the place where he set his plume of feathers; and the third he used to carrie about with him, till on a time, he sayling on the Hadriaticum sea, a tempeste arose, so that the sea waxed verie rough; whereupon he cast the nayle therein, to asswage the rage thereof.

Thus have you hearde, what became of the three nayles, wherewith our Saviour was nayled on the crosse; and yet it may be, that the nayle, which Constantine threwe into the sea, (according as Ambrose dooth likewise affirme it was,) tooke uppon it the nature of a fysh, and spawned a great manye of other nayles, whereof those may be some, that are held for such holy reliques.

And because you shall not doubt, whether this be the opinion of Platina, or no: I will heere set downe the wordes, according as they are in his woorkes: *(Platina in Vitis Pontificum, & in Vitâ Silvestri Primi, anno 339, ab urbe conditâ, 1191.) Helena verò, ædificato eo in loco templo ubi crucem repererat, abiens clavos, quibus Christi corpus cruci affixum fuerat, secum ad filium portat. Horum unum ille in frænos equi trans tulit, quibus in prælio utereter; alio pro cono galeæ utebatur: tertium in mare Hadriaticum (ut ait Ambrosius) ad compescendas sævientis maris procellas dejecit.*

Bishop Jewel, bishop of Salisburie, preaching at Paules-Crosse, in the beginning of her majestie's raigne, tooke occasion, by his text, to entreat of a company of the popish reliques; where among, he named the nayles, that nayled Christe on the crosse, what a company the papistes had of them: two in one place, two in an other, and heere one, and there an other; so that he coulde recken to the number of seaventeene, that they had. And then he tolde how, at a visitation in his diocesse, he found a nayle at a gentleman's house, which the gentleman and divers of his friendes did reverence for one of the nayles, wherewith Christ was nayled on the crosse: from him he tooke it, and sayde; I have alreadie reckned seaventeene in divers places, and this the eighteenth, which he pulled foorth, and shewed it to all the people. This is the merchandize of Rome: from reposing any credite in them, or him that is the capitoll maister of them, good Lorde deliver us!

CHAP. VI.

The Manner of the Dissention in the English Colledge, betweene the Englishmen and the Welshmen; the Banishment of the Englishmen out of Rome; and the Pope's Sending for them againe; with other Matters worthy the Reading.

HAVING promised before in my booke, to rehearse after what manner the Englishmen and Welshmen fell at variaunce in the colledge; I thoughte good to drive off the time no further, but even heere to sette downe howe, and in what sort, it was. The pope, when he erected the colledge, gave it the name of the English Colledge, so that he supposed the Welsh and English to be all one, in that they came all out of one countrey, allowing them his liberallitye together. Nowe, in deede, there are sundrye Welsh doctors in Rome, whoe have been longest, and of greatest familiarity with the cardinall Morone, whoe was the protector of the English colledge, to whome likewise he allowed greatest favour; so that, imboldning themselves upon him, the Welshmen woulde be lordes over the Englishmen, and use them according as they thought good.

Doctor Morris being a Welshman, and Custos of the hospitall or colledge, would allow his owne countreymen greater preheminence then Englishmen: which, in deede, they began to stomacke, and woulde not esteeme him for their governour; but rather soughte

to have the jesuites to rule them, by whome they applyed their studies: and, beside, they woulde be indifferent men on either parte.

When I had beene there a prettie while, I knowe not howe doctor Morris conceived anger against me, but he woulde not suffer me to tarry any longer in the colledge. As for my fellowe, his sincerity in theyr religion was such, his naturall disposition so agreeable with theyrs, and every thing he did esteemed so well, that doctor Morris woulde suffer him willingly to remayne there, but he coulde not abide me in any case.

The schollers understanding this, (as well they that bare me affection, as they that made least accompt of me,) agreede to take my parte, saying, "That if doctor Morris woulde put everye Englishman he thought good on out, in short time the colledge woulde be all Welshmen." So they badde me sticke to them; and, if I went awaye, they woulde go awaye too.

Beside, they mooved a certaine speech amongst them selves, That if I were not received into the colledge amongst them, and used, in everye respecte, according as they were; when I returned into Englande, being knowne to come from Rome, I might be compelled to tell the names of them that were there, and what conference I had among them; so that their parents and freendes shoulde be discovered, and themselves be knowne against their comming into Englande. To avoyde, therefore, any suche doubte, untyll they had me sworne to priesthoode, they woulde keepe me there; and then I shoulde be as deepe in any matter as they.

When I perceived the scope of theyr devise, I behaved my selfe more frowardly to doctor Morris then ever I did before: everye thinge that I hearde of him I tolde unto the schollers, and tarried there, dinner and supper, in spight of his nose. Whereupon, he went and complayned to cardinall Morone, how the schollers used no regarde to him, being the rector; but maintained one lately come foorth of Englande, both to scorne at him, and to offer him too much abuse.

This being come to the schollers' eare, and howe on the next day they must appeare before the cardinall, they determined with them selves all one resolute opinion, which was, that doctor Morris shoulde be rector over them no longer, but the jesuites that were kept in the house for the profite of their studies; and upon this they would all stand, denying any rectorship to doctor Morris.

On the morrowe, they were sente for before the cardinall Morone, where they founde doctor Morris and doctor Lewes; they having made sounde theyr tale before they came.

When they were come into the presence of the cardinall, and my selfe with them, these, or the very like speeches, he used unto us in Latine: "You Englishmen, what meaneth this great disobedience, and uncivill behaviour you use in your colledge? Maister doctor Morris, a man of auncient time, and well esteemed heere in the citty, being appointed to be your rector, and to governe you in good order, as a great while he hath done; you, contrarie to love and dutie, behave your selves rediculously against him; and neither respecting his credite and countenaunce, nor your owne honestie, determine a mutenie or tumulte among your selves. What is the cause of this? You are sente for to manifest it. Wherefore let me heare howe you can excuse this blame layd against you."

Maister Sherwin, whoe was executed with Campion, being there esteemed a singuler scholler, bothe for his eloquence, as also his learning, made aunswere for them all after this manner: "I trust, my gracious lorde, by that time you have hearde the good cause wee have to stirre in this matter, you will neither be offended at our proceeding, nor displeased with us; the cause tending to your owne honor. It is not unknowne to you, that the colledge, or hospitall, which by the gracious providence of our deere father, the pope's holinesse, wee enjoye our abiding in at this present, hath beene alwayes allowed such a sufficient stipende, that one shoulde not be better then an other, or excell his fellowe in common behaviour. This most godly and holy appointed estate wee bothe have beene, and at this present are, content to obeye: but when he that is head shall fayle

in his duetie, and urge an inconvenience among a quiet assemblie; no mervaile if the worme turne, being trodden uppon; and wee speake, being used with too much spight.

"Maister doctor Morris, whose age wee reverence, and obey the title of his auctho-ritye, dealing with us so unfreendly as he dooth, wee can hardly beare it, much lesse abide it. For, where his office dooth commaund him to deale both just and uprightly, and to use no partiallitye to either for favour or alliaunce; he dooth not onely abuse the credite of his auctho ritye, but also maliciouslye deale with us, who have not so much as used any evill thought againste him.

"When any Englishman commeth to the hospitall, if his learning be never so good, or his behaviour never so decent, except he be pleased, he shall not be entertained: but if a Welshman come, if he be never so vilde a runnagate, never so lewde a person, he can not come so soone as he shall be welcome to him; whether he have any learning, or no, it maketh no matter, he is a Welshman, and he must be permitted. Then which of us hath the best gowne, he must receive one that is all ragged and torne, and the newcome Welshman must have the best, because he is the Custos' countreyman: and many nightes he must have the Welshman in his chamber, where they must be merry at their good cheere; wee glad to sitte in our studies, and have an ill supper, because M. doctor wasteth our commons uppon his owne countreymen; so that wee must be content with a snatch and away. If there be one bede better then an other, the Welshman must have it; if there be any chamber more handsome then an other, the Welshman must lodge there: in breefe, the thinges of most account are the Welshman's at commande. This maketh many of us to wishe our selves Welshmen, because wee would gladlie have so good provision as they; and, being countreymen to our Custos, wee shoulde be all used alike; excepting maister doctor's nephew, Morganus Clenokus: he must be in his silke, though all the rest goe in a sacke.

"To mittigate, therefore, all inconveniences; that neither the Englishmen shall be dispised, nor the Welshmen contemned; wee desire, that the jesuites in our colledge may receive the rectorship: they labour for the profite of our studies, and they, being none of our nation or countrey, will see equitie used to either side; so our discorde shall be quietlie reformed, our colledge a great deale better governed, our selves be encouraged to imploy us more willingly to our studies, and wee shall jointlye live together in quietnes. Where otherwise our emulation shall be knowne at home in our owne countrey, how wee fall at variaunce heere, and can not agree; and then shall our names be knowne, our parentes and freendes openlie discovered: then, what the ende will be, I leave to your honorable judgement."

When the cardinall had heard this discourse, (being greatly affected to doctor Morris, thorowe his long abiding in Rome,) he woulde not graunt, that he shoulde be put from his office, but bad them departe home againe, and shewe them selves obedient to the rector, that bothe the pope and him selfe had appointed; promising, if he hearde any more disturbaunce, he woulde enforme the pope of it; which shoulde be but small to their profite.

So, the cardinall not minded to heare them any longer at that time, they departed home to the colledge, greatlie offended with them selves, that they had sped no better. And nowe I must out of the colledge; there was no remedie: but yet, thorowe entreatie of the jesuites, I had leave, for a fortnight, to lye in a verie sweete chamber, filled with olde rustie yron; and all the trashe of the house was put into that chamber, being a vacant place, and serving for no other purpose, because it was next to the common house of office, which ayred the chamber with so sweete a perfume, that (but for names-sake of a chamber, and feare of catching some disease) I had rather have lyen in the streete among the beggers. Well, froward as I was, so was I frowardlie served; which, I thinke, doctor Morris did, onelie to tame my youthfulnesse: for in this place, not long before my comming to Rome, there laye one tormented with a devill, and so distraught of his wittes, that they were fayne to binde him there in his bed.

So doctor Morris, seeing I used my selfe bothe carelesse of them, and with little regarde to theyr religion, yet in suche an order, as they coulde have small advauntage of me, chambred me there, where I thinke the devill was still left: for, every night, there was suche a coyle amonge the olde yron, suche ratling and throwing downe the boordes, that (with the sweete smell came out of the counting-house to my bede's head) I laye almoste feared out of my witts, and almoste choked with that pleasant perfume; so that, when I was layde in my bede, I durste not stirre till it was fayre broade day; that I might perceive everye corner of my chamber, whether the devill were there, or no.

Every morning, the priestes and the schollers woulde come to visite me, givinge me money to sende for my dinner and supper into the towne; because doctor Morris, mine olde freend, watched them so neere, that I coulde not have so much as a draught of wine in the house. Then I tolde them of the noyse, that was everye nighte in my chamber; when they verily beleeved, that the devill, having possessed a woman on the farther side of the garden, did everye nighte take up his lodgeing in my chamber among the olde yron.

Wherefore, one nighte, two of the priestes came to hallow my chamber, and brought their holye water and their holye candles, and sprinckled about in everye corner; giving me also a pot of holye water to hang by my bedes side; that, when I heard the sturre againe, I shoulde, with the sprinckling brush, throwe it about the chamber. And they gave me a payre of beades, whereon I shoulde say sixe *pater-nosters* and *avie-mariaes;* then, they woulde warraunt me, the noyse woulde be gone straight way.

Nighte came, and supping so well as I coulde, with two *quatrines* woorth of leekes, one *quatrine* bestowed in *ricoct* (which is hard cruds to make cheese), a *baiock* in bread, and a *demie boccale* of the *vine Romanesco;* wherewith I supped so well as I might, albeit not so well as I woulde: yet a little thinge serves to quench hunger. I had not beene in my bed full an hower and an halfe, not daring to sleepe for feare, nor keepe my head out of the bed, because of mine accustomed ayre; but then began the noyse againe, more vehement then the nighte before; the olde yron was flung about the chamber; the boordes, that leaned against the wall, fell downe; and such a terrible coyle there was, that I thought the house woulde have fallen on my head. Then I put foorth my hand to throwe the holye water about, which did as much good, as the thinge is good of it selfe; which set me in such a chafe, that, to make up the musique among the olde yron, I sent the pot and the holye water with as much force as I coulde. As for my beades, I was so impatient with my selfe, that I gave them the place which they best deserved; and then I called to olde sir Robert, a Welsh priest, who lay in a prettie chamber harde by: but, before he woulde come, the noyse was indifferently pacified; for he, comming with a candle in his hand, which he used to keepe alight in his chamber, and being in haste, fell over a stone threshold, that lay in his way, so that he burst his knee very sore, and coulde not light his candle againe in the space of an howre: by which time all was quiet.

The feare I tooke at this noyse, brought me to be very weake and sickly, so that I was very unwilling to lye there any longer: but doctor Morris (I thanke him) was so gentle to me, that he sayde, "and if I liked not my lodging, goe hardly, (quoth he,) and lye in the streete; for that place is more meete for thee, then any roome in the house." Howe I received these churlishe wordes, I leave to your judgmentes: but it suffiseth, I gave him my blessinge; and if I coulde have gotten him foorth of Rome, I woulde have bounde him too.

On the nexte daye, uppon an other complainte of doctor Morris, the studentes were all sent for againe before the cardinall, who plainely sayde to them, "That except they woulde live in quietnesse one with another, (because there was one Hugh Griffin, a Welshman, of a hote nature, and he woulde many times fall together by the eares with some of the schollers, that sometime the blood ranne about theyr eares,) lykewise that they shoulde confesse doctor Morris for theyr rightfull rector, and to be obedient to what he appointed; or els to get them away out of Rome."

Well; home they came againe, incensed with such anger and choller, that they were nowe more disobedient, then before, saying to doctor Morris, "That they woulde never consent unto him; and therefore provided them selves to be packing out of Rome." Doctor Morris, thinking to bring them violentlie to his bowe, enformed the cardinall so severely againste them, that they were sent for the third time; when he commaunded them to provide them selves, for they shoulde stay no longer in the English hospitall; but banished them all from the cittie.

When they were come to the colledge, everye man trussed up his needefull thinges, determining on the next morning to depart. Then came doctor Morris to me and my fellowe, willing us to stay, because the other would be gon; and he would stande our freende mervailously. "Trust me, no, sir, (quoth I) since you woulde not stand my freende, when I was in great neede, nowe I mean not to receive your courtesie, when I care not for it: for since the students have stoode my freendes so much, and you mine enemie so greatlie; I will beare a share in theyr travell, howe ever I speede. As for my fellowe, since you have loved him all this while, love him nowe too if you please; and let him stay and doo what you thinke best, for I have tolde you my minde."

Well; on the morrowe morning wee went our way, with bag and baggage, to an English man's house in the cittie; (and, as I remember, his name was M. Creede,) where, to make readie our dinner, everye man tooke an office upon him; one to fetch milke, and an other to make readie rice for the pottage, and some to make the fyre; so that everye one was imployed till our dinner was dispatched. Then they concluded to buie every man an asse, to carrie his bookes and his clothes upon: as for money, there were gentlemen's sonnes of such credite amongst them, that doctor Moorton, and the gentlemen in the cittie, would provide them with as good as five-hundred crownes quickelie. Within an howre and a half after dinner, came father Alfonso, the jesuit of the English colledge, whome the students had chosen, and made sute to be their rector: he, I say, came running in such haste, that he coulde hardly tell his tale, because he was almost out of breath. But this was the summe of his newes; that the pope's holinesse had sent for them in all haste, and they must delay no time, but come to him with all speede possible.

Then he went with them to the pope's pallace, where comming into the pope's chamber, and having everye one kissed his foote, wee stayde to attende what was his pleasure. But, before he spake any worde, with a dissembling and hipocriticall countenaunce, he fell into teares which trickled downe his white bearde; and began in Latin with these or the verie like wordes: "O you Englishmen! to whome my love is such as I canne no way utter; considering that for me you have left your prince, which was your duetie; and come so farre to me, which is more then I can deserve: yet, as I am your refuge when persecution dealeth straightlie with you in your countrey, by reason of the hereticall religion there used; so will I be your bulwarke to defend you, your guide to protect you, your father to nourish you, and your freende with my hart blood to doo you any profite.'

Beholde, what deceites the devill hath to accomplish his desire! Teares, smooth speeches, liberallitie, and a thousand meanes, to make a man carelesse of God, disobedient to his prince, and more, to violate utterlie the faith of a subject. These teares that he shed, these wordes that he spake, made divers of them saye within themselves, as one of them, for example, presentlie to me sayde: "Oh singuler saint! whose life, love, and liberallite, may be a spectacle to the whole world. Whoe woulde live in England, under the government of so vilde a Jezabell, and may rest in safety under the perfect image of Jesus? Whoe woulde not forsake father, mother, freendes, goods; yea, and the life it selfe, to have the bountifull blessing of such a provident father?"

The pope, recovering his health againe from his weeping, caused this devout fellowe to stay his talke, because he began againe as thus: "What is the cause that you will depart from me, that have so wel provided for you, to thrust your selves on the rocke of your owne destruction?" Then maister Sherwin began, and tolde him all the dealinges of doctor Morris towards them, according as he had done before to the cardinall; and how they woulde have the jesuites for their governours, for the causes before mentioned. Upon

these wordes the pope started out of his chayre; "Why, (quoth he) I made the hospitall for *Englishmen;* and for their sake have I given so large exhibition, and not for the *Welshmen.* Returne to your colledge againe; you shall have what you will desire, and any thinge I have in the world to doe you good."

Then he commaunded one of the cheefe gentlemen of his chamber to goe with us, and to certifie the pope's minde to doctor Morris; and so (giving us his benediction) wee went all merrily againe to the colledge.

The gentleman gave doctor Morris to understand, he must be rector no longer; the jesuite, named father Alfonso, whome the schollers had chosen, must have his office: then were the schollers glad that they had gotten the victory of the Welshmen.

On the morrowe the pope sent four-hundred crownes to newe reparation the house, to buie the students all needefull thinges that they wanted; and the house muste no longer be called a colledge but a seminarye.

The cardinall Morone, because doctor Morris should not loose all his dignity, caused the house to be parted; and so made both a seminarye for the students, and an hospitall for the entertainment of English pilgrimes when they came; whereof doctor Morris continued custos by the pope's appoyntment.

Thus was the strife ended, and my selfe and my fellowe admitted by the pope's owne consent to be schollers there: but yet the sicknes that I got, with lying in my former chamber, hung still upon me; so that I was then remooved to a very fayre chamber, where the schollers everye day would come and visite me, untill such time as I recovered my health againe.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Carne Vale in Rome; the Pope's generall Curssing on Maunde-Thursdaie; and the Manner of the Flagellante that Night.

DURING the time of Shrovetide, there is in Rome kepte a verie great coyle, which they use to call the *Carne-vale,* which endureth the space of three or fowre dayes; all which time the pope keepeth him selfe out of Rome, so great is the noyse and hurlie burlie. The gentlemen will attyre them selves in diverse formes of apparell, some like women, other like Turkes, and everye one almoste in a contrarie order of disguising. And either they be on horsebacke, or in coaches, none of them on foote: for the people that stande on the ground to see this pastime are in very great daunger of their lives, by reason of the running of coaches and great horsses, as never in all my life did I see the like sturre.

And all this is done where the courtizanes be, to shew them delight and pastime: for they have coverlettes laid out at their windowes, whereon they stande leaning forth, to receive divers devises of rosewater, and sweet odours in their faces, which the gentlemen will throwe uppe to their windowes.

During this time everye one weareth a disguised visor on his face, so that no one knowes what or whence they be; and if any one beare a secrete malice to an other, he may then kill him, and no body will lay hands on him; for all this time they will obey no lawe. I sawe a brave Romaine, who roade there very pleasaunt in his coatch, and suddenly came one who discharged a pistoll upon him; yet no body made any accoumpt, either of the murtherer, or the slaine gentleman. Beside, there were divers slaine, both by villany, and the horses or the coatches, yet they continued on their pastime, making no regard of them.

The first day of their Carne-vale, the Jewes in Rome cause an ensigne to be placed at the capitoll, where likewise they appoint certaine wagers at theyr owne costes; and then they run starke naked from Porta Populo under the capitoll for them, the which I judge above a myle in length. And all the way, they gallop their great horsses after them, and

carie goades with sharpe pointes of steele in them; wherewith they will pricke the Jewes on the naked skin, if so be they doo not run faster then their horses gallop; so that you shall see some of their backes all on gore blood. Then he that is foremost, and soonest commeth to the capitoll, he is set on a horse backe without any saddle, one going before him carrying the ensigne. But then you shall see a hundred boyes, whoe have provided a number of orenges; they will so pelte the poore Jewe, that, before he can get uppe to the capitoll, he will be beaten beside his horse fowre or five times.

The next day there are certaine of the Christians that runne naked likewise; but no body pursueth them, either with horse or coatch: and the wager, they runne for, the Jewes must pay likewise. Then the buffell and the asse runneth; but it is unpossible for me to tel all the knaverie used about this: and therefore thus much shall suffice of the Carnevale; letting you understand, that they whoe were most knavishly disposed in this sport, on Ashwednesday came to take ashes in such meeke order, as though it had never beene they.

On Maunde-Thursday, the pope commeth into his gallery over S. Peter's, sitting in his chayre wherwith he is caried on mens shoulders: and there he hath a great painted holie candle in his hand burning, when as a cardinall on ech side of him, the one in Latin, the other in Italian, singeth the pope's generall malediction.

There he curseth the Turke, and her majestie, our most gracious princesse and governesse; affirming her to be farre wurse then the Turke, or the cruellest tirant that is. He curseth likewise all Calvenians, Lutherians, Zwinglians, and all that are not according to his disposition. When he hath cursed all that he can, saying 'Amen,' he letteth the candle fall. When as the people will scramble for it, and every one catch a little peece if they can; yea, our English men will be as busie as the best, and one of them chaunced to get a peece of the waxe of the candle, whereof he made such a bragging when he came to the colledge, as you will not thinke, that he had got a peece of the candle, wherewith the queene of Englande was cursed, and that he woulde keepe it so longe as he lived.

The same night a number of the basest people, and most wicked lyvers that be amongst the people, gather themselves together in companies: as the company of the Holie Ghost, the company of Charitie, the company of Death, and such like; every company their crucifix before them, their singers following them, on either side a number of burning torches, and thus they goe all whipping themselves.

First, they goe by into the pope's pallace, and then downe in S. Peter's church, which is all adorned with a number of waxe lightes: and there on the toppe of an aultar standeth a couple of cardinals, whoe sheweth them the holie handkercher, or *Vultus sanctus;* which indeede is nothing but a lively painted picture, overshadowed with a couple of fine lawnes, and no body must desire to see it uncovered, because, they say, no body is able to endure the brightnes of the face. A number have seen it, and have been the wurse a great while after; and, all the while that both this and the speare is shown, they will whip themselves before them very greevously, and give a generall clamor thorowe the church: *Misericordia, Misericordia, Tu autem Domine miserere nobis:* and this order they continue almost the whole night. This is the glorie of the pope, the blindnesse of the people, and the great follie of our English men, to bring themselves within the compass of such wicked order of life.

God continue his loving and fatherlie countenance over Englande; blesse and preserve her majestie, and her honourable councell; and exercise us all in fere to him, obedience to her, and faithfull continuall loove to our neighbours! *Amen.*

CHAP. VIII.

A true Report of the Christian Suffering, and mercilesse Martirdom, of one Richard Atkins[6]*, English-Man, at Rome: whoe, for the Trueth of the Gospell, to the great Terrour of all the Beholders, endured the Extremity of the Torment, and cruell Agonie of Death, in the Yeere of our Lord* 1581.

ABOUT the time of Midsommer, in the yeere 1581, one Richard Atkins, a Hartfordshire man, came to Rome; and, having found the English colledge, he knocked at the doore; when as divers of the students came to welcome him, knowing that he was an Englishman. Among other talke, they willed him to go to the hospitall, and there to receive his meate and lodging, according as the order was appointed. Whereto he aunswered, "I come not, my countreymen, to any such intent as you judge; but I come lovingly to rebuke the great misorder of your lives, which I greeve to hear, and pittie to be beholde. I come likewise to let your proud antichrist understand, that he doth offend the heavenly Majesty, robbe God of his honour, and poysoneth the whole world with his abominable blasphemies: making them homage stockes and stones, and that filthy sacrament, which is nothing else but a foolish idol." When they heard these wordes, one Hugh Griffin, a Welshman, and a student in the colledge, caused him to be put in the Inquisition: where howe they examined him, and howe he aunswered them, I knowe not. After certaine dayes, he was sette at lybertie againe.

And one day, going in the streete, he met a priest carrying the sacrament; which offending his conscience, to see the people so croutch and kneele to it, he caught at it, to have throwne it downe, that all the people might see what they worshipped. But, missing his purpose, and, being judged by the people that he did catch at the holinesse, that (they say) commeth from the sacrament, upon meere devotion; he was let passe, and nothing sayde to him.

Few dayes after he came to S. Peter's church, where divers gentlemen and other were hearing masse; and the priest, being at the elevation, he, using no reverence, stepped among the people to the aultar, and threw down the challice with the wine, striving likewise to have pulled the cake out of the prieste's handes. For which, divers rose up and beate him with theyr fistes, and one drew his rapier, and would have slaine him. So that, in breefe, he was carried to prison, where he was examined, wherefore he committed such an heinous offence? Whereto he aunswered, "that he came purposely for that intent, to rebuke the pope's wickednesse, and theyr idolatrie." Upon this, he was condemned to be burned: which sentence, he sayde, he was right willing to suffer; and the rather, because the sum of his offence pertayned to the glory of God.

During the time he remained in prison, sundry Englishmen came unto him, willing him to be sorie for that he had done, and to recant from his damnable opinion; but all the meanes they used were in vaine: he confuted theyr dealings by divers places of Scripture, and willed them to be sorie for their wickednes, while God did permit them time; else they were in daunger of everlasting damnation. These wordes made the Englishmen depart, for they could not abide to heare them.

Within a while after, he was set upon an asse, without any saddle, he being from the middle upwarde naked, having some English priestes with him, who talked to him: but he regarded them not, but spake to the people in so good language as he could, and tolde them they were in a wrong way, and therefore willed them, for Christe's cause, to have regard to the saving of theyr soules.

All the way as he went, there were fowre did nothing else, but thrust at his naked body with burning torches: whereat he neither mooved, nor shrunke one jote; but, with a cheerefull countenaunce, laboured still to perswade the people; often bending his body to

[6] [An earlier edition of "the English Romayne Life" in 1582, 4to, has a frontispiece in four compartments, to "lively decipher the order of the martirdom" of Richard Atkins.]

meete the torches as they were thrust at him, and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning styll upon his body, whereat the people not a little wondered. Thus he continued, almost the space of halfe a mile, tyll he came before St. Peter's, where the place of execution was.

When he was come to the place of execution, there they had made a devise, not to make the fire about him, but to burne his legges first; which they did, he not dismaying any whit, but suffered all mervailous cheerefullie; which mooved the people to such a quandary, as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered him a crosse, and willed him to embrace it, in token that he dyed a Christian: but he put it away with his hand, telling them, that they were evyll men, to trouble him with paltrie, when he was preparing himselfe to God, whome he behelde, in majesty and mercie, readie to receive him into the eternall rest.

They, seeing him styll in that minde, departed, saying, "Let us goe, and leave him to the devill whome he serves." Thus ended this faithfull soldier and martir of Christe, who is, no doubte, in glory with his Maister, whereto God graunt us all to come! *Amen.*

This is faithfully avouched by the aforesayde John Yonge, who was at that time, and a good while after, in Rome, in service with maister doctor Moorton; whoe seeing the martirdome of this man, when he came home to his house, in presence of maister Smithson, maister Creed, and the sayde John Yonge, his servant, spake as followeth: "Surely, this fellowe was mervailous obstinate; he nothing regarded the good councell was used to him, nor never shrunk all the way, when the torches were thrust at his naked body. Beside, at the place of execution, he did not faint or cry one jot in the fyre, albeit they tormented him verie cruelly, and burned him by degrees, as his legges first, to put him to the greater paine; yet all this he did but smile at. Doubtlesse but that the word of God can be but true, else wee might judge this fellowe to be of God. For whoe could have suffered so much paine as he did? But truely I beleeve the devill was in him."

Beholde, good reader, howe they doubte among themselves, and, because they will not speake against their maister the pope, they infer the mighty power of God upon the devill. But he, no doubte, one day, will scatter the chaffe, and gather his chosen corne into his garner. That we may be of this good corne, let us defie the pope, his hellish abominations; continue in our duetie to God, faithfull obedience to her Majestie, and unitie among us all as brethren; and then, no doubte, but we shall enter the land of the living, to our eternal comfort and consolation.

ANTHONIE MUNDAY.

A true and perfect Account of the Earl of Argyle's Landing in the North of Scotland: with the Particulars of that whole Transaction.[1]

London, Printed, and are to be sold by Randal Taylor, near Stationers-Hall. 1685.

[Folio; containing two pages.]

SUCH are the restless practices of those disturbers of government, the Fanaticks, and their adherents, that notwithstanding his majesty's repeated instances of pardon and indulgence, yet they continually endeavour to raise commotions and disturbances, though to their inevitable destruction; of which, in a late account from Scotland, we shall particularly inform the reader.

That by the last post we have advice, that three ships of war, though but of small force, were discovered from off the island of Orcades, in the North of Scotland, and touched at a bay, and put two spies a-shore, to discover the posture the country was in, and whether it was convenient to make a descent: but the vigilancy of the governor was such, that the said persons were seized and secured; who not returning at the time appointed to their ships, those on board found themselves discovered, and thereupon thought it not convenient to land any men there, but steered their course farther northwards; and, approaching to another island of the Orcades, they landed forty men in their sloops; and, surprizing a small village, seized upon, and carried away four of the chief inhabitants, and brought them to their ships, and then returned to the island, which had taken two of their men; sending word to the governor, that unless they would restore them the said two men, they would hang those they had taken at the yard-arm, and all others they should hereafter seize: but were wisely and valiantly answered, that the said governor feared them not; that in case they offered any violence to the said persons, the like should be returned upon the earl of Argyle's lady, brother, and relations: and, as for the two persons taken, he would not restore them, but send them forward to Edinburgh, there to be tried and punished according to their demerit. They are now brought up before the council, and examined; and —— Spence, one of them, is found to be a hardened sinner, one who had already undergone the torture of the boot, and has formerly had the benefit of his majesty's most gracious pardon.

They are sent prisoners to the Tolbooth, and will suddenly be tried before the lords of the justiciary, if the parliament do not take cognisance hereof themselves; and the council forthwith ordered the apprehending the earl's lady, brother, and other relations, by way of reprisal; they having certain knowledge that the earl of Argyle, with other fugitive traitors, in the late horrid conspiracy against the king and government, were a-board. But, God be praised! their present designs are prevented, and the whole kingdom put into such a posture of defence, that they need not fear the malice of their enemies; and it is hoped by this time some of his majesty's frigates, who went in pursuit of them, have reached them; though they have taken a contrary course, and sailed towards the North of Ireland: but that kingdom also is in a like posture of defence, that they are not able to make any descent there, they being so insignificant in number and strength; unless they are infatuated with the frantic notion of the Fifth-Monarchy-men in England, 'That one 'of them would chase a hundred, and a hundred a thousand.' They displayed a blue flag, with this inscription, *Pro Deo & patriâ*, pretending 'for God and their country;' like the rebels in the late times, that fought for king and parliament, when their design was to destroy both. This being a true account of the whole transaction, which I thought good to publish, to prevent the many false reports about the same, and to defeat the expectation of the malicious, who cry up their numbers to be many thousands, when they do not make up an hundred.

[1] [This was Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyle; who suffered for rebellion in the same year in which this account is given. Vide Dr. Campbell's masterly narration of his life and character in the *Biograph. Britan.* Art. Arch. Campbell.]

A Copy of a Letter sent by E. B. an eminent Quaker in London, to the Pope at Rome; transmitted thence by Cardinal Bromio, to a Person of Quality in England. With a Copy of the Faculties granted to John Locet, Englishman and Priest at Rome, 1678, for England, Scotland, and all the King's Dominions, Ireland excepted.

Printed in 1680.

[Folio; containing two pages.]

Friend,

I AM moved, at this time, by the Spirit, to speak to thee a few words, which plainly proceed from the light within, and may prove for thy edification and conversion. I will not revile thee, nor call thee antichrist, the whore of Babylon, the scarlet whore, nor the beast, the dragon, or the serpent; titles frequently bestowed on thee, and which if thou deservest thou best knowest: but I come to thee in the meekness, and the words of truth and light, to speak to thy soul, as thou art a man; and pretendest to have lordship and dominion over both the souls and bodies of men. But by what authority dost thou usurp the title of *papa*, father of the whole church of Christ? Who first conferred that title on thee? Was it from above, or from men? Jesus, when he was on earth, commanded Peter to feed his sheep, and, as a servant, to administer to them; he gave them no authority to slaughter them, or to fleece them, or to use any tyranny towards them. Thou pretendest to sit in Peter's seat; have a care, I warn thee, that it be not Satan's chair: for it is very doubtful if the man Peter was ever at Rome, and it is for certain he never had any authority there, and was neither lord, master, or pope, but a servant to the servants of Jesus Christ; which title thou also ownest in words, when in deeds thou art as proud as Lucifer, and wouldest set thy feet on the necks of kings and princes, and proudly trample on the people of God. Thou pretendest to the Spirit, shew it by thy works; to infallibility, but thou hast failed in thy doctrine, and in thy practices. I hold with thee, that the Spirit is to be the guide of the saints, and that the Spirit is infallible, and can never be mistaken; but it is not to be confined to thee, and to thy cardinals: for, I tell thee, our pope, George Fox, hath as much of the Spirit as thou hast, and it is as infallible; and therefore thou oughtest not to ingross it to thyself, since it is communicated to all the children of God, and to all the saints that observe and hearken to the light within. But thou hast done wickedly: thou and all thy predecessors, for several hundreds of years, have been building a very Babel of confusion; thou hast made religion the devil's stalking-horse, to drive souls into his snares; thou hast set up the calves at Dan, and in the mount; thou hast polluted religion with idolatry, and made of it a mere piece of art, policy, and legerdemain: I tell thee plainly, thou hast set up a pompous outward religion, only full of gaudy outsides, without any truth or sincerity; and without the spirit, the light, or the life of God. Look, therefore, I advise thee, as a friend and brother, to the light within thee, which shineth in thy darkness, that will teach thee better things: thou canst not but see and know the vanity of thy religion, which thy sons and thy daughters follow; and thou thyself laughest at the ignorance and folly of most of thy adherents and followers, who zealously follow thy dictates, without sight or knowledge. Thou actest against thy own conscience, and against knowledge, and against light, which is the sin against the Holy Spirit; and for this thou shalt be condemned, unless thou timely repent thee of, and re-

form thy errors. It is to maintain thy pride, thy lust, and thy covetousness, that thou strivest to 'kick against the pricks,' and to establish thy abominations in the sight of the Israel of God: but the day will come, and is even at hand, that thou and thy Ishmaelites, which are become the sons of the bond-woman of sin, shall be cast out into utter perdition. Thou and thy gor-bellied cardinals, that live like princes, and fatten themselves up in their abominable lusts, against the day of slaughter, are very unlike the apostles, and disciples of Christ, who taught and preached the word with pains, care, and travel, in meekness and poverty, from the true light and spirit shining within their souls; and, were the primitive Christians on earth again, to see the shop of confusion, thou and thy hierarchy have made out of their simple spun thread, they would not be able to know or believe this to be any part of the religion they taught or begun, with so great labour, travel, pains, and martyrdom.

Thus hast thou made all their labours of little or no effect; and still takest care to keep poor souls in the snares of sin, and in the bonds of ignorance. I tell thee plainly, thy conscience does witness against thee, and thou dost see these truths; but it is thy pride that makes thee, tyrant-like, to exercise lordship and dominion over others, and to maintain this lordship and tyranny: thou art fain to exercise cunning arts and policies of the carnal man, and even to fly to the subtleties of the serpent, and the wicked one; leaving no stone unturned to maintain thy vanity, and to fulfil thy lusts. Thou knowest well enough there is no purgatory, such as thou hast invented to affright and delude poor ignorant people out of their money: but the execrable gain, which thou makest by indulgencies, will not let thee reform that wicked and abominable error. Thou also knowest the vanity of praying to saints, and to carved idols, express against the word of God.

Yet, because of the gain and reputation these bring to thee, and the means to delude the ignorant, by false miracles, and pretended reliques; thou still keepest it on foot with all thy ridiculous shows, processions, jubilees, holy water, exorcisms, altars, copes, mitres, crosiers, surplices, and other trinkets, invented by the devil and his instrument, the vain mind of subtle man, to draw the eyes and ears, but not the hearts of the calvish multitude, who bleat after these things, and understand them not. Thou knowest the unnaturalness and impossibility of thy breaden god's real presence; and yet, for the great respect it begets to thee and thy priests, with the rabble of monks, friars, nuns, hermits, and such like, thou still most stiffly, against religion, sense, and reason, maintainest that idle opinion. Think, therefore, before it be too late, of repentance and reformation: do the work thoroughly. The light hath formerly shined, with some glimmerings, in the times of the Albigenses, in France; and of Wickliff in England; and of Jerom and Husse in Prague; and afterwards of Luther in Germany: they caused some reformation from the grossest of thy superstition, and filthiness of idolatry; but yet too much of the dregs remains, and the carnal-minded man yet retains much of thy pride, vanity, pomp, and show, in their outward worship; and much of thy ambitious lordship and dominion: but we, the simple and harmless sheep of God's fold, (called by the people, in scorn, Quakers and Shakers, from the strong actuating of the Spirit within,) have reformed ourselves to the pattern of the Apostles and primitive teachers and preachers; and, being filled with the Spirit, speak from the light thereof. And from this light I plainly write to thee; being stirred up to warn thee of the wrath to come, and to tell thee, that, unless thou makest a thorough reformation, according to our holy pattern, and come into the community of the saints on earth, thou shalt never have communion with those in heaven. I am to denounce judgment against thee, and thou shalt be overthrown; and thou shalt be scourged for thy abominable practices against the people of England, in the plottings, underminings, murders, and wicked contrivances of thy ban-dogs, that call themselves Jesuits, but are Judasses; that betray kingdoms, and worry the people. Thy time is but short, and thy reign of a few days: for either the king of France, if ever he gets the monarchy of the West, will unnest thee, and remove thy see to Paris, and have a pope of his own; or else God will let loose the rage of the Turk against thee, and suffer him to plant his half-moons in Rome as well as in Jerusalem, for a scourge and vengeance of all the filthi-

ness and abominations acted in that place. Look to it, I give thee this friendly warning, take it to heart; for I tell it thee in plainness and sincerity, and from the light which shineth in

Thy Friend, in the love, and in the truth,

From London, the 7th day of the 4th month, in the year 1679. E. B.

Faculties granted at Rome, 1678, to John Locet, Englishman and Priest for England and Scotland, and for all the King's Dominions, excepting Ireland.

1. POWER to absolve from heresy and apostasy, all, both ecclesiasticks and laicks.
2. To absolve in all cases of the *bulla cœnæ*.
3. Power of dispensing marriages within the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity and affinity; and to declare them lawful, and such issue legitimate.
4. Power of administering all the sacraments.
5. Power of restoring the just right of asking being lost.
6. Power of celebrating mass in all decent places above or under ground, on portable altars, twice a day; if necessary, and if it cannot be otherwise celebrated for fear of hereticks.
7. Of laying up of holy things in secret, without lights, if there be danger.
8. Power of reciting the rosary, or other prayers, if they cannot have a breviary, or other office.
9. Power of keeping and reading any prohibited books, besides those contained in the *bulla cœnæ*, besides those of Charles Moline, Nicholas Machiavel, and books of judicial astrology. As also of giving licence to others to read the Scriptures faithfully translated into English; and to the laicks English books against hereticks, as need shall be.
10. Power of dispensing and communicating simple vows for a reasonable cause; that of chastity and of religion being excepted.
11. Power of blessing the sacraments, and other holy utensils necessary for the mass, where there is not unction.
12. Power of dispensing the eating of flesh, eggs, white-meats, also in the time of Lent.
13. Power of granting a plenary indulgence for those converted from heresy, and to those who cannot be confessed in the article of death.
14. Power of granting, every Lord's-day, and on holy days, an indulgence for ten years for those that assist at those meetings; and a plenary indulgence to those that confess and receive the sacrament on certain feast-days.
15. Power of having the benefit of these indulgences themselves.
16. Power of celebrating the mass *ad requiem* for any one on a portable altar, for the freeing a soul out of purgatory.

They were granted for seven years only; and reversible, without shewing cause, at the will of the pope. Signed

BARBARINE, Proctor.
Chr. ABBAS BLANCUS, Secretary.

The Method of Curing the Small-Pox: first written in the Year 1704, for the Use of the Noble and Honourable Family of March, by Dr. Arch. Pitcairn.[1]

[Folio; containing one page.]

1. IF a child, or any person, grow sick, feverish, or has pain in the back, or slot of the breast, loss of appetite, drowsiness, short cough, sneezing, watery eyes, or some of these; but always accompanied with some heat, and frequent pulse, or drought: in this case, blood is to be taken at the arm, or with loch-leeches; and, if the fever ceases not, though the pox appear, let blood a second or third time. Meantime, give the child a spoonful of syrup of white poppeys at night, and in the night-time, even till sleep or ease comes.

2. After the pox appears, and fever is gone, then steep a handful of sheep's purles in a large mutchkin of carduus-water, or hyssop-water, or fountain-water, for five or six hours; then pour it off without straining, and sweeten it with syrup of red poppeys. Give of this a spoonful or two, every fourth or fifth hour, to make the pox fill, and preserve the throat. Always at night-time and in the night, give a spoonful or two of the syrup of white poppeys for a cordial; that keeps down the fever, and keeps up the pox.

3. If the pox run together in the face, (which is the only thing that brings hazard,) use the infusion of the purles, and the syrup of white poppeys, oftener than in other cases: also, about the eighth day from the appearing of the pox, or a little before that, give the child to drink of barley-water, sweetened with syrup of white poppeys; this will make the child spit, which saves the child.

4. The child's drink may be milk and water at other times, or emulsion; but use the first rather.

5. Apply nothing to the face.

Use no wine, or winish possets.

6. If any looseness comes before the fourth day of the eruption, stop it with syrup of poppeys, and five or seven drops of liquid laudanum, given now and then till it be stopped.

Let the child's diet be all along a thin bread-berry in the morning, a weak broth, and soft bread for dinner, and milk and bread at night, or sugar-biscuit and milk; and, about the fifth day from the eruption, give the child groat-broth sometimes.

Nota, If, at any time, the small-pox disappear, with a raving before the fifth, sixth, or eighth day from the eruption; then let blood again, and apply a large blistering-plaister between the shoulders, and give an emulsion.

2. If the small-pox fall down, without raving, then apply a large blistering-plaister between the shoulders, and give an emulsion; and boil in a gill of water, and as much white or red wine, half a dram or a dram of zedoary-root sliced, two figs, and two scruples of theriac or diascordium; sweeten it with syrup of kermes and white poppeys, each half an ounce.

[1] [Archibald Pitcairn, M.D. a Scotch physician and poet, of an ancient family at Fife, was born in Edinburgh, December 25, 1652. He had his admirers; but so great an accession of knowledge in physick has accrued, since his day, that his scientific works are now but little attended to. He was "a fashionable physician, a man of wit and learning, a boon companion, and a free speaker; and adopted the superintendence of the human frame to give it into the hands of metaphysicians." All his works were published together at Leyden, 1737, in 4to. He died October 13, 1713. Boerhaave was his pupil. Vide Noble's Suppl. to Granger, ii. 230.]

3. In the end of the disease, that is, about the tenth, eleventh, fourteenth, &c. day, after the eruption; if the child's defluxion is gross, either apply a new vesicatory, or give often the spirit of hartshorn, in syrup of violets, or a vomitor.

Lastly; When the pox is blackened sufficiently, or about the fourteenth day from the eruption, let the child drink whey, eat pottage, &c. or broth with prunes, unless the child's belly is open enough of itself.

But if the child is so young, or unlucky, as not to cough heartily, and force up the defluxion, or if the frost thickens it; apply to the slot of his breast a poultice of theriac, diascordium, alkermes, oil of rosemary, and cinnamon with warm claret, in a double linen cloth often.

2. And to the throat apply, in a double linen cloth, a poultice of cow's dung boiled with milk and soft white bread: put a little brandy to as much as you apply at a time.

3. For the defluxion also give inwardly some of this, which has a dram of sperma-ceti, well mixed in a glass-mortar (not a brass one) with fine sugar; to which add at leisure[2] syrup of violets, or balsamick, or poppey-syrup, with some spirit of hartshorn.

If the pox was confluent, or run together on the face, then, after the person is recovered, give a purgative, to bring away the remainder of the pox within the guts.

[2] [Qu. pleasure?]

Father La Chaise's Project for the Extirpation of Hereticks. In a Letter from him to Father P---rs,[1] 1688.

[Quarto; containing four pages.]

Worthy Friend,

I RECEIVED your's of the twentieth of June last, and am very glad to hear of your good success, and that our party gains ground so fast in England: but, concerning the question you have put to me, that is, 'What is the best course to be taken to root 'out all the hereticks?' To this I answer: there are divers ways to do that, but we must consider which is the best to make use of in England. I am sure, you are not ignorant how many thousand hereticks we have, in France, by the power of our dragoons, converted in the space of one year; and, by the doctrine of those booted apostles, turned more in one month, than Christ and his Apostles could in ten years. This is a most excellent method, and far excels those of the great preachers and teachers, that have lived since Christ's time. But I have spoken with divers fathers of our society, who do think, that your king is not strong enough to accomplish his design by such kind of force; so that we cannot expect to have our work done in that manner: for the hereticks are too strong in the three kingdoms, and therefore we must seek to convert them by fair means, before we fall upon them with fire, sword, halters, gaols, and other such-like punishments; and therefore I can give you no better advice, than to begin with soft easy means. Wheedle them in by promises of profit and places of honour, till you have made them dip themselves in treasonable actions against the laws established, and then they are bound to serve for fear. When they have done thus, turn them out, and serve others so, by putting them in their places; and by this way gain as many as you can. And, for

[1] [Peters; of whom, see Vol. V. p. 329.]

the hereticks that are in places of profit and honour, turn them out, or suspend them on pretence of misbehaviour; by which their places are forfeited, and they subject to what judgment you please to give upon them. Then you must form a camp, that must consist of none but catholicks; this will make the hereticks heartless, and conclude all means of relief and recovery is gone. And, lastly, take the short and the best way; which is, to surprize the hereticks on a sudden: and, to encourage the zealous catholicks, let them sacrifice them all, and wash their hands in their blood; which will be an acceptable offering to God. And this was the method I took in France, which hath well, you see, succeeded: but it cost me many threats and promises, before I could bring it thus far; our king being a long time very unwilling.

But at last I got him on the hip; for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, for which I would by no means give him absolution, till he had given me an instrument, under his own hand and seal, to sacrifice all the hereticks in one day. Now, as soon as I had my desired commission, I appointed the day when this should be done; and, in the mean time, made ready some thousands of letters, to be sent into all parts of France in one post-night. I was never better pleased, than that time: but the king was affected with some compassion for the Hugonots, because they had been a means to bring him to his crown and throne; and, the longer he was under it, the more sorrowful he was; often complaining, and desiring me to give him his commission again: but that I would by no persuasion do; advising him to repent of that heinous sin, and also telling him, that the trouble and horror of his spirit did not proceed from any thing of evil in those things that were to be done, but from that great wickedness which he had done; and that he must resolve to undergo the severe burthen of a troubled mind for one of them, or the other; and if he would remain satisfied as it was, his sin being forgiven, there would, in a few days, be a perfect atonement made for it, and he perfectly reconciled to God again. But all this would not pacify him; for the longer the more restless: and therefore I ordered him to retire to his closet, and there spend his time constantly in prayer, without permitting any one to interrupt him; and this was in the morning early, when, the evening following, I was to send away all my letters. I did indeed make the more haste, for fear he should disclose it to any body; yet I had given him a strict charge to keep it to himself; and the very thing, that I most feared, to my great sorrow came to pass: for, just in the nick of time, the devil who hath always his instruments at work, sent the prince of Condé to the court, who asked for the king. He was told, that he was in his closet, and would speak with no man. He impudently answered, "that he must and would speak with him;" and so went directly to his closet: he being a great peer, no man durst hinder him. And, being come to the king, he soon perceived, by his countenance, that he was under some great trouble of mind; for he looked as if he had been going into the other world immediately. "Sir, (said he,) what is the matter with you?" The king at the first refused to tell him; but, he pressing harder upon him, at last the king, with a sorrowful complaint, burst out, and said: "I have given father La Chaise a commission, under my hand, to murder all the Hugonots in one day; and this evening will the letters be dispatched to all parts, by the post, for the performing it; so that there is but small time left for my Hugonot subjects to live, who have never done me any harm." Whereupon this cursed rogue answered, "let him give you your commission again." The king said, "How shall I get it out of his hand? For, if I send to him for it, he will refuse to send it." This devil answered, "If your majesty will give me order, I will quickly make him return it." The king was soon persuaded, being willing to give ease to his troubled spirit, and said: "Well, go then, and break his neck, if he will not give it you." Whereupon, this son of the devil went to the post-house, and asked, if I had not a great number of letters there? And they said, "Yes, more than I had sent thither in a whole year before." "Then (said the prince) by order from the king, you must deliver them all to me:" which they durst not deny, for they knew well enough who he was. And no sooner was he got into the post-house, and had asked these questions, but I came also in after him, to give order to the post-master to give notice to all those under him, in the

several parts of the kingdom, that they should take care to deliver my letters with all speed imaginable. But I was no sooner entered the house, but he gave his servants order to secure the door, and said confidently to me, "You must, by order from the king, give me the commission, which you have forced from him." I told him I had it not about me, but would go and fetch it; thinking to get from him, and so go out of town, and send the contents of those letters another time: but he said, "You must give it me; and, if you have it not about you, send somebody to fetch it, or else never expect to go alive out of my hands: for I have an order from the king either to bring it, or break your neck; and I am resolved either to carry back that to him in my hand, or your heart's blood on the point of my sword." I would have made my escape, but he set his sword to my breast, and said, "You must give it me, or die; therefore deliver it, or else this goes through your body."

So, when I saw nothing else would do, I put my hand in my pocket and gave it him: which he carried immediately to the king, and gave him that and all my letters, which they burnt. And, being all done, the king said, now his heart was at ease. Now how he should be eased by the devil, or so well satisfied with a false joy, I cannot tell: but this I know, that it was a very wicked and ungodly action, as well in his majesty, as the prince of Condé, and did not a little increase the burthen and danger of his majesty's sins. I soon gave an account of this affair to several fathers of our society, who promised to do their best to prevent the aforesaid prince's doing such another act, which was accordingly done; for, within the space of six days after the damned action, he was poisoned; and well he deserved it. The king also did suffer too, but in another fashion, for disclosing the design to the prince, and hearkening to his counsel. And many a time since, when I have had him at confession, I have shook hell about his ears, and made him sigh, fear, and tremble, before I would give him absolution: nay, more than that, I have made him beg for it on his knees, before I would consent to absolve him. By this, I saw that he had still an inclination to me, and was willing to be under my government: so I set the baseness of the action before him, by telling the whole story, and how wicked it was; and that it could not be forgiven, till he had done some good action to balance that, and expiate the crime. Whereupon, he at last asked me, what he must do? I told him, "that he must root out all the hereticks from his kingdom." So, when he saw there was no rest for him, without doing it, he did again give them all into the power of me and our clergy, under this condition, that we would not murder them, as he had before given orders, but that we should by fair means, or force, convert them to the Catholic religion; to which end, he gave us his dragoons to be at our devotion and service, that we might use them as we saw convenient, to convert them to the true religion. Now, when we had got the commission, we presently put it in practice; and, what the issue of it hath been, you very well know. But, now in England, the work cannot be done after this manner, as you may perceive by what I have said to you: so that I cannot give you better counsel, than to take that course in hand wherein we were so unhappily prevented; and I doubt not, but that it may have better success with you than with us.

I would write to you of many other things, but that I fear I have already detained you too long; wherefore I shall write no more at present, but that I am

Your friend and servant,

Paris, July 8th, 1688. LA CHAISE.

A Speech of the Right Honourable the Earl of Louden, Lord-Chancellor of Scotland, to a grand Committee of both Houses of Parliament, upon the Twelfth of September, 1645. Published by Authority.

Printed at London, by E. P. for Hugh Perry, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Strand. 1645.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE occasion of this meeting is to represent, to the honourable houses of the parliament of this kingdom, the condition of the affairs of Scotland, which at this time is very sad; in respect that the bloody rebels who came from Ireland, whom this kingdom by the large treaty are obliged to repress, and their treacherous confederates and malignants, who have conspired against the covenant and league betwixt the two kingdoms, have so much prevailed in mischief, especially in that unhappy late rencounter with our forces at Kilsyth; where the rebels being upon their march southward, and, according to our best intelligence, to join with the king, whom they did expect in Scotland; or to break through our borders into England, and to come with their army into this kingdom; and our army, being then very weak by reason of their former losses and conflicts, wherein most part of our forces were cut off, did raise some country forces, and brought them along with them; and, out of their zeal to the good and safety of both kingdoms, did pursue them with more forwardness and haste, than good speed or success: for the enemy having placed themselves in a ground of advantage, betwixt steep mountains on the one hand, and woods and bogs on the other, possessing the best ground, where in a latent place they were all drawn up in battle; our forces advanced up to them, and the ground being very streight, and the enemy lurking in a place where they were not perceived till our forces were close at them, and none of ours being drawn up, nor put in order, but only the regiment that marched in the van, the enemy did fall upon them with their whole horse and foot; and, after fighting with that first regiment, who did fight very valiantly till oppressed with the multitudes of the enemies' whole forces, they were most part cut off, and the rest broken. The few horse we had, retreated disorderly, breaking through their own foot; and all being in disorder, the enemy prevailed, and routed our forces with great execution, giving quarter to none.

After this sad blow, we having no other army, nor reserve of forces in the fields; some towns near the enemy, wherein there be many malignants ready to welcome them, and others out of fear were glad to capitulate with the enemy, and submit themselves to their mercy, upon such conditions as they could obtain.

The deportment of the enemy, since, is by all craft and cruelty to strengthen and recruit their army, wherein they leave no means unessayed that policy or violence can effect: they offer peace and protection, immunity from all excise, assessments, raised for the entertainment of our armies in Scotland, England, and Ireland, and the ratifying of the former covenant of Scotland, to all that shall join with them or lie neutral; and (as they term it) return to their loyalty and obedience to the king, and shall renounce the mutual league and covenant with England: and such, as will not, are threatened with fire and sword, which in divers places they put to execution most cruelly. And Montrose, as the king's lieutenant-general, issues forth commissions to popish and malignant lords, and others, to array the country for the king.

Papists and divers malignants, who before were with them in their hearts, but durst not appear, are now avowedly joined with them; others, out of fear to preserve themselves, their wives and children, from destruction of the sword and fire, are fled, and some take protections from them. The enemy is roaring and triumphing in the heart of the kingdom, and is now possessed of the houses, lands, and estates of many noblemen, gentlemen, and others of the best affected in the kingdom, to whom nothing is left but families without maintenance, honour without means to support it, and who are under all the grievous calamities of war, and under the mercy of a most cruel and bloody enemy; not having, when I came from that kingdom, any army in the fields to oppose them. And in the mean time the angel of God is striking our cities, especially Edinburgh, the chief city of that kingdom, with the plague of pestilence so fearfully, that there is no living there, nor any commerce, trade, nor exchange of money, which increases our difficulties to maintain a war; and a parliament is indicted by Montrose, to establish all these iniquities by a law.

In this our extremity, we were forced to have our recourse to our armies in England and Ireland, to crave their aid; and for that end I am sent hither to the honourable houses of parliament, to represent to them and this honourable meeting the necessity of calling our army, for the relief and safety of their native country; and that the party who was nearest them, under the conduct of lieutenant-general David Lesley, might with all possible speed march into Scotland, to whom the committee did earnestly write for that effect. This was the readiest remedy which did fall within the compass of their present consideration: they desire, and are confident, to find the honourable houses' approbation thereof, there being no hope of assistance from our army in Ireland.

Their next desire to the honourable houses is, that the wars in Scotland, against these bloody rebels, may be carried on by the joint counsels and assistance of both kingdoms, against the common enemies of both nations, and the cause wherein we are so deeply engaged; the war and our enemies being still the same, and the place of our war only changed; and, if the king or his forces break into Scotland, that proportionable forces from the parliament may closely follow them.

No man hath conscience or honesty, but he will remember the solemn league and covenant, the treaty, and the declarations of both kingdoms, which are the strongest bonds betwixt God and man, and betwixt man and man, and nation and nation, before the world. No man hath true zeal to religion, that will shrink for such adversity and opposition, as hath been ordinary in the like work, and hath been obvious to us since our first undertaking, but hath been always overcome by the assistance of God; no man that hath prudence, who will hope for a powerful and prosperous war, or any firm or true peace, but in the conjunction of both kingdoms.

How great then would the sin and shame be, if either nation, against so manifold obligations whereby we stand obliged before God and the world, should desert the other in this cause?

How great advantage would it be to our common enemy, who has still followed that Machiavilian maxim, *divide & impera*, to get us divided? And the greatest favour either nation could expect in the end is, but to be the last that shall be devoured?

As in the time of your greatest distress and lowest ebb, when Scotland enjoyed peace and quietness, they did from their sympathy of your sufferings forsake their own peace for your aid, apprehending also your ruin and servitude might be a forerunner of theirs; so if this kingdom shall withdraw, or be wanting in their assistance to us, in the day of our distress, brought upon us for embarking with them, and we perish in it; will it not usher in and hasten upon you that same ruin, intended from the beginning by our common enemy? And, if the godly and honest party in that kingdom perish, for want of assistance; you may certainly expect as great an army from thence for your destruction, as came formerly for your preservation; which God forbid!

But from our brethren of England, and the honourable houses of parliament, who are the true pilots, set at the helm in so great a storm, we expect better and greater things: that their whole authority, power, and means, will in this exigent be aiding to us. And

it is the firm resolution of that kingdom, by God's grace, never to forsake this; but, against all opposition, with courage and constancy to live and die with you in this cause: and although all the world should forsake us; so long as there is one drop of blood in our veins, we resolve never to relinquish this work, but to put our confidence in the justness of the cause, and in the invincible power of God, whose cause it is; till it please him by a prosperous war, or happy peace, which we still desire may by all good means be sought after, to put an end to our troubles; trusting he will strengthen us, and send deliverance to his people. But, if either nation draw back their hand, or deal treacherously in it, their judgment and doom will be harder than I desire to pronounce.

Sir Thomas Overbury's Vision: With the Ghoasts of Weston, Mistriss Turner, the late Lieftenant of the Tower, and Franklin. By R. N.[1] Oxon.

——In pœnam insectatur & umbra.

Printed for R. M. and T. I. 1616.

[Quarto; 58 pages.]

WHEN poison (O that poison, and foul wrong,
Should ever be the subject of my song!)
Had set loud fame upon a lofty wing,
Throughout our streets with horrid voice to sing
Those uncouth tidings, in each itching ear,
How raging Lust, of late, too soon did bear
That monster *Murther;* who, once brought to light,
Did slay the man whose vision I recite.
Then did th' inconstant vulgar, day by day,
Like feathers in the wind, blown every way,
Frequent the [2] forum; where, in thickest throng,
I one amongst the rest did pass along
To hear the judgement of the wise, and know
That late black deed, the cause of mickle woe:
But, from the reach of voice too far compell'd,
That beast of many heads I there beheld;
And did observe how every common drudge
Assum'd the person of an aweful judge:
Here in the hall, amidst the throng, one stands
Nodding his head, and acting with his hands;
Discoursing how the poisons swift or slow
Did work, as if their nature he did know:
Another here, presuming to outstrip
The rest in sounder judgement, on his lip
His finger lays, and winketh with one eye,
As if some deeper plot he could descry:
Here four or five, that with the vulgar sort
Will not impart their matters of import,
Withdraw and whisper, as if they alone
Talk'd things that must not vulgarly be known;
And yet they talk of nought from morn till noon
But wonders, and the fellow in the moon.
Here some excuse that which was most amiss;
Others do there accuse, where no crime is,
Accusing that which they excus'd anon;
Inconstant people, never constant known:
Censure from lip to lip did freely fly,
He that knew nothing with the rest would cry,
The voice of judgement; every age shall find
Th' ignoble vulgar cruel, mad in mind.
The muddy spawn of every fruitless brain,
Daub'd out in ignominious lines, did stain
Paper in each man's hand, with railing rhimes
'Gainst the foul actors of these well-known crimes:
Base wits, like barking curs, to bite at them
Whom justice unto death shall once condemn.

[1] Vide Oldys's Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 231. [The infamous affair of Sir Thomas Overbury is already too well known: the Editor will forbear polluting these pages with any further remarks upon it. Enough may be seen in "The five years of King James," *post.* Of Richard Niccols, the author of the poem before us, some account is given by Wood, in Athenæ Oxon.]

[2] Guildhall.

I, that beheld how whispering rumour fed
The hungry ears of every vulgar head
With her ambiguous voice, night being come,
Did leave the forum and returned home;
Where after some repast, with grief opprest
Of these bad days, I took me to my rest:
And in that silent time, when sullen night
Did hide heaven's twinkling tapers from our sight,
And on the earth with blackest looks did lour,
When every clock chim'd twelve; the midnight hour,
In which imprison'd ghosts free licence have
About the world to wander from their grave;
When hungry wolves and wakeful dogs do howl,
At every breach of air; when the sad owl,
On the house-top beating her baleful wings,
And shrieking out her doleful ditty, sings
The song of death, unto the sick that lie
Hopeless of health, forewarning them to die:
Just at that hour, I thought my chamber door
Did softly open, and upon the floor
I heard one glide along, who at the last
Did call and bid me wake! at which aghast
I up did look, and lo, a naked man[3]
Of comely shape, but deadly pale and wan,
Before me did appear; in whose sad look,
As in the map of grief, or sorrow's book,
My eye did read such characters of woe,
As neither painting's skill, nor pen, can show.
With dreadful horror almost stricken dead
At such a sight, I shrunk into my bed:
But the poor ghost, to let me understand
For what he came, did waft me with his hand,
And (sorrow's tears distilling from his eyes)
His poison'd limbs he shew'd, and bad me rise:
Which fearful I, not daring disobey,
Rose up and follow'd, while he led the way.
Through many uncouth ways, he led me on
Over that Tower's fatal hill, whereon
That scaffold stands, which e'er since it hath stood
Hath often lick'd up treason's tainted blood:
Thence over that same wharf, fast by those shores
From London's-bridge the prince of rivers roars,
He, in a moment's space by wondrous power,
Transported me into that spacious Tower,
Where as we enter'd in, the very sight
Of that vast building did my soul affright.
There did I call to mind, how, o'er that gate,
The chamber was, where unremorseful fate
Did work the falls of those two princes[4] dead,
Who by their foes were smother'd in their bed.
And there I did behold that fatal green,
Where famous Essex' woeful fall was seen:
Where guilty Suffolk's guiltless daughter, Jane,
The scaffold with her noble blood did stain:
Where royal Anne her life to death resign'd,
Whose womb did bear the[5] praise of women-kind:
And where the last Plantagenet[6] did pour
Her life out in her blood; where many more,
Whom law did justly, or unjustly tax,
Pass'd by the sentence of the bloody axe:
And here, as one with sudden horror struck,
The ghost stood still a while, with doleful look
Fix'd on the ground, and, after sad sighs given,
With eyes and hands up-lifted unto heaven,
As calling them to witness of his woe,
In sad complaint his grief he thus did show:
"Great God of heaven! that pitiest human wrongs,
To whom alone revenge of blood belongs;
Thou, that upon the wings of heaven dost ride,
And laugh'st to scorn the man, that seeks to hide
And *Over-bury* guiltless blood in dust,
Thou know'st the pains of my imprison'd ghost;
When men, more changing than th' inconstant wind,
Or do not know, or knowing, wilful blind,
Will not behold dead Overbury's grief,
But think his loss no more than loss of life.
Ye friends unkind and false, that after death
Do let your friendship vanish with the breath
Of him that's dead; and think, since truth begun
To try my cause, more satisfaction done
Than all my wrongs require; give ear, and say
When I have told my grief, if from the day
That man's first blood to heaven cry'd out of earth,
For vengeance 'gainst the first man's eldest birth
Until this time; if man, for life so lost,
More justly may complain, than my dead ghost.
I was (woe's me, that I was ever so!)
Belov'd in court, first step to all my woe:
There did I gain the grace of prince and peers,
Known old in judgement, though but young in years;
And there, as in this kingdom's garden, where
Both weeds and flowers do grow, my plant did bear
The buds of hope, which, flow'ring in their prime
And May of youth, did promise fruit in time:
But lust, foul lust, did, with a hand of blood,
Supplant my plant, and crop me in the bud.
Yet to myself had I my counsels kept,
Or had I drown'd my cares in rest, and slept,
When I did break my quiet sleeps, and wait
To serve a false friend[7], and advance his state;
I had not met with this inhuman wrong,
But might, perhaps, have happy liv'd, and long.
Did ever fortune pinch him with constraint?
That little wealth I had, supply'd his want:
Did ever cares perplex his feeble brain?
What wit I had, his weakness did sustain:
Did ever error make him do amiss?
What wisdom I had learn'd, was ever his:

[3] Sir Thomas Overbury's Ghost.
[4] Edward V. and his brother Richard, duke of York.
[5] Queen Elizabeth.
[6] Margaret, countess of Salisbury, daughter to George duke of Clarence.
[7] [This false friend was Robert Carr, the Scotch minion of James I. whom he created viscount Rochester and earl of Somerset.]

My wit, my wealth, and wisdom with good chance,
In his great honour's May-game, led the dance.
I do not falsely boast the gifts of mind,
Best wits can judge; my '*Wife*'[8] I left behind,
Unto the world, a witness may remain,
I had no dull conceit, no barren brain:
But as a dog, that at his prey doth aim,
Doth only love the water for his game;
Which once obtain'd, he playing then no more,
Shakes off the water when he comes on shore:
So my great friend, no friend, but my great foe,
Safe swimming in that way which I did show,
Through danger's waters after honour's game,
Did shake me off, when I had gain'd the same.
Vain man, too late thou do'st repent my wrong;
That huge great sail of honour was too strong
For thy great boat, wanting thy friend to steer:
In this, my weakness and my worth appear.
O, hadst thou kept the path by me begun,
That other impious race thou hadst not run:
In ways of vice thy steps I did not guide,
Only for virtue Overbury died.
But, had ingratitude no further gone,
I had not wail'd, with many a piteous groan,
These poison'd limbs. O! how will future times,
Blushing to hear such execrable crimes,
Believe report, when then it shall be said,
Thou wast that man, that man that me betray'd;
That savage man, that, wanting means or heart,
Or rather both, to meet with my desert,
Too cruel didst devise to stop my breath,
To end thy care, and my dear life by death.
Death, oh! no death, but thousand deaths in one;
For, had it been but mere privation
Of loved life, my grieved ghost had fled,
Without such pain and anguish, to the dead.
O wretched foes! why did ye take delight
To exercise your hate, with such despight,
Upon a guiltless man? What had I done?
But that ye might, whenas ye first begun
Your tragic plot, and did my life await,
With single death have satisfied your hate?
Was it, ah! was it not enough to give
One poison first, and then to let me live,
Till ye did please to give another; then,
Another, and another; but as men,
All made of flint, to laugh my plaints to scorn,
And scoff at me, while I, alas! did mourn:
When, in my chamber-walls, the very stones,
Sweat drops for tears, to hear my grievous groans;
As senseless, they would sympathize my woes,
Though my sad cries were musick to my foes.
Let ages past, until the world's first day,
Shew all records of antique times, and say,
If ever any did by poison die,
That at his death had greater wrongs than I.
It was not one day's space, nor two, nor three,
In which those cruel men tormented me:
Month after month, they often did instill
The divers natures of that baneful ill
Throughout these limbs; inducing me to think,
That what I took in physick, meat, or drink,
Was to restore me to my health; when all
Was but with ling'ring death to work my fall.
Oh, how my ghost doth quake, when it surveys
This fatal house, where I did end my days!
And trembles, as it suffer'd now again,
Only to think upon that woeful pain;
When the slow poison secretly did creep
Through all my veins, and, as it went, did sweep
All ease with pain, all rest with grief away,
From every corner of my house of clay.
Then did I loath my life, but could not die;
Sometimes to God, sometimes to men I cry,
To give me ease of my tormenting hell,
Whose pain no pen can write, no tongue can tell.
In vain, my tongue, thou uttered'st forth thy cries
To wicked men, with tear-tormented eyes;
In vain, my eyes, in you the tears did stand,
While I to heaven for help did lift my hand;
In vain, my hands, were ye stretch'd forth to heaven,
My time was set, my life to death was given:
Tongue, eyes, and hands, did often plead in vain,
Nothing but death could ease me of my pain:
And death at last to my desire did yield,
Who with such furious force did take the field
T' assail my soul, that, 'gainst his matchless might,
In greater torment never man did fight;
With poison'd dart he at my life did strike;
The venom, seizing on me vulture-like,
With torment tore my intrails; thence did run
Into my veins, and boiling there begun
A fresh assault; which, being a while withstood
By nature's force, at last did seize my blood:
Then, victor-like, possess'd of every part,
It did assail my yet not yielding heart,
The soul's chief seat, where having vanquish'd all
The powers of life, while I to God did call
For grace and mercy, after sad sighs given,
With grievous groans, my soul fled hence to heaven.

" O thou sad monument of Norman yoke,
Whose great foundation he, whose conquering stroke
Did stoop our necks to Norman rule,[9] first laid,
Look thy records of those, to death betray'd
Within thy fatal chambers, and there see,
If any, murder'd, lost his life like me.
Those royal roses of Plantagenest,
Which that white boar of [10] York, that bloody beast
Hath rooted up, within those walls of thine,
In death felt little pain, compar'd to mine.
Thou know'st that [11] king, son to that kingly knight,
Beneath whose sword in Agincourt's great fight,

[8] [Alluding to his very popular poem so intitled.]
[9] Out of a register-book of the Acts of the Bishop of Rochester, in Stowe's Survey.
[10] Richard the Third.
[11] Henry the Sixth.

France fell upon her knees, thy floor did stain
With his dear blood, by bloody Richard slain:
Thou dist look on, when Clarence' blood was shed,
And didst behold, how he poor duke half-dead,
Yet bleeding fresh, in malmsy-but was drown'd,
Whose body ever since ne'er could be found.
Thou saw'st when[12] Tyrrel's bloody slaves did smother
This kingdom's uncrown'd king, and his young brother,
Those princely babes of York; thou heard'st them cry,
When they betwixt the sheets did strangled die;
But, to their pain, death did swift end assign,
Thou know'st their griefs were not so great as mine.
'Twas not for nought, that thy first builder's hand
Did temper[13] blood with burned lime and sand,
So to conglutinate thy stony mass,
And bring the conqueror's will and work to pass:
Well may it be, thy walls with blood were built,
Where so much guiltless blood hath since been spilt.
But here an end of all my pain and woe;
Death shuts up all our greatest griefs, for so
All men would think; but, past all thought of mind,
My greatest grief, alas! is yet behind.
"Oh! why should fiercest beast of all the wood,
When he hath slain his foe, and lick'd his blood,
End hate in death; and man, with man in strife,
Not end his malice with the end of life?
Can they be men, and lords of beasts, that bear
Their Maker's image, and will yet not fear
That ill, which beasts abhor in brutish mind?
Men, O! no men, but monsters against kind.
Such monsters were my tyger-hearted foes,
Who, unremorseful of my forepast woes,
When, from their cruel hands, my soul was fled,
Did with their tongues pursue me, being dead;
And yet not dead, for Heaven such grace doth give,
My soul in heaven, my name on earth doth live:
My name, as great Apollo's flow'ring bay,
Looks green when winter clads the earth in gray;
Did flourish, blown upon by fame's fair breath,
In every eye, long time before my death;
When my proud foes, of great and glorious name,
Were blasted by the breath of foul defame:
At good report, that on her golden wings
Did bear my name, their tongue, like adder-stings,
Did shoot foul slander's poison, so to spill
The same with foul defame, as they did kill
My body with foul death; that men might loath
My living name, and my dead body both.
False rumour, that mad monster who still bears
More tongues about with her than men have ears,
With scandal they did arm; and sent her out
Into the world, to spread those lyes about:
That those loath'd spots, marks of their pois'ning sin,
Which, dy'd with ugly marble, paint the skin
Of my dead body, were the marks most just
Of angry Heaven's fierce wrath for my foul lust.
"O barbarous cruelty! Oh! more than shame
Of shameless foes! with lust to blast my name,
When wonder 'twas, Heaven's judgement did not seize
Their wanton bodies, with that great disease;
Since death to me, by poison, they did give,
That they in am'rous jollity might live.
Now, when false rumour's breath throughout the court,
And city both, had blown this false report;
Many, that oft before approv'd my name
With praise for virtue, blush'd, as if the shame
Of my supposed vice, thus given forth,
Did argue their weak judgement of my worth:
My friends look'd pale with anger, and my foes
Did laugh, to see too light belief cause those,
That lov'd me once, to loath that little dust
I left behind me, as a lump of lust.
O most inhuman wrong! O endless grief!
O sad redress! where sorrow's best relief
Is but dead hope, that help may chance be found
With those that live, to cure my credit's wound:
For this, my restless ghost hath left the grave,
And stole through covert shades of night, to crave
Thy pen's assistance, O thou mortal wight!
Whose mournful muse, but whilome, did recite
Our Britain's princes, and their woeful fates
In that true 'Mirrour for our Magistrates[14].'
O let thy pen paint out my tragic woe,
That by thy muse all future times may know
My story's truth, who, hearing thy sad song,
At least may pity Overbury's wrongs."
This said; the grieved ghost with sighs did cease
His rueful plaints, and, as in deep distress,
Under the Tower's gate with me he stood:
This accident befel on Thames' great flood.
South by this house, where on the wharf fast by
Those thundering cannons ever ready lie,
A dock there is, which, like a darksome cave,
Arch'd over head, lets in Thames' flowing wave;
Under whose arch, oft have condemned men,
As through the Stygian lake, transported been
Into this fatal house, which evermore
For treason hoards up torturing racks in store.
At landing of this place, an iron gate
Locks up the passage; and, still keeping strait
The guilty prisoners, opens at no time,
But when false treason, or some horrid crime,
Knocks at the same; from whence, by law's just doom,
Condemned men but seldom back do come.

[12] Sir James Tyrrel.
[13] *Cemento cum sanguine animalium temperato*, as saith Fitz Stephens, *apud Johan. Stow.*
[14] [Niccols was the republisher and copious continuator of the collection of metrical legends so intitled.]

(Whate'er thou art may chance to pass that way,
And view that place, unto thyself thus say ;—
'God keep me faithful to my prince and state,
'That I may never pass this iron gate!')
There in the dock the flood, that seem'd to gape,
Did suddenly give up a dreadful shape,
A man of [15]meagre looks, devoid of blood,
Upon whose face death's pale complexion stood ;
Of comely shape, and well-compos'd in limb,
But slender made, of visage stern and grim ;
The hairs upon his head, and grisly beard,
With age grown hoary, here and there appear'd :
Time's iron hand, with many a wrinkled fret,
The marks of age upon his front had set ;
Yet, as it did appear, untimely death
For some foul fact had stop'd his vital breath
With that great shame, which gives offence the check,
The fatal rope, that hung about his neck :
Trembling upon his knees, in great affright,
When he hard by beheld the poison'd knight,
He humbly fell ; and, with sad grief opprest,
Wringing his hands, and beating on his breast,
While sorrow's drops upon his cheeks did run,
To utter forth these words, he thus begun :—
" O worthy knight, behold the wretched man,
Who thy sad tragedy's first scene began ;
Through whose each act, unto this last black deed,
With bloody mind, unbless'd, I did proceed :
My hands, alas! did mix the poison'd food,
Which kindled cruel fire in thy blood ;
Mine ears did hear thy lamentable groans,
When the slow working poison rack'd thy bones ;
Mine eyes, without one drop of sorrow shed,
Beheld thee dying, and beheld thee dead ;
For which both hands, eyes, ears, and every part,
Have suffer'd death, and conscience' bitter smart.
I was that instrument, (alas! the while,)
By thy great foes instructed to beguile
Thy lingering hopes ; their mighty state did whet
Me on in mischief, and their bounty set
A golden edge upon my dull consent,
At once to work thy fall, and their content.
The doctrine of that whore, that would dispense
With subjects for the murther of a prince,
Taught me that lust and blood were slender crimes,
And he, that serves his turn, must serve the times.
" Oh! had I never known that [16]doctor's house,
Where first of that whore's cup I did carouse,
And where disloyalty did oft conceal
Rome's frighted rats, that over seas did steal ;
My thoughts, perhaps, had then not given way,
Thy life for gold with poison to betray.
But ye that do (and who do not) condemn
My black offences ; when ye think on them,
In such imaginations, ponder too
What with weak man the power of gold may do.
Ye servile sycophants, whose hopes depend
On great men's wills, what is the utmost end
At which ye aim? Why do ye, like base curs,
Upon your patron fawn? Why, like his spurs,
Will ye be ever ready at his heels,
With pleasing words to claw him where he feels
The humour itch? Or why will ye so wait,
As to lie down and kiss the feet of state?
And oft expose yourselves to wretched ends,
Losing your souls to make great men your friends?
Is it not wealth ye seek? And doth not gold
Ingenuous wits oft times in bondage hold?
The stout sea-rangers on the fearful flood,
That hunt about through Neptune's watery wood,
And o'er a thousand rocks and sands that lie
Hid in the deep, from pole to pole do fly ;
Who often, when the stormy ocean raves,
Fights with fierce thunders, lightnings, winds, and waves,
Having but one small inch of board to stand
Betwixt them and ten thousand deaths at hand ;
Expose themselves to all this woe and pain,
To quench the greedy thirst of golden gain.
" O strong inchantment of bewitching gold!
For this, the sire by his own son is sold ;
For this, the unkind brother sells the brother ;
For this, one friend is often by another
Betray'd to death ; yea, ev'n for this the wife
Both sells her beauty, and her husband's life :
And I, ah me! for this did work thy fall
By poison's help, having this hope withal,
That great men's greatness would have boren out
My crime, though known, against all danger's doubt.
But now, too late, my wretched ghost doth prove
That His all-seeing eye from heaven above,
To whom black darkness' self is far more clear
Than the bright sun, makes guiltless blood appear
Out of our deepest plots, to murder's shame,
Though greatest men do seek to hide the same.
Ye hapless instruments of mighty men ;
Ye sponges, whom the hands of greatness, when
That they by you have wiped out the spot
Of that disgrace, which did their honour blot,
Do squeeze so long, until that ye be dry,
And then as needless things do cast you by :
Where one of these your service would employ,
Our Maker's heavenly image to destroy,
By violence of death in other men,
Thereby with blood to satisfy his spleen :
O do not trust the hopes of such a man,
Nor think his policy or power can
Hoodwink all-seeing Heaven, nor ever drown
The cry of blood, which brings swift vengeance down.
When many men but one man's life will spill ;
Their lives, for his, Heaven evermore doth will.
Offend in murder, and in murder die ;
No crime to Heaven so loud as blood doth cry.
In other wrongs, when man doth man offend,
We restitution may in part pretend :

[15] The description of Weston.
[16] Doctor Turner. [Qu. Foreman?]

But, where the wrong is done by murder's knife,
No price for blood, the law says,—'life for life.'
The eye of wakeful Justice for a season
May seem to wink at murder's bloody treason,
Yet, from the hour of so black a deed,
The worm of conscience on the soul doth feed;
And dreadful furies, whose imagin'd sight,
In every place, doth horribly affright
The guilty man, pursue the steps that fly,
While swift-wing'd vengeance makes the hue and cry.
Justice, to me, did seem to sleep a while,
And with delay did all my hopes beguile;
But in short time, now in my riper years,
When graver age on my grey head appears,
Death and reproach attach'd my life and name,
To bring me to my grave with greater shame.
To you therefore that hunger after gold,
To you whom hope of great men's grace makes bold
In any great offence, henceforth let me
For evermore a sad example be."
This said, he sighing shrunk into the flood,
And in a moment's space another[17] stood
In the same place; but such a one whose sight
With more compassion mov'd the poison'd knight.
It seem'd that she had been some gentle dame,
For, on each part of her fair body's frame,
Nature such delicacy did bestow,
That fairer object oft it doth not show.
Her crystal eye, beneath an ivory brow,
Did shew what she at first had been; but now
The roses on her lovely cheeks were dead,
The earth's pale colour had all over-spread
Her sometimes lively look; and cruel death,
Coming untimely, with his wintry breath
Blasted the fruit, which cherry-like in show
Upon her dainty lips did whilome grow.
O how the cruel cord did misbecome
Her comely neck! and yet by law's just doom
Had been her death. Those locks like golden thread,
That us'd in youth t'enshrine her globe-like head,
Hung careless down; and that delightful limb,
Her snow-white nimble hand, that us'd to trim
Their tresses up, now spitefully did tear
And rend the same: nor did she now forbear
To beat that breast of more than lily white,
Which sometimes was the lodge of sweet delight.
From those two springs, where joy did whilome dwell,
Grief's pearly drops upon her pale cheeks fell;
And, after many sighs, at last, with weak
And fainting voice, she thus did silence break:—
"Thou gentle knight, whose wrongs I now repent,
Behold a woeful wretch, that did consent
In thy sad death: for I, alas! therefore
By gold my servant did suborn to pour
That death into thy cup, thy dish, thy diet,
Whose pain too long did rob thy ghost of quiet.
Yet neither thirst of gold, nor hate to thee
For injuries receiv'd, incensed me
To seek thy life; but love, dear love to those
That were my friends, and thy too deadly foes:
With them in court my state I did support,
Ah, that my state had never known the court!
Virtue and vice I there together saw,
But, like the spider, I was taught to draw
Foul poison, where sweet honey might be had,
And how to leave the good, and choose the bad.
At last, through greedy going on in sin
Made senseless, by degrees I did begin
To rise from great to greater, till at last
My own sins did my own destruction haste.
O heavy doom! when Heaven shall so decree,
That sin in man the plague of sin must be.
But here let chastest beauties, when they blame
My follies most, and blush to hear my shame,
Remember then best beauties are but frail,
And how that strongest men do oft assail
Our weakest selves; so may they pity me,
And my sad fall may their forewarning be.
Ye tender offspring of that rib, refin'd
By God's own finger, and by him assign'd
To be a help, and not a hurt to man;
How is it possible your beauties can
Be pure from blemish, treading such vain ways
As now you do in these prophaner days?
Must flesh that is so frail still fear to fall;
And ye, the frailest flesh, not fear at all?
Can ye, ah can ye, with vain thoughts to please
Your wanton souls, on ivory beds of ease
Spend precious time; and yet suppose in this
Ye do no ill, nor think one thought amiss?
Can ye, to catch the wand'ring thoughts of him
Whom ye affect, deck every dainty limb;
Powder your hair; and, more to please the eye,
Refresh your paler cheeks with purer dye;
Lay out your breasts; and in the glass thus drest,
Observe what smile or frown becomes you best?
And yet not fear Heaven's judgement in the end,
At least, in this, not think ye do offend?
Can ye on wanton meats to move desire,
Though of yourselves too full of Paphian fire,
Feed every hour, and when hot blood begins
To hurry you unto those horrid sins,
That spot your beds, your bodies, and your names,
Blot your black souls with many greater blames?
And yet not think, ye do deserve Heaven's hate;
At least, to turn do think no time too late?
O do not sooth your selves in these foul crimes,
Hear not the tongue of these inchanting times.
Your too much idle ease, which opes the gate
To vicious thoughts, I know is counted state:
Upon your curious pride and vain array,
Fond men the name of cleanliness do lay:
Your lust, whose sparkles in your eyes do shine,
On wanton youth, is called love divine.
Thus they that would for each foul fault excuse you,
And turn your vice to virtue, do abuse you.

[17] [Mrs. Turner.]

But be ye not so blinded; look on me,
And let my story in your closets be
As the true glass, which there you look upon;
That, by my life, ye may amend your own.
Observe each step, when first I did begin
To tread the path that led from sin to sin,
Until my most unhappy foot did light,
In guiltless blood of this impoison'd knight.
" After I had in court begun to taste
Of idle ease, I daily fed so fast
Upon false pleasure, that at last I did
Climb Citharæa's hill, like wanton kid
In fertile pastures playing; nought did fear me,
I thought that roaring lion would not tear me.
Two darling sins, too common and too foul,
With their delights did then bewitch my soul;
First pride array'd me in her loose attires,
Fed my fond fancy fat with vain desires,
Taught me each fashion, brought me over seas
Each new device, the humorous time to please:
But of all vain inventions, then in use
When I did live, none suffer'd more abuse
Than that fantastic ugly fall and ruff,
Daub'd o'er with that base starch of yellow stuff[18].
O that my words might not be counted vain,
But that my counsel might find entertain
With those, whose souls are tainted with the itch
Of this disease; whom pride doth so bewitch,
That they do think it comely, not amiss:
Then would they cast it off, and say, it is
The bawd to pride, the badge of vanity,
Whose very sight doth murther modesty:
Yea, then detesting it, they all would know
Some wicked wit did fetch it from below,
That here they might express by this attire
The colour of those wheels of Stygian fire,
With pride's plung'd offspring, with snake-powder'd hair,
About their necks in Pluto's court do wear.
Thus pride, the pander to luxurious thoughts,
Did guide me by the hand through those close vaults,
That lead to lust's dark chambers, dark as night;
The eyes of lust do ne'er abide the light.
" But here perhaps some curious dame, who knows
No good, but what her outward habit shows,
Will judge my true complaint, as most unjust,
In that I call her pride, the bawd to lust:
But, had her body windows in each side,
That each one might behold her heart of pride;
There might one see the cause, why she doth trim,
Trick up, and deck defects in every limb;
And, having seen the same, may justly say,
Her loose attire doth her loose mind betray.
Of this the sad effects of old were seen
In lady [19]Alfrith, sometimes England's queen,
Whose lord, earl Ethelwald, at first, held dear
To her affection: when that he did hear
That his great sov'reign, royal Edgar, he
Whom eight kings row'd upon the river Dee,
Unto his house did purpose to repair,
Knowing his dearest lady wond'rous fair,
And the king young and wanton, did desire
That she would lay aside her rich attire;
And, choosing meaner weeds, her art apply
To dim that beauty which did please the eye.
But she, inconstant lady, knowing well,
That beauty, most set forth, doth most excel;
As precious stones, when they are set in gold,
Are then most fair and glorious to behold;
Array'd herself in all her proud attire,
To set victorious Edgar's heart on fire;
Who, caught like silly fly into the flame,
At sudden sight of such a dainty dame,
To cool the heart of his lust-burning will,
Her wronged husband's guiltless blood did spill.
" With pride thus tasting of that wanton cup
Which lust did give me, I was given up
To loose desire: which brutish sin, since here
In its own shape it may not well appear,
Lest it offend all modest eyes and ears,
I only do lament with my true tears.
Yet give me leave in some few words to tell
This wanton world, into what horrid hell
Of wicked sins foul lust did make me fall;
That unchaste youth from lust I may recall.
As every evil humour, which is bred
In human bodies, covets to be fed
With that ill nutriment which doth increase
The same, until it grow to some disease
Incurable; so did my loose desire,
In vain delights, seek fewel for the fire
So long, until (ah! me) unto my shame
It did burst forth, and burn me in the flame.
I left my God t'ask counsel of the devil,
I knew there was no help from God in evil.
As they that go on whoring unto hell,
From thence to fetch some charm or magick-spell;
So over Thames, as o'er th' infernal lake,
A wherry with its oars I oft did take,
Who Charon-like did waft me to that strand,
Where Lambeth's town to all well known doth stand:
There Forman was, that friend in human shape,
That by his art did act the devil's ape.
Oft there the black inchanter, with sad looks,
Sat turning over his blasphemous books,
Making strange characters in blood-red lines:
And, to effect his horrible designs,
Oft would he invocate the friends below,
In the sad house of endless pain and woe;
And threaten them, as if he could compel
Those damned spirits to confirm his spell.
" O profane wretches! ye that do forsake
Your faith, your God, and your own souls, to take
Advice of sorcerers, again to find
Some trifle lost; why will ye be so blind

[18] [Mrs. Turner is said to have first invented and brought into fashion the use of yellow starch. See Vol. I. p. 214. But, according to Howell, the fashion expired with its inventress. See Letters. sect. i.]

[19] Raphael Holinshed, in his History of England.

On some base beldam for lost things to fawn?
To gain whose loss, ye leave your souls in pawn.
Too many, too much wronged by the time,
Do think this great idolatry no crime:
But let them mark the path which they do tread,
And they shall see, that in it they are led
From hope and help, to hurt and all annoy;
From him that made, to him that doth destroy.
But, without mercy here, let no stern eye
Look on my faults: alas! for charity,
Let all with pity my offence bemoan,
Since that it was not my offence alone:
The strongest soon do slip, as I did fall,
For, woe is me! I was seduc'd to all.
" Ye that detest my now detected shame,
And think that ye shall never meet the same;
Think how the friendship, and the ancient love,
Of some great lady long enjoy'd may move:
And think with that, how much the rising state
Of some great man my sex might animate.
I was not base, but born of gentle blood,
My nature of itself inclin'd to good:
But worms in fairest fruit do soonest breed,
Of heavenly grace best natures have most need.
Just Heaven did suffer me, as I begun
To hasten on from vice to vice, and run
Myself in sinful race quite out of breath,
That sin at last might punish sin by death:
For, when those wantons, whose unjust desire
Had urg'd me on so far, that to retire
I knew was vain, as I before to lust
Had been a minister, so now I must
Join hands in blood, which they did plot and study:
O who would think that women-kind were bloody!
But when our chastity we do forego;
That lost, what then will we refuse to do?
This did that Roman proud [20] Sejanus know,
Who, hating Drusus as his deadly foe,
And basely seeking to betray his life,
Did first allure fair Livia Drusus' wife
To poison her own lord, that in his stead
The base Sejanus might enjoy his bed;
Who, rais'd by Cæsar from ignoble place,
In Livia's lustful eye did find more grace
Than Drusus, Cæsar's son, a manly youth:
O who knows how to feed a woman's tooth!
" In mischief I went on, and did agree
To be an actor in thy tragedy,
Thou injur'd ghost; yet was I but a mute,
And what I did was at another's suit:
Their plots I saw, and silent kept the same,
For which my life did suffer death and shame:
For see, ah! see, this cord about my neck,
Which time sometime with precious things did deck;
Revenge hath done, and justice hath her due,
Let none then wrong the dead, let all with you,
O gentle knight, forget my great offence,
Which I have purg'd with tears of penitence:
For thousand living eyes with tears could tell,
That from my eyes true tears of sorrow fell.
Then judge my cause with charitable mind,
Who mercy seeks with faith, shall mercy find."
This said, she vanish'd from before our sight,
I think to heaven; and think, I think aright.
She gone, the poison'd ghost did seem with tears
To chide her fate. But lo, there straight appears:
Another in her place, who seem'd to be,
When he did live, some man [21] of good degree
'Mongst men on earth: one of so solemn look,
As if true gravity that place had took
To dwell upon; his person comely was,
His stature did the meaner size surpass;
Well shap'd in every limb, well step'd in years,
As here and there appear'd by some grey hairs.
When first he did appear, with woeful look
He view'd the Tower, and his head he shook,
As if from thence he did derive his woe,
Which with a sigh he thus began to show:
" O thou sad building, ominous to those
Whom with thy fatal walls thou dost inclose;
For thee, I, hapless man, as for the end
Of my desire, did falsly condescend
Unto that plot, by others' heads begun,
Through which in thee such wrong was lately done.
That thou didst poison'd feel thy foes' despight,
See here the ghost of that unhappy knight,
Which whilome was lieutenant of this place,
Though now a wretch, thus halter'd with disgrace.
I was (alas, what boots it that I was!)
Of good report, and did with credit pass
Through every act of my life's tragedy,
Upon this world, the stage of vanity;
Till the last scene of blood by others plotted,
Concluding ill, my name and credit blotted.
I must confess I did connive at those
That were the ministers to thy proud foes,
Closely employ'd by them thy life to spill
By secret poison, though against my will:
Fear of their greatness, and no hate to thee,
Inforc'd my coward conscience to agree.
" When first to me this plot they did impart,
O what a tedious combat in my heart,
Until my soul did feelingly appear,
'Twixt my sad conscience, and a doubtful fear!
Fear said that, 'If I did reveal the same,
'Those great ones, great in grace, would turn the 'shame
'Upon my head:' but conscience said again,
'That, if I did conceal it, murder's stain
'Would spot my soul as much for my consent,
'As if at first it had been my intent.'
Fear said that, 'If the same I did disclose,
'The countenance of greatness I should lose,
'And be thrust out of office and of place:'
But conscience said that 'I should lose that grace
'And favour, which my God to me had given,
'And be perhaps thrust ever out of heaven.'

[20] Tacitus, Annal. lib. iv. cap. 2.
[21] The description of Sir Jarvis Ellwis, the late lieutenant of the Tower.

Long these two champions did maintain the field,
Till my weak conscience at the last did yield.
O let those men, that do condemn my fear
And folly, most in their remembrance bear,
What certain danger stood on either side
As I should pass, and how I should have died
In either way, at least with some great fall
For ever have been crush'd; and think withal,
How prone our nature is, in fear, to rest
Upon those seeming hopes that promise best.
I speak not this to mitigate my sin;
O no, I wish my fall may others win
From the like fear, and that my life may be
A precedent to men of such degree,
To whom authority doth think it fit
The trust of such a function to commit.
Let such men to remember still be mov'd,
That which by sad experience I have prov'd:
'Tis good to fear great men, but yet 'tis better
Ever to fear God more, since God is greater.
If God's good angel had imprinted this
Into my thoughts, I had not thought amiss;
Nor I, unhappy I, should have consented,
But all this mischief I had then prevented.
" Here some perhaps will think the former race
Of my sad life t' have been debosht and base,
Because at last it had so base an end;
But for ourselves, might modesty contend
In opposition, I might justly say,
How many now live glorious at this day,
Whose honour greater stains do daily spot,
Than any which my former life did blot.
Yet those my crimes which did my God offend,
For which his finger did point out this end
Unto my life, I'll shew; though to my shame;
That others, as from death, may fly the same.
My father from whose life my breath I drew,
When sick upon his bed he lay, and knew
That at his door of flesh death's hand did knock,
And did perceive weak nature would unlock
To let him in, did with his blessing give
This charge to me: 'That I, while I did live,
'Should never seek for office at the court;
'But with that means he left my state support.'
With reverence his will I did obey,
Until (O that I might not tell) the day,
In which I did with greedy eye affect
That place in this great Tower, without respect
To my dead sire's behest: yet, since it was
A touch to conscience, on I would not pass,
Until by some I was resolv'd amiss,
That, as in other things, so I in this,
Which in itself was of indifference
And lawful unto others, might dispense
With my obedience to my father's will,
And that my own intent I might fulfil:
Yet one there is, (O, ever may he be
Belov'd of Heav'n for his great love to me)
Who by the light of truth did shew the way
Which I should go; but I did not obey.
Ambitious mist did blind my weaker eyes,
I thought by this preferment I should rise;
Yet no desert but gold did gain me grace,
My own corruption purchas'd me that place:
For brib'ry in the soul a blemish makes
Of him that gives, as well as him that takes;
And bribing hands, that give, must guilty be
Of their own want of worth; for who, but he
That in himself the want of merit finds,
Will be the bawd to base corrupted minds?
" Ye, that neglect performance of the will
Of your dead parents, thinking it no ill
To disobey their precepts, now in me
The course of disobedience ye may see:
And ye whose golden fingers, as in sport,
Like lime-twigs catch at offices in court,
In which obtain'd ye ever after live
Corrupt in mind, to gain what ye did give;
Behold untimely death's disgraceful cord
About this neck, my bribing hands' reward.
Before this sudden and unlook'd-for fate
Did fall thus heavy on me, when my state
Did flourish among men, to mind I call
An accident of note which then did fall.
Bewitch'd with love to that too common vice
In this our age of hazardy and dice,
I losing once my coin, (for few thereby
Have ever gainers been,) did wish that I,
When I again did use the dice, might come
To die this shameful death; which by the doom
Of righteous Heav'n, again I using game,
As I had wish'd, to me unlook'd-for came.
Vain gamesters, that too commonly do use
Strange deprecations, when ye do abuse
Yourselves in game, by my sad fall take heed,
And let your word be ever as your deed;
Lest your hand meet mine in the self-same dish,
For Heav'n doth often hear when men do wish.
But of no sin had my most sinful soul
Been ever sick, yet this one sin most foul,
This act of poison, to my house a stain,
With future times for ever shall remain.
The dye of blood on murderer's hand doth stay,
No tears, no time, can wipe the same away:
But, if true tears of sorrow may with you,
As all true sorrow's tears with Heav'n may do,
Move pitiful regard of my sad fall,
Ye then, rememb'ring how I fell withal,
Will, out of charity, with lesser blame
Censure my fault, when ye shall hear the same:
Thus quit by death from doom of law, and Heaven
Out of free mercy having me forgiven,
Let all calumnious tongues their malice cease,
That so my soul may ever live in peace.
" O let the world abate her sharpen'd tongue,
And, since I have done penance for thy wrong,
Thou wronged knight, what can thy ghost now crave?
Grieve thee no more, go rest thee in thy grave:
Thy foes decline, proud Gaveston is down,
No wanton Edward wears our England's crown."
This said, he vanish'd; and another[22] stood
In the same place, midway above the flood,

[22] Franklin's ghost.

Whose strange demeanour with amazement struck
Us that beheld him; for with startled look,
And hair stiff standing, as a man aghast,
He star'd upon the knight, from whom in haste
Into the flood he would have shrunk away;
Had not, I think, that fury forc'd his stay,
Which while he liv'd his guilty soul pursu'd,
Till he his own offence had freely shew'd.
A man he was of stature meanly tall,
His body's lineaments true shap'd, and all
His limbs compacted well, and strongly knit;
Nature's kind hand no error made in it.
His beard was ruddy hue, and from his head
A wanton lock itself did down dispread
Upon his back; to which, while he did live,
Th' ambiguous name of Elf-lock he did give.
And now fantastic phrensy, as before,
When he did live, did seem to vex him sore.
The shameful rope, which 'bout his shoulders hung,
Hither and thither carelessly he flung;
And, as a caitiff of that cursed crew,
Whom sad despair doth after death pursue,
Howling and yelling, while the tears did run,
Down by his cheeks, at last he thus begun:—
"Since that sly serpent of soul-slaying sin,
Which feeds upon the guilty mind within
Each wicked breast, doth force me to reveal,
Unto my shame, what I did long conceal;
Give ear, ye cursed Atheists all that been,
Ye unbelieving dogs in shape of men,
That think the name of God and his great law,
But things devis'd to keep the world in awe;
Who mock the time's last dreadful day to come,
Which at the length your wicked deeds shall doom:
And ye, blasphemous exorcists, that are
With Pluto's factors so familiar
Here upon earth, that ye each day do deal
For transportation of blind souls to hell;
Whom fools do wise men call; give ear to me,
And in my wretched fate your follies see.
I was (ah! me, that still I was not so!)
When April buds of youth themselves did show
Upon my chin, a student in the law;
From which fantastic thoughts my mind did draw
To the more pleasing study of that art
Of physick; to the which though little part
Of learning gave me help, yet strong desire
To know that worthy science, set on fire
The fond affection of my forward will
To search the secrets of that noble skill.
But he, who from that faculty shall fall,
To which inevitable fate did call
Him at the first, forsakes that happy way,
Which he should go, and hapless runs astray,
Diseas'd with vanity's fantastic fits,
Which, ague-like, doth vex our English wits,
Who think at home all homely, and do plow
Deep furrows upon Neptune's watery brow,
From foreign shores to bring the worst of bad,
And, in exchange, leave there what good they had.
"The seas I pass'd to help out my weak skill
In th' aromatic art: but, oh! the ill,
Which there our ignorant English oft do find,
Did first corrupt my uncorrupted mind.
O vain conceit of those, that do repute
In every art the most admired fruit
Of any brain, if of domestic wit,
But base and trivial, if compar'd to it
Of foreign heads! *That* only us can please;
And such hath been our England's old disease.
There did I find (Oh never had I found!)
Murder's close way to kill my foe, the ground
Of that device, thou wronged knight, whereby
Thou most untimely wast inforc'd to die.
There was I taught with vain words to command
The spirits from below, who still at hand
Will ready be, as seeming to obey
Those soul-blind men, whom they do most betray.
Thus having, as I thought, my mind inrich'd
With deepest knowledge, and with pride bewitch'd,
To blow that vain blast on the trump of fame,
Which through the world, I thought, might bear my name;
I back return'd for England, there to show
That wond'rous skill which I would seem to know.
There, as the fowler doth with whistle call
The silly birds, until they hap to fall
Into his net; so did my name each day,
Once blown abroad, lead simple fools away
From helpful Heaven, to seek advice in hell,
And there, for toys, themselves and souls to sell.
But in this path long thus I did not tread,
Which down unto the house of death doth lead,
Before that old sly serpent did begin
T' entice me to that self-accusing sin
Of horrid murder; shewing me the way,
By art of poison, closely to betray
What life to death I would; nor did he leave,
Until my soul he did so far bereave
Of every feeling sense, that wicked I
Did closely poison her that us'd to lie
In my own bosom; that she, being dead,
Might, to me living, leave an empty bed.
"After this fact, that to my guilty soul
It might not, as it was, seem ugly foul;
My subtle foe did whisper in my ear
These seeming happy news, how fame did bear
My name upon her wings, with loud report
Of my strange deeds, as far as to the court:
Where having been employ'd, I with all skill
Apply'd myself to please; no damned ill
I did refuse, not making any doubt,
While greatness' wings did compass me about.
Forman, that cunning exorcist, and I
Would many times our wicked wits apply
Kind nature, in her working, to disarm
Of proper strength; and, by our spells, would charm
Both men and women; making it our sport
And play, to point at them in our report.
Thus, fatted with false pleasure for a while;
Still with good hope of hap, I did beguile
Myself in all employments; till at last
Thy death, thou injur'd knight, did with it haste

My unexpected fall. I was the man
That did prepare those poisons, which began
And ended all thy pain; which I did give
Unto that man who did attendant live
On thee in thy distress; who, since that time,
Was he that first did suffer for this crime.
O what a sudden change of cheerful thought
To sadness self-accusing conscience brought
After this bloody deed! Before, all ease
Did seem to wait on me: for, what could please,
Which I did want? That idol gold, which all
Or most men closely worship, seem'd to fall
As thick upon me as the golden shower,
That fell on Danae in the Dardan tower.
Swimming in streams of false delight, and prick'd
With pride and self-conceit, at Heav'n I kick'd.
The names of God and Maker I did slight,
As bug-bear words the childish world t'affright.
I did impute the sphere's eternal dance,
And all this all, to nature and to chance:
But all men laugh my follies unto scorn,
For who so blind will say, being mortal-born,
He hath a reason, and will yet deny
The same to this universality,
Of which, alas! he is the lesser part?
And who should say, his feet, his hands, his heart,
Might well be wise, and he himself a fool:
Such is the wisdom of th' atheistic school.
" The eye of Heav'n, from whom no heart can hide
The secret thoughts, my close intents espied;
And, when I did, with most inventive brain,
Devise to wipe away my conscience' stain,
And thy sad death most closely to conceal,
Heaven forc'd myself my own self to reveal.
The shadow of the dead, or some foul fiend,
Or fury, whom revenge did justly send
To punish me for my detested sin,
With snaky whips did scourge my soul within;
Forbidding me my rest, or day, or night,
Till I had brought my own offence to light:
For which, condemn'd unto that shameful end
Of strangling torment, still the frantic fiend
Did follow me unto my life's last breath;
As was my life before, so was my death."

This said, he vanish'd; and with him that night
The vision ending, our impoison'd knight
Thus spoke:—"O England, O thrice-happy land,
Who, of all isles, most gracefully doth stand
Upon this earth's broad face, like Venus' spot
Upon her cheek; thou only garden-plot,
Which, as another Eden, Heav'n hath chose,
In which the tree of life and knowledge grows;
Happy in all, most happy in this thing,
In having such a holy, happy king:
A king, whose faith, in arms of proof, doth fight
'Gainst that sev'n-headed beast and all his might:
A king, whose justice will, at last, not fail
To give to each his own in equal scale:
A king, whose love, dove-like, with wings of fame,
To all the world doth happy peace proclaim:
A king, whose faith, whose justice, and whose love
Divine, and more than royal, him do prove.
O thou just king, how hath thy justice shin'd
Upon my injur'd ghost! Which, being confin'd
From hence for ever, never had, unless
Thy justice had been great, obtain'd redress.
If earnest prayers with Heav'n may aught avail
(And earnest prayers with Heav'n do seldom fail),
Let all good men lift up their hearts with me,
That what I beg of Heav'n may granted be.
If ever heart, with wicked thought, shall aim
To harm thy state, let Heav'n reveal the same.
If ever hand, lift up with violent pow'r,
Shall seek thy life, Heav'n cut it off that hour.
If ever eye of treason lurk about,
Or lie in wait for thee, Heav'n put it out.
If heart, hand, eye, abroad, or here at home,
Shall plot against thee, never may they come
To their effect; as they have ever been,
So may they be: and let all say, *Amen*."

Here my dream ended: after which, a while
Soft slumber did my senses so beguile,
I thought the Tower-gate was o'er my head;
Until I wak'd, and found myself in bed:
From whence arising, as the wronged knight
Had giv'n in charge, this Vision I did write.

Some small and simple Reasons, delivered in a hollow Tree, in Waltham Forest, in a Lecture; on the Thirty-third of March last. By Aminadab Blower, a devout Bellows-mender of Pimlico. Shewing the Causes in general and particular, wherefore they do, might, would, should, or ought, except against and quite refuse, the Liturgy, or Book of Common-Prayer.

Printed Anno Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

MY dear beloved and zealous brethren and sisters, here assembled in this holy congregation; I am to unfold, unravel, untwist, untie, unloose, and undo, to your uncapable understandings, some small reasons, the matter, the causes, the motives, the grounds, the principles, the maxims, the why's and the wherefores, wherefore and why, we reject, omit, abandon, contemn, despise, and are and ought to be withstanders and opposers of the service-book, called by the hard name of 'Liturgy, or Common-Prayer,' which hath continued in the church of England eighty-four years.

I have exactly examined and collected some notes and observations out of the learned Hebrew-translated volumes of Rabbi Ananias, Rabbi Ahitophel, Rabbi Iscariot, Rabbi Simon Magus, Rabbi Demas, and Rabbi Alexander the coppersmith; and all nor any of their writings doth in any place so much as mention that book, or any such kind of service to be used at all by them. I have farther taken pains in looking over some Chaldean, Persian, Egyptian, Arabian, and Arminian authors, of which I understood not one word; I also (with the like diligence and understanding) have viewed the Turkish Alchoran, and there I found not a syllable concerning either Liturgy, Common-prayer, or Divine-service. As for Greek authors, I must confess I understand them not, or negatively, for which reason I leave them as impertinent; and, touching the Latin writers, they are partial in this case, the tongue being Romanian, and the idiom is Babylonish, which seems to me an intricate confusion.

I have carefully viewed the tomes and tenets of religion, and books of all manner of hieroglyphicks, writings, scrolls, tallies, scores and characters, and finding nothing for the maintaining of that book or liturgy, I looked into the ecclesiastical history, written by one Eusebius, and another fellow they call Socrates; wherein I found many arguments and incitements to move men to such doctrine as is comprised and compiled in the Liturgy. After that I searched into the Acts and Monuments of this kingdom, written by old Fox; and there I found that the composers of it were bishops and doctors, and great learned school-men of unfeigned integrity, of impregnable constancy, who with invincible faith suffered most glorious martyrdom by the papal tyranny, for the writing and maintaining that book, with the true Protestant religion contained in it.

Brethren, I must confess that I was somewhat puzzled in my mind at these things, and I could not be satisfied, till I had consulted with some of our devout brothers. Our brother How, the cobler, was the first I broke my mind to, and we advised to call or summon a synod to be held in my lord Brook's stable; the reverend Spencer, the stable-groom, being the metropolitan there. At our meeting, there was Greene the felt-maker, Barebones the leather-seller, Squire the taylor, with Hoare a weaver, and Davison a bonelace-

maker of Messenden, and Paul Hickeson of Wickham, taylor; with some four or five bakers-dozens of weavers, millers, tinkers, botchers, broom-men, porters, of all trades, many of them bringing notes with them fitting for our purpose; which notes they had taken carefully from the instructions of the demi-martyrs and round and sound confessors, St. B. St. P. and St. B. out of which, with our own capacities and ingenuities to boot, we have collected and gathered these sound and infallible objections against the Book of Common-prayer, or Liturgy, as followeth.

For our own parts, my brethren, it is for the reputation and honour of our holy cause and calling to contest, malign, and cavil, where we are not able either to convince by reasons or arguments; therefore, I having traced the book from end to end, and yet, upon the matter, to no end for such ends as we would conclude upon, I find nothing in it disagreeing to God's word or agreeing with our doctrine. The first prayer, called the 'Confession,' is quite contrary to our appetites and profession; for to confess, that 'we have 'erred and strayed like lost sheep,' is to acknowledge ourselves to be silly horned beasts and cuckolds; our children, by that reckoning, should be lambs, our wives ewes, and we, their innocent husbands, must be rams; and every lay-preacher or preaching tradesman would be accounted a bell-wether to the flock or herd.

Neither do we think it fit to make ourselves appear so weak-witted or pusillanimous as to confess, that 'we have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and 'done those things which we ought not to have done:' for such a confession will lay open our disloyalty, our intrusion, our transgressions, rebellions, and treasons; we shall therein acknowledge ourselves, by omitting of duties, and committing of villainies in church and state, do deserve justly the severity of God, and the king's laws to be our deserved wages. Besides, we hold it to be a retractive diminishing of valour, a popish kind of cowardly effeminate submission, which our stout hearts, stiff necks, and stubborn knees will never stoop and bow to, for the old proverb is 'Confess and be,' &c.

Concerning the second prayer, called the 'Absolution,' for the remission of sins through Christ; though Christ hath given power and commandment, to his lawful ministers, to declare and pronounce in his name, to all true repenting sinners, the absolution and remission of their sins; yet we will not believe it to be available, but esteem it as popish and superstitious.

As for the 'Lord's Prayer,' which the Papists call by the Romish or Latin name of *Pater-noster*, we must confess it is pithy and short: but, had our advices been at the making of it, it should have been two yards and a half longer, by London measure. Besides, we would like it better, if it were not commanded or enjoined upon us; for our faiths cannot brook to be limited within the compass of any command, decree, edict, law, statute, order, rule, ordinance, government, or authority, either of God or the king: besides, in that prayer there is mention made of 'forgiving such as trespass against us,' which our doctrine or natures cannot incline to; for we do never remember a good turn, and very seldom or never forget or forgive an injury. Therefore, for these considerable causes, and many more, we think it requisite to forbear that brief prayer; and zealously to advance the altitude of our spacious ears, to receive the longitude of a three hours repetition, for our fructifying edification.

Thirdly, for the desiring the 'Lord to open our lips, that our mouths might shew forth 'his praise:' it is known we can do that *extempore*, by the Spirit; and it belongs to our teacher to open his lips and pray; but it is our parts to give spiritual attention, and not to open our lips, but only at the singing of old Robert Wisdom's madrigal, or the like. And, whereas we are commanded to stand at the saying of *Gloria Patri;* to avoid that ceremony we hold it best not to say it at all.

As for the xcvth psalm, or, 'O, come let us sing,' &c. we object against it for two reasons: the one is of falling down, and worshipping, and kneeling; and the other is, we will neither kneel, fall down, or worship, because it is an expression of humility and reverence, which we utterly refuse to give either to God or man. As for the order of reading the first lesson, we could like it better, if it were not so ordered; it were necessary we

had freedom to read what, when, and where we list, for order is odious: and, whereas there is appointed a hymn, called by a Latin name, *Te Deum laudamus*, we do conceive the matter of it to be very good, but that it was composed by a bishop, one Ambrose, of a city and province in Italy called Milan, and that the said Ambrose was not only a bishop, but, for his godly life and holy writings, he was made a saint: for these causes we leave him and his hymn too, as being too much conformable to edification, decency, order, and obedience.

Likewise the second lesson may be read, but not that which is appointed for the day; for, as is aforesaid, we cannot abide any thing that is appointed or ordered by authority; that our consciences being at liberty, we may the more freely shew ourselves the lawless sons and daughters of confusion.

And though it hath been a custom very significant, and as ancient as the primitive times of Christian religion, to repeat the articles of the 'Belief' standing; our understanding, notwithstanding, doth withstand that kind of posture; for no other reason, but because the church ordained it, and the law commands it: and truly we do know no sense or reason to stand to any saying of faith, for it is one of our principles, 'that whatsoever 'we say, we will stand to nothing.'

Next followeth the 'Lord's Prayer' again (as the Protestants call it), and a prayer composed of versicles, wherein the minister and people do (as it were by questions and answers) desire 'God's mercy, and the granting of salvation;' after which they pray, 'O 'Lord, save the king,' which is, by us, wonderfully disliked and omitted: and, when we are to render the cause of it, we shall not want insufficient answers, which we have studiously pondered in the learned colleges of Amsterdam and New-England. Then there followeth, 'Give peace in our time, O Lord;' which we utterly detest: for, if once that prayer be granted, many of us (except the king be more merciful than we deserve) shall be hanged for rebellion and treason, and glad we escape so too; the best, we can look for, is the advancing again the Protestant religion, and then down go we, with all our spiritual inspirations, and long-winded repetitions: we shall be silenced (which is a terrible torture), or banished from our zealous sisters; our collections and contributions will be abrogated and annihilated, our puddings and plum-broth will be in the forlorn-hope, and ourselves excluded, extirpated, exiled, excommunicated, as extraordinary, extravagant, unexampled rascals and coxcombs. For these considerations, of martial validity, weight, and deep consequence, (altogether repugnant and malignant to our holy profession of Brownism and Anabaptism,) we will neither have peace, (although we dare not fight in war,) no peace I will pray for: therefore, good brethren, I pray you no prayer for peace.

And for saying, 'O God, make our hearts clean within us, and take not thy Holy 'Spirit from us;' these words are impertinent for us to speak, for we know our hearts to be clear and pure already; and for the Spirit, it is tied so fast to us, that it cannot be taken from us, or from any that will believe us.

In the Evening-Prayer, there is one collect for peace, and another for the enlightening of our darkness. We have already declared our minds, though all the world knows us to be hypocrites: yet we do know, that a godly loyal peace will confound us, therefore we will not hypocritically pray for that which we desire not to have; and for our darkness, though it be palpable to be felt (like the darkness of Egypt, yea, more dark than ignorance itself), yet we have, by instigation, found light in abundance. Our weights are light; our mothers, wives, sisters, aunts, nieces, daughters, and female servants, are light; our invisible horns are light; our words, deeds, thoughts, consciences, payment of debt, and religion, is light (or of light account); our faith in God, and loyalty to the king, are most translucently light, apparently light, refulgently light, illustrately light, transparently light, internally light, externally light, infernally light; emblazoned, perspicuated, cognominated, propagated, and promulgated, to all the world to be light, lighter than any thing that we call lightness; lighter than vapour, air, smoke, flame, dust, chaff, wind, ea ther, froth, cork, yeast, fog, puff, blast, a whore, vanity; yea, more light than vanity ts elf.

As concerning *Quicunque vult*, or 'Whosoever will be saved,' it is an argument that he, that will be, may be; and he, that will not, may chuse whether he will or no: which implies a free-will, a very popish conclusion: also that creed is concluded to be called 'Catholick,' which word we like not.

Next followeth the 'Litany,' which is a hard word to us, and sounds in our spacious ears as it were Latin, or the Beast's language: we confess there are some few sentences, that may be tolerated; but we ought to remember ourselves, and take heed that we avoid praying against fornication, sedition, conspiracy, false doctrines, heresy, hardness of heart, and contempt of God's word and commandment; for you know, brethren, that these are daily and nightly contemplations, and recreations. Besides, it seems to be a swearing kind of invocation, As, 'By the incarnation, by the nativity and circumcision, baptism, 'fasting, temptation, agony, bloody sweat, cross, passion, death, burial, resurrection, as-'cension, and coming of the Holy Ghost;' all which is most certainly true: but we ought to find out some other by-word, than the word *by*: for, though by them all true believers are saved, yet that is no warrant or argument we should swear by them.

Then there is praying, that 'the church may be ruled and governed in the right way;' which, if that be granted, what will become of us, that do know ourselves to be none of the true church? Therefore that prayer belongs not to us.

Then follow beseechings for blessings to be upon the king, queen, and royal posterity, and that they may have victory over all their enemies. All the world knows, we are none of their friends; therefore these prayers are apocrypha to us, neither will we be so simple to pray against ourselves; and the case is plain, that rebellion must be tamed, before the king can be victorious.

Then follows praying for bishops, whom we cannot abide, nor can we shew wherefore; and, amongst the rest, there is a prayer 'for all women labouring of child,' in which prayer many a loose harlot may be comprehended; therefore it had been fitter to have prayed 'for all women labouring of child lawfully begotten;' for, verily, it is sinful to pray for either root, stock, limb, bough, branch, sprig, leaf, fruit, or seed, of the wicked. I like well of the last verse, except one, of the same Litany, wherein we pray, 'that the fruits 'of the earth may be given and preserved to our use;' but with this proviso, that we alone, and none but we, who labour in the holy cause, 'should enjoy them in due time,' or at any time.

Then there are prayers for mercy, for grace, for defence and victory in war, for preservation from plague and pestilence, for bishops again, and curates, for rain, for fair weather, and for relief in dearth and famine: then there follow eighty-four things, which they call 'Collects,' wherein many holy saints are remembered on certain peculiar days; and, though we can justly find nothing but what is agreeable to God's word in the whole Liturgy, yet the purity of our singular doctrines doth hold it profane and popish; for we have the Spirit to prompt us, insomuch as our grave patriots have lately thought fit to unsaint all the saints; and all the churches and houses of God in London have been, these many months, disrobed of their sanctimonious names, and are all excommunicated out of the weekly diseased bill: for now the churches are to be called no more St. John's, St. Peter's; but Peter's, Andrew's, James's, John's, George's church or parish; with so many died of such and such diseases, or by such a casualty, or such a rascal hanged himself, for playing a Judas's part against his sovereign.

Next follow the 'Ten Commandments,' which we neglect to say, because they are of the Old Testament, and the Law was given to the Jews: we that are Christians are freed from it by the Gospel. Besides, it is said to have two tables, one shewing our duty towards God, the other towards man: Concerning the first of them, we hold ourselves clear from idolatry, swearing, and profanation: for the second, we conceive it not to bind us, either to give honour to the king or magistrates (they being the fathers and protectors of our country, wealth, estates, and all we enjoy under God), nor to our natural parents, if they be not of our faith.

At the 'Communion,' there are prayers for the king again, and the 'Belief,' with re-

peating some portions of Scripture, to move men to charity and good works; all which we omit, for only faith is our practice; and for good works, or charity, we hold it to be unnecessary, and therefore we will neither use or do any. Neither will we receive, lying, standing, sitting, nor kneeling, by any means, nor any way that is commanded by order, in what place or country whatsoever. As for 'public or private Baptism,' we are able to do that ourselves, either in a bason, a river, a brook, a pond, a pool, a ditch, or a puddle; nor do we hold it fitting, but that we be godfathers and godmothers to our children ourselves, and call them what Scripture-names we list: nay, we will church our wives ourselves too. And, as for 'Matrimony,' we will save that charge, and take one another's words; for we must take our wives' words for our children, and why not for themselves? As for the 'Visitation of the Sick,' and 'Burial of the Dead,' they are both fit to be done; the one is necessary, because the brethren and sisters may meet and salute the feast: And, as for the 'Burial of the Dead,' the case is all men's, besides boys, women, and children. But a grave and learned long-standing lecturer did lately find out the right way of burial; for an old man that died in the parish of St. James, near Duke's-place, within Aldgate, at which funeral he preached, in his sermon he told the dead man his faults very roundly, and abused the corpse more for ten shillings, than any conformable preacher would have done for twenty; and, when he came to the laying the body in the ground, he omitted all old order and ceremonies of burial, only thus briefly he said,

Ashes to ashes, dust to dust,
Here's the hole, and in thou must.

So there is an end; and an end of my lecture.

A POSTSCRIPT.

It is humbly desired, that the reader do not censure the writer with any thought, or touch of profanity; for in this foregoing discourse he hath only decyphered the foolish grounds and tenets which the teachers of the pestilent sects of Schismaticks and Separatists do hold and maintain.

Your's,

J. T.

The mighty Miracle; or, The Wonder of Wonders at Windmill-Hill. Being the Invitation of John Lacy, Esq. and the rest of the inspired Prophets, to all Spectators, to come on Tuesday next, the 25th Day of this Instant May; where, to their exceeding Astonishment, they may (without any Prejudice to their Eye-sight) behold Dr. Emms arise out of his first Grave, and dress himself in his usual Habit to all their View, and with a loud Voice relate Matters of Moment; preaching a Miraculous Sermon, giving a strange Account of past and future Events: the like never seen or heard in England before, exceeding any Wonder or Show that ever was seen on Windmill-Hill at any Holiday-time. Licensed according to Order.

London, Printed for J. Robinson in Fleet-street, 1708.

[Folio; containing one page.]

THE town having been busied with apprehensions of wars in the North, and the affairs of state; having almost suffered our late Doctor Emms to be buried in oblivion, as well as in his grave near Windmill-hill; and so, by consequence, he may rise alone, or, as we term it vulgarly, in hugger-mugger, without any to witness the wonder. But let me acquaint you, that, as such miracles are not common, it is fit they should be proclaimed aloud by fame's trumpet; neither have all men the gift of raising the dead, nor hath it been known for many ages.

Esquire Lacy has published a relation of the dealing of God with his unworthy servant, since the time of his believing and professing himself inspired; which befel him, the first of July, 1707. His agitations coming upon him without the working of his imagination, upon what he saw in others, and proceeding from a supernatural cause, separate and distinct from himself; whereby his arm, leg, and head have been shaken, his limb twitched, the respiration of his breath has, for sundry days, beat various tunes of a drum; and his voice has been so strong, clear, and harmonious, that his natural one could never furnish. He has been carried on his knees several times round a room, swifter than he could have gone on his feet. Sir Richard Buckley has been cured of an hospital of diseases, by a promise thereof made through his mouth, under the operation of the Spirit; and by the same means a man purblind has been cured, and a woman of a fever, Mr. Preston of a carbuncle, and another of a deep consumption.

Therefore Esquire Lacy, with the rest of the inspired prophets, gives notice, for the satisfaction of the unbelieving, that according to their former prophecy (who cannot err) that on the twenty-fifth of May, they repair to Bunhill-Fields, and there in that burying-place, commonly called Tindal's Ground, about the twelfth hour of the day, behold the wonderful doctor fairly rise; and in two minutes time the earth over his coffin will crack, and spread from the coffin, and he will instantly bounce out, and slip off his shroud (which must be washed, and, with the boards of his coffin, be kept as relicks, and doubtless perform cures by their wonderful operation), and there, in a trice, he dresses himself in his

other apparel (which doubtless hath been kept for that intent ever since he was interred), and then there he will relate astonishing matters, to the amazement of all that see or hear him.

Likewise, for the more convenient accommodation of all spectators, there will be very commodious scaffolds erected throughout the ground, and also without the walls in the adjacent fields, called Bunhill-Fields, exceeding high, during this great performance. The like may never be seen in England hereafter. And, that you may acquaint your children, and grandchildren (if you have any), that you have seen this mighty miracle, you are advised not to neglect this opportunity; since it is plainly evident, that, of all the shows or wonders that are usually seen on holiday-time, this must bear the bell; and there it is ordered to be published in all news, that the country may come in; the like never performed before. It is also believed that gingerbread, oranges, and all such goods exposed to public sale in wheelbarrows, will doubtless get trade there, at this vast concourse: therefore, for the benefit of poor people, I give them timely notice, since it is a bad wind that blows none no profit. But, besides this admirable wonder of this strange and particular manner of his resurrection, he is to preach a sermon; and, lest it should not be printed, you are invited to be ear-witnesses thereof, as well as eye-witnesses to see his lips go, in the pronunciation thereof: all which will be matter of great moment, filling you all with exceeding amazement and great astonishment; his voice will be loud and audible, that all may hear him, and his doctrine full of knowledge; undoubtedly you will return home taught with profound understanding. Which miracle, if you chance to see or hear, you will not forget; and so by consequence, for the future, be endowed with sound judgment, and most excellent wisdom, most eloquent expressions, and what not.

Then neglect not this great and most beneficial opportunity, but for that time set all your affairs aside. And take this advice from Mr. Lacy, and the inspired prophets, together with Mrs. Mary of Turnmill-street, a she-prophetess, and the young woman who sells penny-pies, who, in hopes of obtaining all your company, remains yours; not questioning but to give you all content with this rare show.

Esquire Lacy's Reasons why Doctor Emms was not raised from the Dead, on the Twenty-fifth of May; according to the French Prophet's Prediction.

London, Printed for J. L. in Barbican, 1708.

[Folio; containing one page.]

WE are not unsensible of the harsh censures and uncharitable reflections that are cast upon us and our brethren, the prophets, in not raising from the dead our late spiritual brother Dr. Emms, on the precise time we foretold; therefore, to prevent, as much as in us lies, all further clamour and unnatural violence that may be occasioned thereby, we have thought fit to give our reasons for this omission, in the following order:

First, and principally, we were threatened with a popular rage and violence, which the laws of God and nature allows all mankind to avoid, having been practised by good and holy men in all ages of the world, even our Saviour himself; (John x. 39, &c.) who further confirms this truth; (Matt. x. 33,) by advising his disciples, when they were persecuted in one city, to flee into another. And if it was lawful for the apostles and Christ himself to avoid the fury of their wicked and unbelieving adversaries; we hope no man can reasonably blame us from deferring the accomplishment of the said intended miracle. Jonah

prophesied the destruction of Nineveh in forty days; but it was deferred near forty years, on their repentance.

Secondly, The secret decrees of the prophetical spirit are treasured up in the Fountain of Wisdom, and consequently past man's finding out, especially by a rebellious and gain-saying people.

Thirdly, Raising the dead, restoring the blind and lame to their sight and limbs, are great miracles, and only performed by faith, prayer, and fasting; but, where a rude, enraged, and revengeful multitude is gathered together in defiance of Heaven itself, all acts of devotion are obstructed, and even suspended till a more seasonable time.

Fourthly, Though prophetic periods do not always take place, according to the punctual warnings of the agitated spirit in the child of adoption; yet (like a great conqueror, who sometimes meets with difficulties and miscarriages in his march,) in due time break through all obstruction, for the more glorious accomplishment of the promises.

Fifthly, and lastly, Had we been peaceably suffered to appear on the day and hour we predicted, it would then have been decided who were the cheats and impostors, (names we have been notoriously loaded with;) but when open rage, mob, fury, and even death itself not only threatened, but looked us in the face; such a time, we are sure, was inconsistent for the undertaking of any thing that related to a public satisfaction: for, had the miracle really been wrought in such a confused medley of ungovernable rabble; instead of being acknowledged as such, we had run the hazard of being torn in pieces, and perhaps occasioned a fatal and general disorder among the people; for whose sake, more than for fear of our own lives, we prudently delayed attempting the said weighty undertaking till a more favourable opportunity; though we could freely have sacrificed our lives for the sake of spiritual truth, if such a dispensation had been either necessary or convenient. But (considering the madness of the age, the malice of the mob, and the rage of many malecontents against the present government, who, in all probability, would have took the advantage of such a confusion, in order to have promoted their long-wished for treasons and wicked designs) we preferred the public peace and safety of the government before our own interest and reputation; which, however so much shaken in this particular, shall never discourage us from being loyal and obedient to our superiors, notwithstanding our being rendered obnoxious to them by spiteful and malicious agents, who are always fishing in troubled waters, to bring about their own notorious and pernicious purposes; though to the scandal of themselves, and ruin of their Christian brethren, whom they hate for no other reason than being honester than themselves.

To conclude: Let men of carnal principles have what sentiments they please of us; we are resolved to act as the spirit of peace and love within us shall dictate and guide us, and as the supernatural agitations of divine inspiration shall enlighten our understanding.

An exact Account of the Receipts, and Disbursements, expended by the Committee of Safety, upon the emergent Occasions of the Nation[1]. Delivered in by M. R. Secretary to the said Committee, to prevent false Reports, and prejudicate Censures.

London, Printed for Jeremiah Hanzen, 1660.

[Folio; containing twelve pages.]

May it please your Honours;

I AM come here, according to order, to present unto you an exact account of what money was disbursed by the Committee of Safety, in the short time of their sitting. Truly, I would fain justify myself, and those who were my masters; for I desire to appear an honest man outwardly, whatever I am inwardly. I know, and am not ignorant, what a good thing it is to be a good steward; for I know you love good stewards, and have thrown out the family of the *Stewards*[2], because you thought them not to be good stewards. I make no question, but your Honours will find this to be a just and true account; for I learned Subtraction, Multiplication, and Addition, while I was at Drury-house; and, I thank God, I attained also to some small knowledge of the Golden Rule. I could have wished with all my heart it had been more, yet I intended to have perfected my knowledge in the Committee of Safety, had my time not been so short: however, I entreat your Honours to consider, that the Committee of Safety could be at no small charges, in regard of the expences that wait upon authority. We had many mouths to feed, many wanting brethren, that were in charity to be relieved; and charity, your Honours know how laudable a thing it is. All men love money, all men seek for it, and are not well till they have it: and would you have the Committee of Safety more than men? Truly, I can assure your Honours, they were but men at their highest, and now they are God knows what; it is thought, some of them now wish they were women. It is true, changes have been very advantageous to a great many men in these times; but there are no changes now can do them good, but such metamorphoses, as the poets speak of. I myself wish I had been changed into an elder-tree, to have been cut out into pot-guns, when I first fingered a penny of their money. Truly, I think the curse of Simon Magus fell upon them; for no sooner was their money spent, but they were forced to run away; so that I may say of them, 'That they and their money perished together.' How it perished, I hope your Honours will hereby receive full satisfaction: I would have your Honours contented with this account, which I have here brought; but I assure your Honours, if you will not, I can bring you no other. I have one word more, by way of petition: That your Honours would be pleased to consider my condition; and, if I have laid out any

[1] [The Committee of Safety was erected by the army for the administration of government in the year 1659. It consisted of twenty-three persons, among whom were Sir Henry Vane, Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Ludlow, &c. The Committee was authorized to execute all the powers of the late council of state; to punish delinquents; to give indemnity to all who had acted for the commonwealth since the year 1649; to oppose and suppress all rebellions and insurrections; to dispose of all places of trust that were void, and remove such as were scandalous; to treat with foreign states; to raise the militia, and lastly, to make sale and composition for the estates of delinquents. This authority did not long continue; for the Committee, terrified and perplexed at the dispersion of the army, resigned their usurpation, after sitting little more than one month. So short-lived a dominion, and at such a time, could not fail to draw forth an abundance of sarcasm and contempt, which was displayed in the mode of which we have here an example.]

[2] [Or *Stewarts*; in allusion to Charles I.]

money out of my purse, (as you may hereby perceive that I have,) that youwill be pleased to restore it me again, and give me ten times as much more. It is a sad thing to be poor and needy. "O hunger, hunger, (said the famous champion of England,) more sharp than the stroke of death, thou art the extremest punishment that ever man endured; if I were now king of Armenia, and chief potentate of Asia, yet would I give my diadem, my sceptre, with all my provinces, for one sliver of brown bread." I speak this to shew you how much it concerns every man, and as well myself, as any body else, to prevent poverty; which makes me urge my petition to you once again, That you would not only not take away what I have got; but rather, as I said but just now, give me ten times more. May it please your Honours, I have done: the Lord bless you, and incline your hearts to pity and compassion.

The ACCOUNT.

RECEIVED, out of the treasuries of the Excise, Customs, and the Exchequer, four-hundred and thirty thousand pounds. Disbursed as followeth:

	£.	s.	d.
Imprimis, For three-and-twenty long clokes, at 7*l.* 10*s.* *per* cloke, (to cover the Committee of Safety's knavery;) - - -	172	10	0
Item, For six dozen of large fine Holland handkerchiefs, with great French buttons, for the lord Fleetwood; (to wipe away the tears from his Excellency's cheeks,) at 20*s.* *per* handkerchief, - - -	72	0	0
Item, For four new perriwigs for his lordship, at 6*l.* a perriwig; together with a dozen pounds of amber-powder, with four wooden blocks, and half a dozen of tortoise-shell combs; - - - -	41	10	0
Item, For a silver inkhorn, and ten gilt-paper books, covered with green plush and Turky leather, (for his lady to write in at church,) -	7	3	3
Item, Paid his young daughter's musick-master and dancing-master, (for fifteen months arrears, due at the interruption of the parliament;) -	59		
Item, For twelve new brass nails that were wanting in his coach, and removing all his Excellency's horses' shoes, and blooding his pad-nag; -	160	1	2
Item, For four rich mantles for his lady, two laced, and two embroidered; and a brave new gown made to congratulate her husband's new honour;	270	0	0
Item, Bestowed, by her order, upon the journeymen-taylors, and given to him that brought home and tried on her said gown, seven pieces in gold;	7	14	0
Item, For changing an old fashion caudle-cup, and three silver skillets that were melted; - - - - - -	10	0	0
Item, For the use of his Excellency's rooms, his chairs and cushions; as also for candles and Scotch coals, while the committee of officers sat in his house; - - - - - - -	500	0	0
Item, For an innumerable company of pectoral rolls and lozenges, (to dry up his Excellency's rheum,) at two pence a-piece; - -	30	2	2
Item, Paid the apothecary's bill, for pills and clysters for the last autumn; - - - - - - -	81	12	0
Item, For two rolls of Spanish tobacco for colonel Sydenham, at 20*s.* *per* pound, according to the Protector's rate; and five black pots to warm ale in, at 12*d.* a-piece; together with ten groce of glazed pipes, at 9*s.* the groce; - - - - - -	45	13	4
Item, For two gilt horn-books for his great son, at 2*s.* 6*d.* a-piece; -	0	5	0
Item, Bestowed upon the lord Lambert, to buy him the several pictures of Moses, Mahomet, Romulus and Remus, Cæsar, and all those that were the first founders of large empires and kingdoms; - -	5000	0	0
Item, Presented to the lord Lambert the root of a tulip, and a certain East-Indian flower with a hard name; which, for their rarity, cost -	250	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Item, Paid the said lord (who is now no lord), to be spent (the Lord knows how) in a certain Northern expedition which came to nothing -	6000	0	0
Item, Laid out for seven rich new gowns, bespoke at Paris for the lady Lambert, (to be worn seven several days one after another, at her husband's coming to the crowns,) every gown valued at 60*l.* one with another, - - - - - -	420	0	0
Item, For pins and gloves for the said lady; - - -	83	9	0
Item, For seven new whisks, laced with Flanders lace of the last edition, each whisk valued at 50*l.* - - - - -	350	0	0
Item, For four-hundred packs of French cards, with pictures, to play at Best and Picquet withal; - - - - -	200	0	0
Item, For a new pair of spurs for colonel Clark, and a new whip with a silver handle, and a coral whistle at the end of it, to call the ostler; -	3	6	0
Item, For vamping the said colonel's riding-boots, and for new spur-leathers; - - - - - - - - -	10	0	0
Item, Laid out for wedding-clothes for the lord Lambert's daughter;	1150	0	0
Item, Given to the lord Wareston, to buy him a house and land here; because his lordship had expressed a very great dislike of his own country, and was then resolved never to have gone thither any more; -	1000	0	0
Item, Given to the lord Strickland, for his very ordinary service, a dozen of gilt nutmegs, at 6¾*d.* a-piece; - - - -	0	6	4
Item, Given to Colonel Berry, to buy him a three-handed sword; -	500	0	0
Item, Given to lord-mayor Tichburne, to buy him a hobby-horse and a clear conscience; - - - - - -	3000	0	0
Item, Paid to a spectacle-maker, for a spectacle with one glass for colonel Hewson; - - - - - - -	400	0	0
Item, Paid for three great saddles for the lord Lawrence's son, and for provender for his lofty steed, ever since the Protector's political death; -	500	0	0
Item, Reimbursed to the said lord Lawrence several sums of money, which his eldest son squandered away upon poets, and dedications to his ingenuity; to the value of - - - - -	500	0	0
Item, Paid sir Harry Vane, to defray the extraordinary charges of his fruitless voyage into the Hope; - - - - -	800	0	0
Item, Given the gunner, for four salutes, as he went off the admiral; ten pieces in gold, to the value of - - - -	12	0	0
Item, Paid the scrivener, for writing out the league made betwixt him and the lord Lambert, when they joined their forces together; -	15	0	0
Item, For a great sharp knife, to cut his meat according to his stomach, with an agate handle; - - - - -	2	4	1
Item, For caudles, devoured by his lady every morning, for these last three months; - - - - -	60	7	2
Item, Allowed sir Harry Vane, to pay for the exchange of money which he transferred into Holland, - - - -	500	0	0
Item, Allowed him, to buy him Fortunatus's cap, - -	500	0	0
Item, Given to colonel Cobbett, to buy him Mambrino's helmet, and the sword which St. George pulled out of the rock; in all, - -	400	0	0
Item, Disbursed to the lady Thomas, at the request of her father-in-law, to make her husband a new pair of horns; his old ones being now worn out, - - - - - -	470	0	0
Item, For new chairs for the council-chamber, and for brushing the hangings, and airing the room, for fear of any infection that the lord Lambert's enemies might leave behind them; - -	201	3	6
Item, For switches which the lord Lambert wore out when he interrupted the parliament, and for making clean his boots the next day; -	43	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Item, Bestowed upon Mr. Holland, to buy him six new iron chests, to lock up his money in, - - - - -	900	0	0
Item, Paid the herald for a new coat of arms for major-general Desborough, with this motto, 'God speed the plough;' - -	58	0	0
Item, Paid, for new-matting one of his bed-chambers, - -	16	2	2
Item, Paid the lord Whitlock, for his great Swedish cat; that it might be kept in the Tower as one of the lord Lambert's chattels, for the public benefit and satisfaction of the nation, - - -	100	0	0
Item, Paid the fellow that cut the lord Lambert's corns, the day before he went out of town; - - - - -	5	10	0
Item, For a tinder-box for the lord Lambert, with a thousand card-matches to light his candles with, when he waked in the night; -	16	15	10
Item, For half a score new lasts for the committee, to set their consciences upon when they began to pinch them; - - -	30	7	0
Item, Taken by Mr. Cor. Holland; to satisfy himself for an old debt owing him by king James, paid no less than twice before, - -	5000	0	0
Item, taken by the lord Whitlock, to satisfy himself for his ambassy into Swedeland, - - - - - - -	20000	0	0
Item, Given to Mr. Thankful Owen, a small collop to etch out his fortunes; - - - - - -	400	0	0
Item, Given to Mr. Brandrith, because he had never any thing given him before, - - - - - -	1000	0	0
Item, Presented by the whole committee to the lady Lambert a tooth-pick-case of gold, beset all over with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, that cost - - - - - -	1500	0	0
Item, For a bundle of rods, and urine to soak them in; which rods were prepared for those that voted the lord Lambert out of commission; -	70	10	5
Item, Given to cardinal Mazarine; to shew him there was money stirring then in England, as well as in the Protector's time; -	50000	0	0
Item, Bestowed upon colonel Salmon, to buy him borage-water, and syrup of gilly-flowers, to keep up his heart; by reason of his continual sighing, - - - - - -	500	0	0
Item, Laid out of my own purse, for several collations and dinners both in Fish-street, and elsewhere, - - - -	250	0	0
Item, For bottles of wine spent in my own house, - - -	100	0	0
Item, For banqueting-stuff, and sweet-meats of all sorts, for my wife to entertain visitants; and for six new Flanders laced smocks; -	300	0	0
Item, For a neck-lace of oriental pearl, and three diamond-rings, and a silver warming-pan; - - - - -	400	10	6
Item, For a new great powdering-tub, and a suit of tapestry hangings;	61	5	0
Item, Laid out one-hundred thousand pounds, which was carried down to the banks of the river Tweed by way of temptation; which, being utterly refused, was afterwards distributed into private quarters; which is all the account I am able to give of it, - - -	100000	0	0
Item, Paid the under-clerks of the committee several sums of money spent in ale-houses, and bawdy-houses, according to their several accounts, amounting in all to - - - - -	183	0	0
Item, Paid Politicus, to make good several sums of money by him lost in bowling-greens, and at the comb-makers' ordinary, - -	505	0	0
Item, For capers, samphire, and olives, and ten bushels of Kentish pippins for lambs-wool, (being all very scarce commodities in the North,) to furnish the lord Lambert's table; - - - -	700	6	2
Item, For a hundred bottoms of packthread; but for what use I know not, - - - - - -	103	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Item, For ink, paper, pens, wax, and blue dust; - -	1000	0	0
Item, For a hundred-thousand pounds of great candles, and given in as a gratuity to the chandler's boy, for bringing them in; - -	2500	0	0
Item, Paid to link-boys, for lighting the commissioners and council of officers home to their lodgings; - - - - -	94	0	0
Item, Paid unto the centinels, for pissing near the guard; - -	57	3	6
Item, For East-India night-gowns for the commissioners, and the rest of the officers, and for night-caps for them; - - -	233	0	0
Item, Paid the chaplains for three fast-days, and for pome-citron to keep the commissioners' empty stomachs from wambling; - -	789	0	0
Item, For twelve pair of cut-finger'd gloves for myself to write in; -	10	0	0
Item, For coffee, which the commissioners drank every morning, especially when they had got a dose over night; - - -	340	10	0
Item, Towards the repairing the ruins of Troy; - - -	20000	0	0
Item, For whips, tops, and jointed-babies, for the commissioners' younger children; - - - - -	89	7	0
Item, For writing out the instrument of government seven times over;	50	0	0
Item, Allowed colonel Hewson, for his charges at the sessions-house;	495	0	0
Item, For three blue beans in a blue bladder; - - -	93	0	0
Item, Paid to Lilly, for casting the nativities of the commissioners' children; - - - - - - - -	500	0	0
Item, Given to sir Harry Vane, to raise a regiment of Anabaptists, -	3000	0	0
Item, Bestowed by his appointment upon inciters, promoters, and instigators; - - - - - -	1000		0
Item, Given, as a present to the pope, by the said sir Harry, for several and sundry courtesies done him by his Holiness, - -	20000	0	0
Item, For a hundred new cords, which were to be used when the lord Lambert came to town, and also for new setting the axe in the Tower; -	204	5	10
Item, For a very strong padlock to be hung upon the parliament-house door, and a silver key, which was to be delivered to St. Peter, to be by him kept till the lord Lambert should call to him for it; - -	110	12	8
Item, Given the porter of Wallingford-house, for letting the officers in and out, and sitting up all hours in the night; - -	100	0	0
Item, For drawing the mortgage of my lord Lambert's house and lands, and for fees to the council; - - - - -	200	0	0
Item, For a new riding-hat for his lordship, because he was told, that that which he wore in the day of his wrath, made him look like a Finsbury archer; - - - - -	10	0	0
Item, Bestowed in new-years gifts one upon another, every one giving out of the public stock; - - - - -	7000	0	0
Item, For a paddle, staff, and brown bill, for major-general Desborough, when his worship pleases to walk his grounds; - -	7	10	0
Item, Paid to Mr. Saloway for raisins, currants, and prunes, at excessive rates, for the keeping of Christmas; - - -	2000	0	0
Item, Laid out for turbans, sashes, and scimitars for the lord Lambert, and the rest of his adherents; which made men think they would have turned Turks, had they come into power; - - -	9556	0	0
Item, To the great officers in the commonwealth of Oceana, the Polemarch, the Strategus, and my lord Epimonus; to buy them figs, melons, and yellow hats; - - - - -	10000	0	0
Item, Given in charity to the state of Venice, who are the bulwark of Christendom; - - - - -	12000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Item, Laid out upon a great hog-trough to be set up in Rumford, as a trophy of their public magnificence; - - -	3000	0	0
Item, Sent into Lapland for the retaining of a certain necromancer, who was to assist them in the carrying on their great work; - -	5000	0	0
Item, For black wool and civet, to stop the ears of the committee and council of officers from hearing any thing that might tend to their own, or the good of the nation; - - - - -	50	0	0
Item, Laid out for a new sceptre, for his intended Highness the lord Lambert; - - - - - - -	500	0	0
Item, For granados to fire the city; - - - -	100	0	0
Item, Paid for a pound of May-butter, made of a cow's milk that fed upon Hermon-hill, given to the lady Lawrence for pious uses; -	87	10	0
Item, Given to a projector, toward a certain design which he had to bring over an enchanted castle, to secure the lord Lambert's foes in; -	5000	0	0
Item, Paid to another projector, towards a design which he had to look into the middle of the Western Ocean, for a great Spanish galleon that was sunk with the weight of the gold that she carried, some thirty years ago; - - - - - - -	2500	0	0
Item, For a fair pair of tables, with several bales of dice, that those commissioners, who cared not to trouble themselves with the affairs of the nation, might not want something to pass the time away withal; -	57	5	0
Item, For nine mill-stones for the lord Lambert's nine worthies to wear about their necks instead of Georges, and for blue ribbons to hang them in; - - - - - -	500	0	0
Item, For one of the emperor of Russia's cast fur-gowns, for the lord Wareston to wear while he was president of the committee; -	754	0	0
Item, For a shoe-maker's measure, to be provided by colonel Hewson, for the commissioners to take the length of the people's feet; -	23	0	0
Item, For a ton of sallet-oil, to make their tongues glib, when they were to talk with the aldermen and common-council; - -	233	12	6
Item, Paid the lord Fleetwood, for scraps given to the beggars at his door, - - - - - - -	300	0	0
Item, For twenty pair of castanets, for the ladies to dance serrabands at sir Harry Vane's son's wedding; - - - - -	50	0	0

Item, Paid to the army, never a farthing.

Item, Paid to the navy, as much.

The sum total, amounting to four-hundred thirty-thousand pounds.

Thus your Honours may see how vainly and profusely we have squandered away a very considerable sum, which your Honours had carefully laid up for better and more important uses. I shall only say this, in the behalf of my masters; that if you please not to be rigorous with them, and to call them to any further account, they will take it not a little courteously, and be bound to pray for your Honours: though if your Honours think fit to do otherwise, I do believe the whole nation in general will be more indebted to your justice.

A WINTER-DREAM.

——Quæ me suspensum insomnia terrent?
Sæpe futurarum præsagia somnia rerum. Virg.

Printed *Anno Domini QuanDo ReX AngLoruM VectI victItabat CaptIvus*, 1649.

[Quarto; containing twenty-two pages.]

The Printer to the Reader.

BECAUSE the interpretation of this dream may be obvious to all capacities, I have presumed, with the author's leave, to prefix here the names of those countries he hints at.

1. The States of Holland.
2. High Germany.
3. The Kingdom of Naples.
4. The Republick of Venice.
5. The Kingdoms of Spain.
6. The Kingdom of France.
7. The Kingdoms of England, and the Confusions thereof, by way of Apology.
8. The Scots.

IT was in the dead of a long winter-night, when no eyes were open but watchmen and centinels, that I was fallen soundly asleep; the cinque out-ports were shut up closer than usually, and my senses so treble-locked, that the moon, had she descended from her watery orb, might have done much more to me than she did to Endymion, when he lay snoaring upon the brow of Latmus's hill; nay (be it spoken without profaneness) if a rib had been taken out of me that night, to have made a new model of a woman, I should hardly have felt it.

Yet, though the cousin-german of death had so strongly seized thus upon the exterior parts of this poor tabernacle of flesh, my inward were never more active, and fuller of employments, than they were that night:

Pictus imaginibus, formisque fugacibus adstat
Morpheus, & variis fingit nova vultibus ora.

Methought, my soul made a sally abroad into the world, and fetched a vast compass; she seemed to soar up and slice the air, to cross seas, clamber up huge hills, and never rested till she had arrived at the Antipodes. Now, some of the most judicious geometricians and chorographers hold, that the whole mass of the earth being round like the rest of her fellow-elements, there are places, and poising parts of the continent; there are peninsulas, promontories, and islands upon the other face of the earth, that correspond and concenter with all those regions and islands that are upon the superficies which we tread; countries that symbolize with them in qualities, in temperature of air and clime, as well as in nature of soil. The inhabitants also of those places, which are so perpendicularly opposite, do sympathize one with another in disposition, complexions, and humours, though the astronomers would have their East to be our West, and so all things *vice versâ* in point of position; which division of the heaven is only man's institution.

But, to give an account of the strange progress my soul made that night; the first country she lighted on was a very low flat country; and it was such an odd amphibious country, being so indented up and down with rivers, and arms of the sea, that I made a question whether I should call it water or land; yet, though the sea be invited and

ushered in into some places, he is churlishly penned out in some others; so that, though he foam and swell, and appear as high walls hard by, yet they keep him out, maugre all his roaring and swelling.

As I wandered up and down in this watery region, I might behold from a streight strong dike, whereon I stood, a strange kind of forest; for the trees moved up and down; they looked afar off, as if they had been blasted by thunder, for they had no leaves at all; but, making a nearer approach unto them, I found they were a numberless company of ship-masts, and before them appeared a great town[1] incorporated up and down with water.—As I mused with myself upon the sight of all this, I concluded that the inhabitants of that country were notable industrious people, who could give law so to the angry ocean, and occupy those places where the great Leviathan should tumble and take his pastime in.

As my thoughts ran thus, I met with a man, whom I conjectured to be betwixt a merchant and a mariner; his salutation was so homely, the air also was so foggy, that methought it stuck like cobwebs in his mustachoes; and he was so dull in point of motion, as if his veins had been filled with butter-milk in lieu of blood. I began to mingle words with him, and to expostulate something about that country and people; and then I found a great deal of downright civilities in him. He told me that they were the only men who did miracles of late years; "Those innumerable piles of stones, you see before you in such comely neat fabricks, is a place (said he) that, from a fish-market in effect, is come to be one of the greatest marts in this part of the world; which hath made her swell thrice bigger than she was fifty years ago: and as you behold this floating forest of masts before her mole; so, if you could see the foundations of her houses, you should see another great forest; being reared from under ground upon fair piles of timber, which, if they chance to sink in this marshy soil, we have an art to screw them up again. We have, for seventy years and above, without any intermission, except a short-lived truce that once was made, wrestled with one of the greatest potentates upon earth, and borne up stoutly against him; gramercy our two next neighbour kings, and their reason of state, with the advantage of our situation. We have fought ourselves into a free state, and now quite out of that ancient allegiance we owed him; and though we pay twenty times more in taxes of all sorts, than we did to him, yet we are contented. We have turned war into a trade, and that which useth to beggar others, hath benefited us. Besides, we have been, and are still the rendezvous of most discontented subjects, (when, by the motions of unquiet consciences, in points of religion, or by the fury of the sword, they are forced to quit their own countries,) who bring their arts of manufacture and moveables hither; insomuch that our lombards are full of their goods, and our banks superabound with their gold and silver which they bring hither in specie. To secure ourselves, and cut the enemy more work, and to engage our confederates in a war with him, we have kindled fires in every corner; and now that they are together by the ears, we have been content lately (being long wooed thereunto) to make a peace with that king to whom we once acknowledged vassalage: which king, out of a height of spirit, hath spent five-hundred times more upon us for our reduction, than all our country is worth; but now he hath been well contented to renounce and abjure all claims and rights of sovereignty over us: insomuch that, being now without an enemy, we hope, in a short time, to be masters of all the commerce in this part of the world, and to eat our neighbours out of trade in their own commodities. We fear nothing but that excess of wealth, and a surfeit of ease, may make us careless, and breed quarrels among ourselves; and that our general, being married to a great king's daughter, may"——

Here he suddenly broke the thread of his discourse, and got hastily away; being hailed by a ship that was sailing hard by.

Hereupon my soul took wing again, and cut her way through that foggy condensed air, till she lighted on a fair, spacious, clear continent, a generous and rich soil, mantled up and

[1] Amsterdam.

down with large woods; where, as I ranged to and fro, I might see divers fair houses, towns, palaces, and castles, looking like so many carcases; for no human soul appeared in them. Methought I felt my heart melting within me, in a soft resentment of the case of so gallant a country; and, as I stood at amaze, and in a kind of astonishment, a goodly personage makes towards me, whom, both for his comportment, and countenance, I perceived to be of a finer mould than that companion I had met withal before. By the trace of his looks, I guessed he might be some nobleman that had been ruined by some disaster. Having accosted him with a fitting distance, he began in a masculine strong-winded language, full of aspirations and tough collisions of consonants, to tell me as followeth: "Sir, I find you are a stranger in this country, because you stand so aghast at the devastations of such a fair piece of the continent: then know, sir, (because I believe you are curious to carry away with you the causes thereof,) that these rueful objects, which you behold, are the effects of a long lingering war, and of the fury of the sword; a cruentous civil-war, that hath raged here above thirty years. One of the grounds of it was the unfortunate undertaking of a prince, who lived not far off, in an affluence of all earthly felicity; he had the greatest lady to his wife, the best purse of money, the fairest stable of horses, and choicest library of books, of any other of his neighbour princes. But being by desperate and aspiring counsels put upon a kingdom, while he was catching at the shadow of a crown, he lost the substance of all his own ancient possessions. By the many powerful alliances he had, (which was the cause he was pitched upon,) the feud continued long: for, among others, a Northern king took advantage to rush in, who did a world of mischiefs; but, in a few years, that king and he found their graves in their own ruins, near upon the same time.—But now, (may Heaven have due thanks for it!) there is a peace concluded; a peace which hath been fourteen long years a-moulding, and will, I hope, be shortly put in execution: yet it is with this fatal disadvantage, that the said Northern people, besides a mass of ready money we are to give them, are to have firm footing, and a warm nest, ever in this country hereafter; so that I fear we shall hear from them too often." Upon these words this noble personage fetched a deep sigh, but in such a generous manner, that he seemed to break and check it before it came half forth.

Thence my soul taking her flight over divers huge and horrid cacuminous mountains, at last I found myself in a great populous town; but her buildings were miserably battered up and down: she had a world of palaces, castles, convents, and goodly churches. As I stepped out of curiosity into one of them, upon the west-side there was a huge grate, where a creature all in white beckoned at me: making my approach to the grate, I found her to be a nun; a lovely creature she was, for I could not distinguish which was whiter, her hue or her habit, her veil or her face. It made me remember (though in a dream myself) that saying, 'if dreams and wishes had been true, there had not been found 'a true maid to make a nun of, ever since a cloistered life began first among women.' I asked her the reason how so many ugly devastations should befall so beautiful a city? She, in a dolorous gentle tone, and ruthful accents, the tears trickling down her cheeks like so many pearls, (such pearly tears that would have dissolved a diamond,) sobbed out unto me this speech: "Gentle sir, it is far beyond any expressions of mine, and indeed beyond human imagination, to conceive the late calamities which have befallen this fair, though unfortunate city. A pernicious popular rebellion broke out here, upon a sudden, into most horrid barbarisms; a fate that hangs over most rich popular places, that swim in luxury and plenty: but touching the grounds thereof, one may say, that rebellion entered into this city, as sin first entered into the world, by an apple. For our king (now in his great extremities) having almost half the world banding against him, and putting but a small tax upon a basket of fruit, to last only for a time; this fruit-tax did put the people's teeth so on edge, that it made them gnash against the government, and rush into arms: but they are sensible now of their own follies, for I think, never any place suffered more in so short a time. The civil combustions abroad, in other kingdoms, may be said to be but small squibs, compared to those horrid flakes of fire which have raged here; and much ado we had to keep our Vestal fire free from the fury of it. In less than the re-

volution of a year, it consumed above fourscore-thousand souls within the walls of this city. But it is not the first time of forty, that this luxurious foolish people have smarted for their insurrections and insolencies; and that this mad horse hath overthrown his rider, and drawn a worse upon his back; who, instead of a saddle, put a pack-saddle and panniers upon him. But, indeed, the voluptuousness of this people was grown ripe for the judgment of Heaven."—She was then beginning to expostulate with me about the state of my country, and I had a mighty mind to satisfy her; for I could have corresponded with her, in the relation of as strange things; but, the lady abbess calling her away, she departed in an instant; obedience seemed to be there so precise and punctual.

I steered my course thence through a most delicious country, to another city, that lay in the very bosom of the sea. She was, at first, nothing else but a kind of posy, made up of dainty green hillocks, tied together by above four-hundred bridges, and so coagulated into a curious city. Though she be espoused to Neptune very solemnly once every year, yet she still reserves her maidenhead, and bears the title of the Virgin-city in that part of the world: but I found her tugging mainly with a huge giant, that would ravish her. He hath shrewdly set on her skirts, and a great shame it is, that she is not now assisted by her neighbours; and that they should be together by the ears, when they should do so necessary a work; considering how that great giant is their common enemy, and hath lately vowed seven years war against her: especially considering, that if he comes once to ravish her, he will quickly ruin them; she, to her high honour be it spoken, being their only rampart against the incursion of the said giant, and, by consequence, their greatest security.

From this maiden-city, methought, I was in a trice carried over a long gulf, and so through a midland sea, into another kingdom, where I felt the clime hotter by some degrees; a rough-hewn soil, for the most part, it was, full of craggy barren hills; but where there were valleys and water enough, the country was extraordinarily fruitful; whereby nature, it seems, made her a compensation for the sterility of the rest. Yet, notwithstanding the hardships of the soil, I found her full of abbeys, monasteries, hermitages, convents, churches, and other places of devotion. As I roved there a while, I encountered a grave man in a long black cloke; by the fashion whereof, and by the brims of his hat, I perceived him to be a jesuit. I closed with him, and questioned with him about that country. He told me, "the king of that country was the greatest potentate of that part of the world; and, to draw power to a greater unity, they of our order could be well contented, that he were universal head over temporals; because it is most probable to be effected by him, as we have already one universal head over spirituals. This is the monarch of the mines, (I mean of gold and silver,) who furnishes all the world, but most of all his own enemies, with money; which money foments all the wars in this part of the world. Never did any earthly monarch thrive so much in so short a tract of time; but of late years he hath been ill-favouredly shaken by the revolt and utter defection of two sorts of subjects, who are now in actual arms against him, on both sides of him, at his own doors. There hath been also a long deadly feud betwixt the next tramontan kingdom and him, though the queen that rules there be his own sister; an unnatural odious thing. But it seems God Almighty hath a quarrel of late years with all earthly potentates: for, in so short a time, there never happened such strange shocks and revolutions. The great emperor of Ethiopia hath been outed, he and all his children, by a petty companion. The king of China (a greater emperor than he) hath lost almost all that huge monarchy by the incursion of the Tartar, who broke over the wall upon him. The Grand-Turk hath been strangled, with thirty of his concubines. The emperor of Muscovy hath been content to beg his life of his own vassals, and to see before his face divers of his chief officers hacked to pieces; and their heads cut off and steeped in strong-water, to make them burn more bright in the market-place. Besides the above-mentioned, this king hath also divers enemies more; yet he bears up against them all indifferently well, though with infinite expence of treasure; and the church, especially our society, hath stuck close unto him in these his exigents. Whence may be inferred, that let men repine as long as they

will at the possessions of the church, they are the best anchors to a state in a storm, and in time of need, to preserve it from sinking: besides, acts of charity would be quite lost among men, did not the wealth of the church keep life in them." Hereupon, drawing a huge pair of beads from under his cloke, he began to ask me of my religion. I told him I had a long journey to go, so that I could not stay to wait on him longer: so we parted, and methought I was very glad to be rid of him so well.

My soul then made another flight over an assembly of hideous high hills, and lighted under another clime, on a rich and copious country resembling the form of a lozenge; but methought I never saw so many poor people in my life. I encountered a peasant, and asked him what the reason was that there should be so much poverty in a country where there was so much plenty? "Sir, they keep the commonalty poor in pure policy here; for, being a people, (as the world observes us to be,) that are more humorous than others, and that love variety and change; if we were suffered to be pampered with wealth, we would ever and anon rise up in tumults, and so this kingdom should never be quiet; but subject to intestine broils, and so to the hazard of any invasion. But there was of late a devilish cardinal, whose humour, being as sanguine as his habit, and working upon the weakness of his master, hath made us not only poor, but stark beggars; and we are like to continue so by an eternal war, wherein he hath plunged this poor kingdom; which war must be maintained with our very vital spirits; but, as dejected and indigent as we are, yet upon the death of that ambitious cardinal, we had risen up against this, who hath the vogue now, (with whom he hath left his principles,) had not the fearful example of our next transmarine Western neighbours, and the knowledge we have of a worse kind of slavery of those endless arbitrary taxes, and horrid confusions they have fooled themselves lately into, utterly deterred us; though we have twenty times more reason to rise than ever they had. Yet our great city hath shewed her teeth, and gnashed them ill-favouredly of late; but we find she hath drawn water only for her own mill: we fare little the better, yet we hope it will conduce to peace, which hath been so long in agitation." I cannot remember how I parted with that peasant, but, in an instant, I was landed upon a large island, and methought it was the most temperate region I had been in all the while: the heat of the sun there is as harmless as his light; the evening-serenes are as wholesome there as the morning-dew; the dog-days as innocuous as any of the two equinoxes. As I ranged to and from that fair island, I espied a huge city, whose length did far exceed her latitude; but neither, for length or latitude, did she seem to bear any political proportion with that island. She looked, methought, like the jesuit's hat whom I had met withal before, whose brims were bigger than the crown, or like a petticoat, whose fringe was longer than the body. As I did cast my eyes upwards, methought I discerned a strange inscription in the air, which hung just over the midst of that city, written in such huge visible characters, that any one might have read it, which was this: 'Woe be to the bloody city!'

Hereupon, a reverend bishop presented himself to my view: his grey hairs and grave aspect struck in me an extraordinary reverence of him; so, performing those compliments which were fitting, I asked him of the condition of the place? He, in a submissive sad tone, with clouds of melancholy waving up and down his looks, told me: "Sir, this island was reputed, few years since, to have been in the completest condition of happiness of any part on earth; insomuch, that she was repined at for her prosperity and peace by all her neighbours, who were plunged in war round about her: but now she is fallen into as deep a gulf of misery and servitude, as she was in a height of felicity and freedom before. Touching the grounds of this change, I cannot impute it to any other than to a surfeit of happiness: now there is no surfeit so dangerous as that of happiness. There are such horrid divisions here, that if they were a-foot in hell, they were able to destroy the kingdom of Satan. Truly, sir, there are crept in more opinions among us about matters of religion, than the Pagans had of old of the *summum bonum*, which Varro saith were three-hundred; the understandings of poor men were never so puzzled and distracted; a great while there were two opposite powers, who swayed here in a kind of equality, that people knew not whom to obey: many thousands complied with both, as the men of

Calecut, who adore God and the Devil, *tantum squantum*, as it is in the Indian language; the one for love, the other for fear. There is the most monstrous kind of wild liberty here that ever was upon earth: that which was complained of as a stalking-horse to draw on our miseries at first, is now only in practice, which is mere arbitrary rule; for now both law, religion, and allegiance are here arbitrary. Touching the last, it is quite lost: it is permitted that any one may prate, preach, or print what they will, in derogation of their anointed king; which word *king* was once a monosyllable of some weight in this island, but it is as little regarded now as the word *pope*, among some, which was also a mighty monosyllable once among us. The rule of the law is, that the king can do no wrong; there is a contrary rule now crept in, that the king can receive no wrong; and truly, sir, it is a great judgment both upon prince and people: upon the one, that the love of his vassals should be so alienated from him; upon the other, that their hearts should be so poisoned, and certainly it is the effect of an ill spirit: both the one and the other, in all probability, tend to the ruin of this kingdom. I will illustrate this unto you, sir, by an apologue, as followeth:—There happened a shrewd commotion and distemper in the body-natural, betwixt the head and the members; not only the noble parts, some of them, but the common inferior organs also banded against him in a highway of unnatural presumption. The heart, which is the source of life, with the pericardium about it, did swell against him; the liver, which is the shop of sanguification, gathered ill blood; all the humours turned to choler against him; the arms lifted up themselves against him; neither back, hams, or knees would bow to him; nay, the very feet offered to kick him; the twenty-four ribs, the reins, the hypochondrium, the diaphragma, the meseraic, and emulgent veins, were filled with corrupt blood against him: yea, the hypogastrium and the bowels made an intestine war against him. While the feud lasted, it happened that these tumultuary members fell out amongst themselves: the hand would have all the fingers equal; nay, the toes would be of even length; and the rest of the subservient members would be independent. They grew so foolish, that they would have the fundament to be where the mouth is, the breast where the back, the belly where the brain, and the yard where the nose is; the shoulders should be no more said to be backwards, nor the legs downwards: a bloody quarrel fell betwixt the heart and the liver, which of them received the first formation, and whether of the two be the chiefest officine of sanguification; which question bred so much gall betwixt the Aristotelians and the Galenists. While this spleen and strange tympany of pride lasted, it caused such an ebullition and heat in the mass of blood, that it put the microcosm, the whole body, in a high burning fever, or frenzy rather; which, in a very short time, grew to be a hectick, and so all perished by a fatal consumption.

"I fear the same fate attends this unfortunate island; for such as was the condition of that natural head, this apologue speaks of, the same is the case of the politic head and body of this island. Never was sovereign prince so banded against by his own subjects; never was the patience of a prince so put upon the tenter; he is still no less than a captive; his children are in banishment in one country, his queen in another, the greatest queen of blood upon earth; a queen that brought with her the greatest portion that ever queen did in treasure; yet, in twenty years and upwards, her jointure hath not been settled as it should be; nor hath she been crowned all this while, according to matrimonial articles; notwithstanding that, for the comfort of this nation, and the establishment of the throne, she hath brought forth so many hopeful princes.

"But now, sir, because I see you are so attentive, and seem too much moved at this discourse; as I have discovered unto you the general cause of our calamities, which was not only a satiety, but a surfeit of happiness; so I will descend now to a more particular cause of them. It was a Northern nation that brought these cataracts of mischief upon us; and you know the old saying,

'Out of the North
'All ill comes forth.'

Far be it from me to charge the whole nation herewith; no, but only some pernicious in-

struments, that had insinuated themselves, and incorporated among us, and swayed both in our court and councils. They had a hand in every monopoly; they had, out of our Exchequer and Customs, near four-hundred thousand crowns in yearly pensions, *viis & modis;* yet they could not be content, but they must puzzle the peace and policy of this church and state: and, though they are people of different intellectuals, different laws, customs, and manners unto us; yet, for matter of conscience, they would bring our necks into their yoke, as if they had a greater talent of reason, and clearer illuminations; as if they understood Scripture better, and were better acquainted with God Almighty, than we, who brought them first from paganism to Christianity, and also to be reformed Christians. But, it seems, matters have little thriven with them; nay, the visible hand of Heaven hath been heavily upon them divers ways, since they did lift their hands against their native king. For, notwithstanding the vast sums they had hence, yet is the generality of them as beggarly as ever they were; besides, the civil sword hath raged there as furiously as here, and did as much execution among them. Moreover, the pestilence hath been more violent and sweeping in their chief town, than ever it was since they were a people. And now lately there is the notablest dishonour befallen them, that possibly could light upon a nation; in that seven-thousand of ours should, upon even ground, encounter, kill, slay, rout, and utterly discomfit thrice as many of theirs; though as well appointed and armed as men could be. And truly, sir, the advantages, that accrue to this nation, are not a few, by that exploit: for, of late years, that nation was cried up abroad to be a more martial people than we, and to have baffled us in open field in divers traverses; besides, I hope a small matter will pay now their arrearages here and elsewhere; but principally, I hope they will not be so busy hereafter in our court and council, as they have been formerly.

" Another cause of our calamity is a strange race of people sprung up among ourselves, who were confederate with those of the North. They would make God's house clean, and put out the candle of all ancient learning and knowledge; they would sweep it only by the light of an *ignis fatuus;* but it is visibly found, that they have brought much more rubbish into it: and whereas, in reforming this house, they should rather find out the groat that is lost, they go about to take away the mite that is left; and so put Christ's spouse to live on mere alms. True it is, there is a kind of zeal that burns in them, (and I could wish there were as much piety,) but this zeal burns with too much violence and presumption, which is no good symptom of spiritual health; it being a rule, that as the natural heat, so the spiritual should be moderate, else it commonly turns to a frensy; and that is the thing, which causeth such a giddiness and distraction in their brains. This proceeding from the suggestions of an ill spirit, puffs them up with so much mental pride: for the devil is so cunning a wrestler, that he oftentimes lifts men up, to give them the greater fall. They think they have an unerring spirit, and that their dial must needs go true, howsoever the sun goes: they would make the Gospel, as the Caddies make the Alcoran, to decide all civil temporal matters under the large notion of slander, whereof they to be the judges; and so in time to hook in all things into their *classis.* I believe, if these men were dissected, when they are dead, there would be a great deal of quicksilver found in their brains:

Proh Superi, quantum mortalia pectora cæcæ
Noctis habent! ——

" But I could pity the giddiness of their brains, had they not so much gall in their breasts; were they not so thirsting after blood, so full of poison and irreconcileable malice; insomuch that it may be very well thought, these men are a-kin to that race which sprung out of the serpent's teeth. These are they which have seduced our great council, and led this foolish city by the nose, to begin and foment this ugly war; insomuch, that if those numberless bodies, which have perished in these commotions, were cast into her streets, and before her doors, many thousand citizens' noses would bleed of pure guilt.

" Not to hold you long; these are the men who have baffled common sense, blasted the beams of nature, and offered violence to reason; these are they who have infatuated most of the people in this island; so that, whereas in times past, some called her the Isle

of Angels, she may be termed now the Isle of Gulls, or more properly the Isle of Dogs, or rather, indeed, the Isle of Wolves; there is such a true lycanthropy come in among us: I am loth to call her the Island of Devils, though she hath been branded so abroad.

"To conclude, sir; the glory of this isle is quite blasted. It is true, they speak of peace, but while the king speaks to them of it, they make themselves ready for battle. I much fear, that, Ixion-like, we embrace a cloud for peace, out of which there will issue out centaurs and monsters, as sprung out of that cloud.

"Touching that ancientest holy order, whereof you see me to be, I well hoped, that in regard they pretended to reform things only, they would not have quite extirpated, but regulated only, this order. It had been enough to have brailed our wings, not to have seared them; to have lopped and pruned, not to have destroyed root and branch of that ancient tree, which was planted by the hands of the Apostles themselves. In fine, sir, we are a lost people: it is no other Dædalus, but the high Deity of heaven, can clue us out of this labyrinth of confusions; can extricate us out of this maze of miseries. The philosopher saith, it is impossible for man to quadrate a circle; so it is not in the power of man, but of God alone, to make a loyal subject of a Roundhead. Among other things, that strangers report of this island, they say, 'That winter here hath too many tears in his 'eyes.' Alas! sir, it is impossible he should have too many now, to bewail the lamentable base slavery, that a free-born people is come to; and though they are grown so tame, as to kiss the rod that whips them, yet their task-masters will not throw it into the fire.

"Truly, sir, as my tongue is too feeble to express our miseries, so the plummet of the best understanding is too short to fathom the depth of them."

With this, the grave venerable bishop, giving me his benediction, fetched such a sigh that would have rended a rock asunder; and suddenly vanished, methought, out of my sight up towards heaven. I presently after awoke about the dawnings of the day, when one could hardly discern dog from wolf; and my soul, my *animula vagula blandula*, being re-entered through the horn-gate of Sleep into her former mansion, half tired after so long a peregrination; and having rubbed my eyes, distended my limbs, and returned to a full expergefaction, I began to call myself to account, touching those worlds of objects my fancy had represented unto me that night: and, when by way of reminiscence I fell to examine and ruminate upon them, Lord, what a mass of ideas ran in my head! but, when I called to mind the last country my soul wandered in, methought I felt my heart like a lump of lead within me, when I considered how pat every circumstance might be applied to the present condition of England.

I was meditating with myself, what kind of dream this might be: whereupon I thought upon the common division that philosophers make of dreams; that they are either divine, diabolical, natural, or human.

For the first, they are visions more properly or revelations, whereof there are divers examples in the holy oracles of God; but the puddled crannies of my brain are not rooms clean enough to entertain such. Touching the second kind, which come by the impulses of the devil, I have heard of divers of them; as when one did rise up out of his sleep, and fetched a poniard to stab his bedfellow; which he had done, had he not been awake: another went to the next chamber a-bed to his mother, and would have ravished her; but I thank God this dream of mine was not of that kind. Touching the third species of dreams, which are natural dreams, they are according to the humour which predominates: if melancholy sway, we dream of black darksome devious places; if phlegm, of waters; if choler, of frays, fightings, and troubles; if sanguine predominate, we dream of green fields, gardens, and other pleasant representations; and the physician comes often to know the quality of a disease by the nocturnal objects of the patient's fancy.

Human dreams relate to the actions of the day past, or of the day following: and some representations are clear and even; others are amphibious, mongrel, distorted, and squalid objects, according to the species of things in troubled matters; and the object is clear or otherwise, according to the tenuity or the grossness of the vapours which ascend from the ventricle up to the brain.

Touching my dream, I think it was of this last kind: for I was discoursing of, and con-

doling the sad distempers of our times, the day before. I pray God some part of it prove not prophetical: for, although the Frenchman saith, *songes sont mensonges*, 'dreams are 'delusions,' and that they turn to contraries; yet the Spaniard hath a saying,

Et ciego sonnava que via,
Y era lo que querria.
'The blind man dream'd he did see light,
'The thing he wish'd for happen'd right.'

Insomuch that some dreams oftentimes prove true: as St. Austin makes mention of a rich merchant in Milan, who being dead, one of his creditors comes to his son to demand such a sum of money which he had lent his father; the son was confident it was paid, but not finding the creditor's receipt, he was impleaded and like to be cast in the suit, had not his father's ghost appeared to him, and directed him to the place where the acquittance was, which he found the next day accordingly.—Galen speaks of one that dreamed he had a wooden leg; and the next day he was taken with a dead palsy in one whole side.—Such a dream was that of William Rufus, when he thought he had felt a cold gust passing through his bowels; and the next day he was slain in the guts, by the glance of an arrow, in New Forest, a place where he and his father had committed so many sacrileges.—I have read in Artemidorus, of a woman that dreamed she had seen the pictures of three faces in the moon like herself; and she was brought to bed of three daughters a little after, who all died within the compass of a month.—Another dreamed, that Xanthus's water ran red; and the next day he fell a-spitting blood.

To this, I will add another foretelling dream, whereof I have read, which was thus: two young gentlemen travelling abroad in strange countries, and being come to a great town; the one lay far in the city, the other in an hostry without the walls in the suburbs. He in the city did dream in the dead of night, that his friend which he had left in the suburbs rushed into his chamber, panting and blowing, being pursued by others; he dreamed so again, and the third time he might see his friend's ghost appearing at his bed's side with blood trickling down his throat, and a poniard in his breast, telling him, "Dear friend, I am come now to take my last farewell of thee; and if thou rise betimes, thou shalt meet me in the way going to be buried." The next morning, his friend going with his host towards the inn in the suburbs where he left his friend, they met with a cart laden with dung in the way, which being staid and searched, the dead body was found naked in the dung.

I will conclude with a notable dream that Osman the Great-Turk had, not many years since, a few days before he was murdered by his Janizaries, 1623. He dreamed that, being mounted upon a huge camel, he could not make him go, though he switched and spurred him never so much; at last the camel overthrew him, and being upon the ground, only the bridle was left in his hand, but the body of the camel was vanished. The Mufti not being illuminated enough to interpret this dream, a Santon, who was a kind of idiot, told him, the camel represented the Ottoman Empire, which he not being able to govern, he should be overthrown; which two days after proved true.

By these, and a cloud of examples more, we may conclude, that dreams are not altogether impertinent, but something may be gathered out of them; though the application and meaning of them be denied to man, unless by special illumination:

Somnia venturi sunt præscia sæpe diei.
'By dreams we oft may guess
'At the next day's success.'

Thus have you a rough account of a rambling noctivagation up and down the world. I may boldly say, that neither sir John Mandevile, nor Coryat himself, travelled more in so short a time. Whence you see what nimble postillions the animal spirits are; and with what incredible celerity the imagination can cross the line, cut the tropicks, and pass to the other hemisphere of the world; which shews, that human souls have something in them of the Almighty, that their faculties have a kind of ubiquitary freedom, though the body be never so under restraint, as the author's was.

The last country, that is here aimed at, is known already: I leave the application of the rest to the discerning reader, to whom only this dream is addressed.

News from Hell, Rome, and the Inns of Court; wherein is set forth the Copy of a Letter written from the Devil to the Pope. The true Copy of the Petition delivered to the King at York. The Copy of certain Articles of Agreement between the Devil, the Pope, and divers others. The Description of a Feast, sent from the Devil to the Pope; together with a short Advertisement to the high Court of Parliament, with sundry other Particulars. Published for the future Peace and Tranquillity of the Inhabitants of Great-Britain, by J. M.

Printed in the Year of Grace and Reformation, 1641.

[Quarto; containing twenty-two pages.]

To our dearly beloved Son, the most pious and most religious Primate of the Roman Church, and to all our dearly beloved Children the Cardinals and lordly Bishops in Europe. Haste, Haste, Post, Haste.

Your entire prince and god of this world, Lucifer, prince of darkness and superstition, king of Styx and Phlegethon, supreme lord of Gehenna, Tartaria, Colmakia, Samoyedia, Lappia, Corelia, and Colmagoria, prince Abyssus, and sole commander of Seberia, Altenia, Pecheora, and of all the infernal furies and their punies, the Jesuits, Priests, and Seminaries,

Sendeth greeting.

MOST dearly beloved son, and you our dutiful children, whose sanctity we reverence, whose persons we adore, whose wisdoms we admire; at whose policies we wonder, at whose power we muse, and at whose invincible stratagems we stand amazed.

Nor can we, in the first place, but extol, applaud, and most highly commend thee our dear son, for the extraordinary care in the advancement of our kingdom.

And, as next in place, the extraordinary diligent and vigilant care of all our beloved children the lordly bishops, in the advancement of our regal power to the great enlargement of our infernal dominions, by their rare and subtle plots and stratagems.

And in a more special manner we are pleased, through our infernal grace and favour, to extol them for this their present and excellent invention, in sowing discord amongst the English hereticks, as also in provoking the Scotch hereticks to an apparent opposition against the king; yea, so far as to an invasion of the territories of England: all which services are most dear and acceptable unto us.

In respect of which services, as also for their fidelity to us and our kingdom, we have caused our principal secretary of state, Don Antonio Furioso Diabello, to make an especial inrolment of their names in our calendar, amongst those our dear servants the plotters of the Gunpowder-treason; and the most renowned the complotters of the former invasion of England, in the year of grace 1588, and since the creation of the world 5609: both which services, although their events were no ways answerable to our royal expec-

tation; yet those instruments, that so freely adventured themselves in them, shall be ever renowned in our court-infernal, and most acceptable to our person.

And, for the better encouragement of these our trusty and well-beloved servants in the speedier advancement of this work, now intended for the utter extirpation of all hereticks, and increase of our regal power; we are pleased, by this our royal manual, to give unto them assurance of our aid and assistance, in the most efficacious manner that our princely power can extend unto; and, because our former stratagems, put in execution by our beloved cousin and counsellor the king of Spain, were by him no ways effected according to our princely expectation, we have now therefore imposed our princely command upon our beloved servant the king of France; at the humble suit made unto us, by our children the lordly bishops, and by some of our servants of greatest quality in the realm of England; as also by our servants the Jesuits and Roman-catholicks of England; to have a puissant army in readiness, for the invasion of England, at such a time, as those our children and servants shall conceive it most convenient and efficacious.

And further our will and pleasure is, that you our dear son shall still persist to stir up and encourage our children the archbishops, as also thy disciples and our loyal subjects and servants, the jesuits, priests, and seminaries, to this work; that they, with all their might, together with our powerful policies granted unto them, may strive to effect this work with all celerity; that we may once more see our kingdom of superstition re-established, in the monarchy of Great-Britain, and Ireland.

The motives, to be pressed, inducing them to the expeditious effecting of the same, are principally their respect to our kingly honour; and next, their own increase of greatness; for we promise and assure them, by the word of a king infernal, that every of them shall reign as princes under us, not only over the bodies and estates of men, but also over their souls, by and through the many infernal graces by us most freely and benignly conferred on them: and hereby, to make them the more sensible of these our several graces conferred on them, we are pleased therefore here at present to express but some few of them in particular; as, namely, pride, vain-glory, hypocrisy, self-love of themselves and of this present world, love of will-worship, and advancement of idolatry, together with that special gift of covetousness, the only pillar to all the rest of our infernal graces conferred on them.

Thirdly, In respect of the clear passage by us made for them, by setting the hereticks for this long time at variance amongst themselves, by our trusty servants the lawyers, and advancement of idolatry amongst them; the only means, in our princely wisdom, conceived to be to the breaking of the bond of unity and peace, thereby to provoke the great God of heaven to leave them to themselves, and to our powerful stratagems. We are likewise pleased to take special notice of that service by our children the lordly bishops, in working the dissolution of the assembly of parliament, in May last past, 1740; by which means nothing was effected for the good of hereticks, either concerning their church or commonwealth; so as the success of this design of ours was no way hindered. You are likewise to let them know from us, that the noblemen of England are disheartened, the gentry daunted, the commonalty divided, the number of our servants the Roman-catholicks infinitely increased, and the realm in general oppressed; not only by the sundry monopolies, but also by the invincible oppressing power of our children the lordly bishops, the multitude of our servants, corrupt judges, base-minded lawyers, seditious attorneys, and wooden-headed doctors of our civil-law, proctors, prothonotaries, registers, advocates, solicitors, and apparators; whom we have caused to swarm, like the Egyptian locusts, over all the land, for the sowing of discord, and blowing the coals of contention amongst all the inhabitants of the same; they having all of them, long since, received instructions by some of our infernal spirit, sent forth from us to that effect.

You are likewise to let them know, that out of our princely respect to them, and their damnable actions, for our honour; we are pleased to take special notice of that service which they most willingly endeavoured to effect, for the confusion of all the hereticks inhabiting England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Netherlands, by the late, conceived, in-

vincible Armada, procured from Spain in the year of our reign 5660; which, through the providence of the celestial powers then over them, and the disturbance of Martin Harper Trump, here below, failed of that success which we, together with them, expected and hoped for, to our no less sorrow than theirs.

Nor can we but applaud the diligent care taken by our children and servants of greatest quality in that kingdom, in preventing the discovery of that invasive plot, by the hereticks, and their small well-meaning state, through their speedy flight to Dover-road, and private conference there with Don Oquindo, the generalissimo of Spain, to that effect: all which was most exquisitely performed, especially by our Hispaniolized lack-Latin lord, our dearly beloved servant.

And, lastly, our hope is, that this present plot, set on foot by these our trusty and well-beloved children and servants, aforenamed; and by their earnest endeavours, and our assistance, once effected; will crown all our labours, to our unspeakable terrestrial glory, and their eternal favours, by us to be conferred on them in our royal palace of Perdition, where we have already imposed our royal command upon our trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Peoter Tretyacove, chancellor; Evane Becklemeesheve, our knight-marshall; Richardo Slowe, treasurer; and Don Serborus, grand-porter of our said palace, to give them free admittance into our royal presence.

Thus, no ways doubting of your singular care and diligence, in fulfilling this our royal will and pleasure hereby expressed, we do further impose our royal favour and princely respect to be by you presented unto our trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, your present nuncio in the court of England; as also unto our beloved children and servants, the bishops, jesuits, priests, and seminaries, our faithful agents in this invincible plot; and also to all our faithful subjects and servants, the Roman-catholicks of England.

We are pleased to remain your royal sovereign, and patron of all your damnable plots and stratagems now in hand.

Given at our infernal palace of Perdition, this first of September, and in the 5661st year of our most damnable reign.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above-written, we are credibly informed of the intention of a most scandalous petition, to be delivered by a small number of heretical lords unto their king at York, which doth not a little touch our honour, and the discovery of this our present stratagem: our express will and pleasure is, that there be some speedy course taken for the suppressing of the same, and the authors thereof severely punished; and Pomfret-castle allotted unto them for their abode, until our will and pleasure be further known, and this our design be effected. Of which fail you not, as you tender our royal favour, the success of this our design, and your own safety. Farewell.

Antonio Furioso Diabolo, principalio secretario.

Consider this, and mark the substance well;
It seems a letter from a fiend of hell:
Whate'er the form or method seem to be,
Th' intent thereof was quite the contrary.
Had not this rung a knell in some men's ears,
They had ne'er been freed from their slavish fears
Of tyranny, oppression, and the bishops' pride;
Judges, and lawyers; a wicked crew, beside,
Of doctors, proctors, that the realm did sway,
Trod under foot God's truth, turn'd night to day;
Strove to confound Great-Britain's monarchy,
Justice and truth pervert, advanc'd impiety:

And all, by this, Rome's doctrine to prefer,
Obey the Pope, and serve king Lucifer.
That is the cause, why them he doth applaud,
That he thereby, with them, may have the *Laud*;
And honour due, unto his servants all,
That strive, by him, to work Great-Britain's fall.

A true Copy of the Petition, which was, by the Lords, presented unto the King at York, September the Twelfth, 1640.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble petition of your majesty's most loyal subjects, whose names are hereunder subscribed, in the behalf of themselves and divers others.

Most gracious Sovereign;

THE sense of that duty we owe to God's sacred Majesty, and our nearest affection to the good and welfare of this your realm of England, have moved us, in all humility, to beseech your royal majesty to give us leave to offer to your princely wisdom, the apprehension which we, and others your faithful subjects, have conceived of the great distemper and danger now threatening this church and state, and your royal person; and of the fittest means to remove and prevent the same. The evils and dangers, whereof your majesty may be pleased to take notice of, are these: That your majesty's sacred person is exposed to hazard and danger, in this present expedition against the Scotch army; and that, by occasion of this war, your majesty's revenues are much wasted, your subjects burdened with cote and conduct-money, billeting of soldiers, and other military charges; and divers rapines and disorders committed, in several parts of this your realm, by the soldiers raised for that service; and the whole realm full of fears and discontentments.

The sundry innovations in matters of religion; the oath of canons lately imposed upon the clergy, and others of your majesty's subjects; the great increase of popery, and employing of popish recusants; and others ill affected unto religion are established in places of power and trust; especially in commanding of men and arms, both in the field, and in sundry other counties of this your realm; which by the laws are not permitted to have any arms in their own houses. The great mischief that may fall upon this kingdom, if the intention, which hath been credibly reported, of the bringing in of Irish and foreign forces should take effect; the heavy charge of merchants, to the great discouragement of trade; the multitude of monopolies, and other patents, whereby the commodities and manufactures of this kingdom are much burdened; to the great and universal grievances of your people, the great grief of your subjects; with the long intermission of parliaments, and the late and former dissolving of such as have been called, without the happy effects, which otherwise they might have produced. For remedy whereof, and prevention of the danger that may ensue to your royal person and the whole state, they do in all humility and faithfulness beseech your majesty, that you will be pleased to summon a parliament in some short and convenient time, whereby the causes of those and other great grievances, which your people suffer under, may be taken away; and the authors and counsellors of them may be brought to such legal trial, and condign punishment, as the nature of their offences shall require; and that the present war may be composed, by your majesty's wisdom, without bloodshed, in such a manner as may conduce to the honour of your majesty's person and safety, the comfort of your people, and uniting of both the realms against the common enemies of the reformed religion.

And your majesty's petitioners shall, &c.

The names of such earls and barons, as subscribed this petition, viz. Earls Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Mulgrave, Warwick, Bolingbroke, Rutland, Lincoln, and Exeter. Viscounts; Lord Say and Seal, Mandifield, Brooke, Hertford, North, Willoughby, Saville, Wharton, Lovelace, and Saint John.

Articles of Agreement, made, concluded, and done, this Twenty-eighth of September, in the Year of Grace 1641, and of the World 5662; by and between the High and Mighty Prince, Lucifer, King of Styx and Phlegethon, the Holy and most Superstitious Primate of the Roman Church, the Cardinals, Bishops, Jesuits, Priests, and Seminaries, of the one Party; and Judge Bribery, Lawyer Corruption, Attorney Contention, Solicitor Sedition, Justice Connivance, Jailor Oppression, and State Negligence, of the other Party; in Manner and Form following:

IMPRIMIS, It is this day mutually agreed, by and between the several parties above-named, that there shall be a league offensive and defensive, concluded and confirmed by both parties, at or before Holyrood-day next ensuing the date hereof.

Item, That, whereas there hath been lately, by the subtle practices of some parliamentary reformists, a discord and dissension raised between the state-ecclesiastick and the state of the inns of court, whereby there hath happened no small prejudice unto the ecclesiastic state; the like whereof is to be doubted may also fall upon the state of the inns of court, and so, consequently, upon the crown and dignity of our sovereign lord king Lucifer: It is, therefore, mutually agreed, that all former controversies and contentions between both parties shall cease; and that all unity, peace, and concord shall be embraced, on either side, according to the expressions in the precedent article; to the honour of our sovereign lord king Lucifer, his crown and dignity.

Item, It is agreed, that the said state of the inns of court, and the state-ecclesiastick aforesaid, shall jointly and severally use the uttermost of their strength, power, and policy, to resist and suppress all such proceedings of this present parliament, which shall any way tend to the reformation and suppression of oppression, extortion, bribery, contention, and tradition; and that they shall and will, with all their might, power, and policy, endeavour, and strive to broach, advance, and maintain all the said several impieties again; to the honour of our sovereign lord king Lucifer, his crown and dignity.

Item, It is agreed by and between our sovereign lord king Lucifer, and the whole state-ecclesiastick, of the one part, and judge Bribery; that forthwith, upon the dissolution of this present parliament, he the said judge Bribery is then again to put in practice the taking of bribes, passing of false judgment, and maintaining his false and corrupt sentences, and decrees, to be things sacred and infallible; oppressing the innocent by close imprisonment, and also favouring all jesuits, priests, and seminaries, if any of them happen by the instruments of justice to be laid hold on; animating and instructing all attorneys, solicitors, and clerks, for and to the sowing of strife and contention amongst the people of the land; to the honour of our sovereign lord king Lucifer, his crown and dignity.

Item, It is agreed by and between our sovereign lord king Lucifer, and lawyer Corruption; that he the said lawyer Corruption shall, notwithstanding any parliamentary reformation, still persist in taking fees, both of plaintiff and defendant, nor shall ever bring any honest cause to its period, until he hath, in fees, devoured the whole substance, both of plaintiff and defendant; neither shall he the said lawyer Corruption, ever, at any time, give any true and prevalent advice to any his clients, but shall delude and delay them until he hath drained them, as aforesaid, to the utter ruin of them, their wives and children;

to the honour of our sovereign lord king Lucifer, and the propagation of his crown and dignity.

To their own present, rich impiety, and assured successful perdition.

Item, It is agreed and concluded, by and between our sovereign lord king Lucifer and attorney Contention; that he the said attorney Contention shall and will, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, use his best diligence, to sow debate, strife, variance, and contention amongst the people of the land, without exception of persons; yea, he shall not omit to set the father against the son, and the son against the father; as also one brother against the other, to the utter ruin of their estates, houses, and families: to that end, he shall dispose of himself and all his imps, into all the quarters and several corners of the kingdom; neither shall there be any market-town, or place of habitation, but he shall seat himself there, to the intent and purpose aforesaid; to the honour of our sovereign lord king Lucifer, his crown and dignity, and to the advancement of the said science of iniquity.

Item, It is agreed by and between our sovereign lord king Lucifer, and solicitor Sedition; that he the said solicitor Sedition shall and will, at all times, use his best endeavour to stir up, animate, and encourage all people, of what condition, degree, and profession soever, unto suits in the law; and that he the said solicitor Sedition shall and will prove faithful unto all lawyers and attorneys, and shall and will be slow in the prosecution of any man's cause whatsoever, and spin out the thread thereof to its full length, especially in the courts of equity; by multiplicity of begetting orders, and by not omitting to have this clause inserted into every of his orders, *viz.* unless cause be shewed to the contrary, at the next court-day by the defendant; as also by falsifying of orders through the corrupting of registers, and corrupting of council in an honest cause, by deceiving his clients through false and unjust bills of charges, by bribing the judges of the several courts, and the masters of the Chancery, richly; to the honour of our sovereign lord king Lucifer, his crown and dignity, and the eternal damnation of solicitor Sedition.

Item, It is agreed and concluded *in perpetuum*, between our sovereign lord king Lucifer, and jailor Oppression; that whereas, through the rigour of the law, many poor Christian-souls are committed unto his keeping and safe custody for sundry causes, and sometimes for no just cause at all, he the said jailor Oppression shall and will, by himself, his clerks and servants, be void of all mercy and compassion towards them, and shall and will, as much as in him lieth, endeavour to work the utter ruin of the estates and lives of all such as shall be committed to his custody; and to that end, he the said jailor Oppression shall, nor will not be slack, in giving bribes, otherwise styled New-year's Gifts, yearly unto all the judges of the courts of justice, for and towards the better encouragement and animation of them, to the commitment of all such to prison as are or shall be brought before them on the least occasion; and that he the said jailor Oppression shall be ever ready to yield his daily attendance on the judges in their courts, thereby to stir them up to be mindful of him to that effect: and lastly, it is agreed and concluded, that he the said jailor Oppression shall and will, by himself and his servants, set such snares and gins for all those committed to his custody, that they, being once intrapped within his prison-doors, shall never find the way out, during the continuance of their lives, or of their estates, at least; to the honour of our sovereign lord king Lucifer, his crown and dignity, and to the eternal perdition of jailor Oppression.

Item, It is agreed by and between our sovereign lord king Lucifer, and justice Connivance; that he the said justice Connivance shall not, nor will have any regard or respect to the justness of any poor man's cause, nor shall ever incline his ear to any his just complaints; but shall and will ever connive and bear with the oppressor, defrauder, and deceiver: and that he the said justice Connivance shall and will ever prefer the value of a goose, a pig, a capon, a brace of partridges, a good fat sheep, a boar at Christmas, or a letter from a friend, written in favour of Sir Oppressor, Mr. Defrauder, and Dick Deceiver, far before justice itself, or the justness of any honest man's cause whatsoever; nor that he the said justice Connivance shall ever execute justice in any poor man's cause, but,

on the contrary, he shall oppress them, and have his mittimusses ready written by his clerk, Mr. Double-Fees, for the speedy commitment of them to prison; neither shall he ever incline his ear to hear their just complaints against the several golden persons of worship aforesaid: to the honour of our sovereign lord king Lucifer, his crown and dignity, and the benefit of jailor Oppression.

Item, It is agreed by and between our sovereign lord king Lucifer, and State-Negligence; that he the said State-Negligence shall ever prefer his own peace and present benefit, before the welfare and future prosperity of his king and country; and also, that he the said State-Negligence shall not at any time, take notice of the illegal proceedings in any of the courts of justice, nor shall addict himself, or ever endeavour to suppress, nor prevent, by any good or wholesome laws, the practice of tyranny, oppression, injustice, extortion, bribery, contention, idolatry, and the like; but shall and will solely addict himself unto the pastimes of hunting, hawking, gaming, and whoring, and the utter rejection of the present and future benefit and welfare of his native country: to the honour of our sovereign lord king Lucifer, the prosperity of his religious vicegerent, and the peace and tranquillity of all his servants, the jesuits, priests, seminaries, and Roman-catholicks of England.

In witness of the truth of these presents, and of every particular contained in the same, the parties above-named have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day aforesaid, and in the 5662d year of the reign of our most damnable sovereign lord king Lucifer, &c.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of us,

WILLIAM LAUD, Bishop.
NISI-PRIUS CRAULY, Judge.
BRIBING LONG, Justice.
CORRUPT FOUNTAIN, Lawyer.
JUMPING JUMPER, Attorney.
JAMES IN-GRAIN, Jailor.
ROBERT KILFART, Solicitor.
And RUDINE HAPHUDIBRASS CYTINKYCLOPARIUS, *Notarius Publicus.*

Here followeth a brief Relation of a great Feast, which, from Lucifer Prince of Hell, was, by the Hands of Cardinal Pegusious, presented to the View, Disposal, and Approbation of the Pope of Rome; in the Year of Jubilee, 1641.

Pope. MY lord cardinal Pegusious and you, the rest of my holy brethren, I beseech you view these excellent varieties, and variety of excellencies, well dressed and most exquisitely set forth and garnished. But the contents of every dish, I believe, is best known to you my lord Pegusious; from whom I desire to be satisfied concerning the contents, qualities, and operation, of every several dish.

Cardinal. May it please your holiness, these varieties of dishes, which your holiness here thus set forth, were all of them prepared for the only table of our high and mighty monarch, king Lucifer, your holiness's sole patron and protector; a certain number of which dishes his majesty hath graciously been pleased to cause them to be presented to your holiness's disposal, and the residue of them only to your holiness's view and approbation, being to be preserved for his majesty's own peculiar palate.

Pope I beseech you, my lord cardinal, let me have them brought hither before me, in order; according to the appointment of my sovereign, and most munificent patron.

Card. Your holiness's will and pleasure shall be accomplished; and here, in the first place, may it please your holiness to take notice, that the first dish, by his majesty's appointment, to be presented to your holiness's disposal, is this large Latin charger, containing twenty-two lordly English bishops; stewed with the fire of contention, on the chafing-dish of exasperation, and seasoned with the several spices of man's invention; as, with the spice of the mass, priesthood, holy-days, altars, candles, rails, holy-bread, holy-water,

holy-ashes, devout prayer for the dead, invocation of saints, offerings at the altars, excommunications, and the strong and operative spice of the high-commission. It is also garnished about with the several heretical doctrines of all the new intitled priests of England: and this dish his majesty hath appointed to be disposed of by your holiness.

Pope. I will surely taste of it; it looks lovely: oh, admirable! It is a most *Laud*-able dish of meat. I can find nothing wanting in this dish, but only three grains of the spice of accomplishment, and then it had been devoutly seasoned for my palate: but, I pray, what is the next dish, my lord?

Card. The next dish, may it please your holiness, is a silver charger, comprehending all the contrivers and complotters of the dissension between England and Scotland, of the last Spanish invasion of England, and the practisers with the French, for the subversion of all the hereticks in England, Scotland, and Ireland. It is seasoned with all our jesuitical practices, church-policies, and all our English-Roman-catholic treacheries, and garnished with all our English-Roman statists. This dish of meat is now almost cold, and therefore at this present unfit for your holiness's palate; it only wants the breath of the earl of Strafford's fiery zeal to heat it, by a laudable blast or two.

Pope. However, I pray let me taste of it. Oh, the Lamentation of a Sinner! Pity, pity, yea a thousand pities is it, that this dish had not been kept hot and seasoned to the proof; that we might have sung most laudably, *te Lucifer Laudamus.* But, my lord cardinal, what is the next dish?

Card. May it please your holiness, this dish contains a certain number of false and corrupt judges; it is seasoned with the spice of aged detestable covetousness, bribery, extortion, oppression, injustice, unmercifulness, and with perversion of all the statute-laws, garnished with ship-money, forest-money, loan-money, and a multitude of *Nisi-prius's:* but this dish is, by his majesty's special order, to be preserved for his own peculiar palate.

Pope. His majesty's will be done! I shall be ever ready and obedient to all his majesty's commands, nor will I presume to taste of it, but only pass my judgment on it; that it is a princely dish, fit only for his majesty's table.

What is the next, I pray, my lord?

Card. The next, may it please your holiness, is a large golden charger, containing a very great number of base-minded, covetous, unjust, extorting, and oppressing lawyers, who value every word by them uttered, at a bar of justice, at a far higher price than your holiness doth your bulls, issued forth for remission of sins; and these caterpillars his majesty king Lucifer hath brought into such great esteem with all the inhabitants of England, as that no man of quality thinks his house to stand, unless it be supported by one of those vermin pillars, and brood of contention. This dish is seasoned with the spice of extorting fees from one twenty-one-shillings piece, to five, to ten, yea, to twenty; especially by those, who are styled the judge's favourites: all this is given sometimes but for the speaking of two or three words; it is likewise seasoned with the taking of fees on both sides, deluding clients, spinning out the thread of an honest cause to its full length, until the purse-strings, both of plaintiff and defendant, crack; and then they are tied together, by a commission into the country, where these caterpillars are reverenced and feared like so many gods by all the people. This dish is garnished with some ten-thousand pestiferous petti-fogging, seditious, ten-groat attorneys; one of whose perfidious bills of charges, in one term, advances itself sometimes unto the sum of five, ten, twenty, yea, thirty pounds; especially, when he finds his client naturally inclined to the conditions of an ass: and, on every of these garnishes, hangs five coney-catching deceitful solicitors, properly termed lawyers' Limetwigs, Traps, or Nets, to catch the poor silly creatures called Clients; and this dish his majesty hath also reserved for his own table.

Pope. It is a princely dish, indeed, and fit only for the peculiar table of so great a monarch, as is our most damnable sovereign, king Lucifer; the operation and virtue of which dish is able to season a whole kingdom, to be fit meat for his majesty's palate; especially if there be but the operative spice added to it, called, the Action of the Case.

But what is this dish, my lord cardinal?

Card. May it please your holiness, this dish contains a certain number of base muck-worms, styled doctors of our civil-law, chancellors, and officials. This dish is also seasoned with unjust spice of extortion, oppression, fraud, and deceit, and garnished about with a most damnable crew of proctors, notaries, registers, delegates, advocates, sumners, and petty apparators: these have, for many years, proved notable instruments of strife and vexation unto the inhabitants of England, and through their deceivable ways, have mightily oppressed the people; being not much inferior unto the precedent of the golden charger.

But to this dish, may it please your holiness, there hath happened this year a very great mischance in the cooking; for, when we thought it should have been most laudably boiled up to its greatest height of Catholic operation, there happened a spider to fall into it, through a sudden blast of reformation, which hath made it somewhat dangerous now for your holiness to taste of: for the lamb, that was most richly seasoned in it, is now, through this sudden and unexpected misfortune, putrefied; and the duck, being a watery fowl, is quite dissolved; and this dish, by his majesty's special order, is to be left now to your holiness's disposal.

Pope. I am much bound to his majesty for his gracious favour to me herein; I shall be very careful, through deliberation, and mature consideration, to study, for the fittest disposal thereof, during the time of my vicegerency here; and then return it again to his majesty's disposal. But I pray you, my lord cardinal, what do these copper vessels contain?

Card. May it please your holiness, this covered mess is a gallimawfry; or, as the Fleming calls it, a hodgepodge, wherein are sundry meats stewed together: it contains a certain number of beasts, called corrupt Masters of the Chancery, and half a dozen corrupt clerks of the Chancery: also one-hundred and fifty of their puny clerks, commonly termed Attorneys in Chancery; it also contains six new attorneys of the Court of Requests, and some sixty of their puny clerks. This hodgepodge is seasoned with the spice of bribery, false witnesses, styled Knights of the Post; a spice greatly in request in those courts, especially in the examiners-office, and the late Coventry affidavit-office: but his majesty's special command is, to have this covered mess preserved in its present condition, lest contention should seize amongst the inhabitants of England, and unity and peace take place, which cannot but tend much to his majesty's detriment, and loss of dominion, in that kingdom; and, to that end, he hath caused the same to be sealed up, and to be conveyed from Coventry to Manchester by the golden finch.

Pope. Good, my lord cardinal, I beseech you, let his majesty's will and pleasure herein be very carefully accomplished, for it concerns much his majesty's honour and our safety.

But what is this dish, my lord?

Card. This, may it please your holiness, is likewise a hodgepodge, containing meats of sundry sorts and operations; it contains a certain number of prothonotaries, registers, and clerks of the Star-chamber, Chancery, Court of Requests, King's-bench, Common-pleas, and the Exchequer: this gallimawfry is seasoned with subornation of false witnesses, falsifying of orders and decrees; it is garnished with the subtle practices of the renter-warden of the Fleet, and his imps, as also with Killvert, Killfart, Killbennet, Killbishop, and the like instruments of lawyers' gain: the operation of this dish chiefly consists in the confusion of men's estates, to extract gold out of all men's purses, to suppress virtue and peace, and to advance iniquity and contention; to wrong and oppress every man, and to do right to no man.

And this mess is also to be reserved for his majesty's table.

Pope. Good, my lord cardinal, I pray you let me taste of this mess, the operation whereof, by your relation, appears to be admirable. I wish from my heart, that I might also grow capable of that virtue of extracting gold out of the English nation, as some of my predecessors have done before me. I confess, the study of this art was begun by my physician most laudably; but, alas! and woe is me, it was marred by a robustious storm of

wind out of the North, and quite spoiled by a vehement shower of puritanical rain. And what is this next mess, my lord?

Card. May it please your holiness, this is also a hodgepodge, containing sundry coarse meats, as scriveners, brokers, usurers, jailors, bailiffs, serjeants, informers, perjured churchwardens, justices of the peace, and bumbailiffs; this mess is seasoned with parchment, deceit, extortion, usury, oppression, murdering of Christian souls in prisons, through famine, false information, injustice, neglect, and tyranny; and is garnished with a number of irreligious mayors, sheriffs, fœderies, escheators, clerks of the assize, clerks of the peace, constables, and headboroughs. But this mess is, by his majesty's order, to be disposed of unto his servants.

Pope. Indeed, my lord cardinal, methinks this mess hath a very bitter relish with it, else my mouth is quite out of taste; I conceive it to be a mess fit only for his majesty's hell-hounds. But what is this last mess?

Card. I conceive this mess to be very well known to your holiness, for it is seasoned with most of those operative spices, that all the meat dressed in your holiness's kitchen, is seasoned with: this mess contains divers judicial birds of Middlesex, as namely, the long, the hearn, the snipe, the hooker, the jay, and the like of them; seasoned with the fees and bribes of all the whores and thieves that live in Westminster, Covent-garden, Holborn, Grub-street, Clerkenwell, Rosemary-lane, Turnbull-street, Ratcliff, Southwark, Bankside, and Kent-street; this dish is also garnished with the New-year's gifts of the whores, thieves, and cutpurses dwelling in the forenamed several places: but this mess is, by his majesty, reserved for his own peculiar palate.

Pope. Oh Venerable Bede! Oh holy Garnet! Oh sanctified Faux! Oh reverend Beckett! Oh beloved Ravilliack, Campion, Watson, Parsons, Moreton, Sands, and admired Bellarmine; I call you all to witness this day, whether you, or any of you, have ever, as yet, been capable of such a delicious feast, adorned with so many varieties, beautified with so many several rarities, and seasoned with such delectable spices, *Sancte Benedicte, ora pro nobis.*

And thus, rendering all humble and hearty thanks, with all reverence in all obedience, unto his majesty, our most damnable prince and protector, Lucifer, king of Styx and Phlegethon, I remain his majesty's humble servant, and vicegerent, at his majesty's sole disposal during life,

PAPA ROMANORUM

Advices and Motives to the Honourable Assembly in Parliament. E. S. I. E. W. J. S.

THE stake's three crowns, four nations gamesters are;
There's three to one, and yet no man that dare
Take these great odds? The cause is, as they say,
The fourth knows both our stock, and cards we play.
This turns the odds, and makes most gamesters think
We're but in jest, and play our cards, and wink.
The set goes hard, when gamesters think it best,
Though three men vie it, the fourth sets his rest.
My masters, you that undertake the game,
Look to't, your country's safety, and her fame
Are now at stake; be careful how you cut,
And deal, as known occasions put you to 't.
The cards are strangely shuffled, for your parts,
'Tis odds you ever get the ace of hearts:

Yet the five fingers, and some helps beside,
Lie in the pack dispers'd, be those your guide,
That you possess, to tell you what you want,
Lest the mistake of one poor trick should daunt
Your spirits quite, and make you fling away
Your liberty, not to be lost by play.
Detest foul juggling, now 'tis in your powers;
Let none but square play pass, the game is yours:
For, here you see, Hell, Rome, and all their train,
Plot to confound all your good laws again.
Then have a care, expel Rome's imps, make sure,
Your laws and liberties may still endure
To future ages; posterities then may
Have cause to bless your memories for aye.

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1. LAMENT, lament, you bishops all,
Each wear his blackest gown;
Hang up your rochets on the wall,
Your pride is going down.

2. It needs must grieve each Romish heart,
To hear this sad relation;
All canons are not worth a f—t,
Made in the convocation.

3. The bishops' holy synod, and
The priests of Baal, that there
Consented, and concluded all,
Are now in grievous fear

4. To be depriv'd of priestly style,
Of coat canonical;
And quite be banished this isle,
They fear they must be all.

5. Ah! poor, *Et cætera*, is now dead,
Which grieves the bishops most;
What they would have immortal made,
Hath now giv'n up the ghost.

6. Alas! that new-begotten oath,
Like snow against the sun,
It did begin to melt away,
When th' parliament begun.

7. All ceremonies are good cheap,
And I will tell you how:
The tippet, hood, and surplice eke,
Are good for nothing now.

8. And, which I know more woeful is,
And most their courage quails,
There was a grievous murther made,
Amongst their holy rails.

9. Oh! when this sad and heavy news
Unto that synod came,
The birds and beasts were in a muse,
Ass, wren, and duck, and lamb.

10. And then a doleful ditty these
Did thus lament together,
Alas! we must all run away,
When shall we run, and whither?

11. Shall we, with Windebank, to France?
Or fly to Holland, where
The finch is flown; for us a place,
Before-hand, to prepare?

12. No, quoth the duck, we'll fly to Rome,
And there rest without fear
Of parliament, and then the lamb
May come up in the rear.

13. And there we'll drink a health to all
The puritans' confusion,
That have thus strongly wrought our fall
By parliament conclusion.

THE judges, and the lawyers all,
Attorneys, proctors, clerks,
Sollicitors, and advocates,
Must now stand in their sarks,
And penance do for all their faults;
Their bribes they must restore;
Their cheats and tricks, which they did use,
They practise must no more.
The people long they have beguil'd,
And many a one undone;
God's curse their wealth for this doth melt,
As snow is by the sun.
Their children and posterity
The gallows doth devour;
Themselves have made a league with hell,
To reign still by his power.
God is the God of unity,
Of love and peace alone;
But these men, for deceit and strife,
The like of them there's none.

Probatum est.

Received by me, fountain of iniquity, this 22d of September, 1641, by the help of judge Bribery, and the furtherance of lawyer Impiety, of Romanus Treachery, the sum of ten pounds of damnable simplicity, nine pounds of superstitious ignorance, seven pounds of idolatrous folly, six pounds of wilful stupidity, and three pounds of perverseness, to and for the use of Impatience; and, by his appointment, to be delivered unto Genteel Prodigality, to and for the use of mistress Inconstancy, daughter and sole heir unto mistress Leachery, the grand-child of mistress Bawdry, dwelling next door unto mistress Beggary.

By the new prison near the whipping thong,
At no great distance from Mr. Justice *Long*.

Long hath a long time been a knave,
Receiving bribes from every slave;
Long ever hath a shelter been full sure,
For every thief, a cutpurse, and a whore;
Long knows full well his Christmas how to keep,
On cost of whores, those are his only sheep:
His capons, woodcocks, hearns, snipes, and jays,
Providers of good chear on all assays.
Long may he feast his body, fill his purse
By such a crew of hellish imps. God's curse
Assuredly will fall on him and his,
And prove his fatal recompence for this.
Long may he be a knave, of such great fame,
To all whores' glory, his own eternal shame.

The Life of that incomparable Man, Faustus Socinus Senensis; described by a Polonian Knight[1]. Whereunto is added, an excellent Discourse, which the same Author would have had premised to the Works of Socinus: together with a Catalogue of those Works[2].

London, Printed for Richard Moone, at the Seven Stars in Paul's Churchyard, 1653.

[Octavo; containing forty-two pages.]

To the READER.

THE Life of Socinus is here exposed to thy view, that by the perusal thereof thou mayest receive certain information concerning the man, whom ministers and others tra-

[1] [The Life of Socinus, by a Polish knight, though the most complete original account which we possess of him, must be perused with some caution, as written by one who had embraced his doctrines, and who, consequently, deemed it his interest to magnify and defend to the utmost of his power the qualities and actions of his great prototype.

It can hardly be necessary to inform the reader, that the dogmas advanced by Socinus gave rise to a sect of modern anti-trinitarians, called from thence Socinians. The heresy spread rapidly in Poland, Lithuania, Transilvania, and the neighbouring places. Cracow was their chief school; and in that city all their first books were published. Their sentiments are explained at large in their catechism, printed several times under the title of *Catechesis ecclesiarum Polonicarum, unum Deum Patrem, illiusque Filium unigenitum, unà cum Sancto Spiritu, ex sacrâ scripturâ confitentium*. Being exterminated from Poland, they retired into Holland; where, however, their public meetings were prohibited, though they found means to conceal themselves under the sectarian names of Arminians, and Anabaptists.]

[2] [The two last items of the title having been accidentally omitted in the original edition of this work, will be found in the Supplementary part of the present.]

duce by custom; having, for the most part, never heard any thing of his conversation, nor seen any of his works; or, if they have, they were either unable or unwilling to make a thorough scrutiny into them, and so no marvel, if they speak evil of him. To say any thing of him here by way of elogy, as that he was one of the most pregnant wits that the world hath produced; that none, since the Apostles, hath deserved better of our religion, in that the Lord Christ hath chiefly made use of his ministry, to retrieve so many precious truths of the Gospel, which had a long time been hidden from the eyes of men by the artifice of Satan; that he shewed the world a more accurate way to discuss controversies in religion, and to fetch out the very marrow of the Holy Scripture; so that a man may more avail himself by reading his works, than perhaps by perusing all the fathers, together with the writings of more modern authors; that the virtues of his will were not inferior unto those of his understanding, he being every way furnished to the work of the Lord; that he opened the right way to bring Christians to the unity of the faith and acknowledgment of the Son of God; that he took the same course to propagate the Gospel, that Christ and the Apostles had done before him, forsaking his estate, and his nearest relations, and undergoing all manner of labours and hazards, to draw men to the knowledge of the truth; that he had no other end of all his undertakings, than the glory of God and Christ, and the salvation of himself and others; (it being impossible for calumny itself, with any colour, to asperse him with the least suspicion of worldly interest;) that he, of all interpreters, explaineth the precepts of Christ in the strictest manner, and windeth up the lives of men to the highest strain of holiness. To say these and other the like things (though in themselves true and certain) would, notwithstanding, here be impertinent, in that it would forestal what the Polonian knight hath written on this subject. To him, therefore, I refer thee; desiring thee to read his words without prejudice, and then the works of Socinus himself; and though thou beest not thereby convinced that all which Socinus taught is true, (for neither am I myself of that belief, as having discovered that, in some lesser things, Socinus, as a man, went awry; however, in the main, he hit the truth,) yet for so much of Christ, as thou must needs confess, appeareth in him, begin to have more favourable thoughts of him and his followers.

J. B.

TO pursue the life of Faustus Socinus, in a brief and perfunctory manner, would be below the dignity of so great a man; but to do it, fully and elaborately, would perhaps be above our strength. For to relate the praises of renowned men by snatches, and in a negligent fashion, is an injury to virtue; and if there was ever any, certainly this is the man who deserveth to be described, not only with care, but also with wit. Yet since it is better, that excellent endowments should be commended below their merit, than wholly passed over in silence; it is unreasonable, either that the meanness of the relators should prove prejudicial to famous men, or the greatness of those, who are celebrated, be any prejudice to the wit of the writers. But, as for myself, pardon is due to me upon another account; being cumbered with many cares, and hurrying my discourse, within the limits prefixed, to a pittance of time.

Socinus was born in Sene [or Sienna], a most famous city of Tuscany; the nobility of his stock was ancient, and the splendour of his alliances exceeding the condition of a private man. His father, besides the honours of his own family, was, on his mother's side, further ennobled by the Salvetti; which family sometimes flourished with so great power amongst the Florentines, that Pandulphus Petruccius, being expelled out of Sene, was chiefly beholden to the assistance and wealth of Paulus Salvettus for the restitution of his country, and shortly after of his princedom. By which benefit, being obliged, he conferred on him the freedom of the city, and persuaded him to leave his country, and dwell at Sene. This Paulus was father to Camilla, who, being married to Marianus the younger, was mother to Alexander and Lælius Socinus, and grandmother to Faustus. His mother, born to the hope of more than a private fortune, was daughter to Burgesius Petruccius (sometimes prince of the commonwealth of Sene), and to Victoria Piccolominea; who

being the daughter of Andreas Piccolomineus, lord of Castilio and Piscaria, and niece to pope Pius the Second, and third of that name; and either sister or kinswoman to cardinal John Piccolomineus, to the dukes of the Amalphitani, to the marquisses of Capistranum, to the earls of Calanum, and many other Italian princes; married into the house of the Petruccii, which then held the fortune of the princedom of Sene. But Burgesius, succeeding his father Pandulphus, and not long after by a fatal change expelled out of his country, did not long survive his dignity. Nevertheless, cardinal Raphael Petruccius was his successor in the government of his country, and held for a while the helm of that commonwealth. But Victoria, being left a widow, suffered not her mind, which in the splendour of her former height, she had never lifted up, to be quailed with so disastrous a vicissitude of things: so that, for the space of fifty-six years, wherein she survived the life and common fortune of her husband, she did with singular modesty, and approved integrity and chastity, endure the solitary condition of widowhood. Her daughter Agnes, whom according to the dignity of so great a family, she had trained up in most holy manners, she gave in marriage to Alexander Socinus, a young man of noble extraction, but private condition. He was the father of our Faustus, and born in such a family, as had for a long time, not by arms and power, but by wit and scholarship, seemed to hold a kind of princedom in one sort of learning. For this very Alexander was called 'the master of subtleties;' and his father Marianus the Younger, 'the prince of lawyers;' and Bartholomew, the uncle of Marianus the Younger, was by Angelus Politianus, styled 'the Papinian of his age:' finally, Marianus the Elder, Bartholomew's father, a most grave lawyer, is by Æneas Sylvius so highly extolled, that the narration almost exceeds belief.

The son of this Marianus was Alexander the Elder; the grandchild, Marianus the Younger; the great-grandchildren, Alexander and Lælius; the one (as we said) the father, the other, the uncle of our Faustus. Both of them, for greatness of wit, and endowments of learning, exceeding famous; but to whom that of the poet may justly be applied,

'These to the earth the Fates will only show,
'Causing them presently away to go.'

For Alexander having a marvellous sharpness of wit, together with a divine memory and excellent eloquence, had scarce fulfilled the one-and-thirtieth year of his age, but he was suddenly snatched away; to the great grief of all Italy: and Lælius, having in a short race of life, performed very great matters, exceeded not the seven-and-thirtieth year of his age.

The memory of this man I judge worthy to be exceedingly admired by posterity, who, in so short a space as he lived, not only smelt out so many grievous errors, which had privily crept into the church; but, pulling them out of their very holes, first shewed the way how to kill them. He, being by his father Marianus put upon that study which was hereditary to his name, thought that the knowledge of human laws was to be fetched out of the very fountains of God's law. To which purpose, whilst he diligently turned over the sacred volumes; he without difficulty found, that very many of those doctrines of the church, which are commonly received, are quite opposite to the Divine testimonies. And that so much the more easily, because most of them are also repugnant to reason, and such principles, as nature itself hath implanted in us. Inasmuch therefore, as the height of his excellent wit, and sharpness of his judgment, were accompanied with a singular probity of mind; having detected the errors of the church, he did not (as the greatest part do) abuse them to the contempt of the Scripture and religion; but rather used the authority of the Scripture, and of the Christian religion, to heal the diseases of the church, which could not be cured, unless the errors were detected. Wherefore, in that study to which his sublime and pious mind was carried with inflamed speed, a great light, not without the Divine assistance, suddenly broke out unto him; especially because, to fetch out the senses of the Scripture, he brought with him the knowledge of the Oriental tongues, the Hebrew and Greek chiefly, and also the Arabick. Whether, therefore, it

were for fear of danger, as it is likely; or that he might more exactly study purer divinity, and the tongues; he soon passed out of Italy into Switzerland and Germany.

He left his country very young, not being above one-and-twenty years old. In the next four years[3], having travelled over France, Brittany, Belgium, all Germany and Poland, he took up his dwelling at Zurich. Whereupon, although he was often drawn away with public and private affairs; yet did he spend the chiefest part of his exile there; being endeared to sundry princes in all parts, and favoured also by certain kings.

There was not a noted scholar in that time (than which, none ever abounded more with learned men), but he had by his carriage won not only his friendship, but his familiarity also: whereby it came to pass, that the inbred goodness of his judgment was accompanied with a singular prudence and sweetness of behaviour. Which endowments are acknowledged in him, as by very many other famous men, so chiefly by Philip Melanchthon, in his commendatory letters, which he wrote to him as he was departing. And indeed what correspondence was between him and the most renowned men of that age, chiefly Calvin, Melanchthon, Bullenger, Brentius, Musculus, Munster, Zanchius, Vergerius, Castellio, Beza, Martyr, Ochinus, Cœlus, and sundry others, their frequent letters unto him do testify; the copies whereof, in a great number, have come to our hands. He did not more desire to enjoy their friendship, for the safe-guard of his fortune, than to make use of the same to the benefit of the church: wherefore he did, by his questions, much urge and exercise those redoubted doctors of the then flourishing divinity. I have a letter written with Calvin's own hand, wherein he openly professeth that he was put into choler by him; and, instead of an answer, sends him back a check and threatening:

'It is not fit (saith he) that you should expect, until I answer, those portentous questions which you object. If you are disposed to fly through those airy speculations, I beseech you, suffer me, an humble disciple of Christ, to meditate on such things, as tend to the edification of my faith. And indeed I will by my silence gain what I desire; namely, that you be not henceforth troublesome to me. Now that so gallant a wit, as the Lord hath bestowed on you, should not only be unprofitably taken up with slight matters, but also corrupted with pernicious figments, is a very great grief. What I not long since testified, I again seriously warn you of: that if you do not timely correct this itch of enquiring, it is to be feared, you will draw on yourself great torments. Should I, under a show of indulgence, cherish such a vice as I know to be very hurtful, I should be perfidious and cruel towards you. Wherefore, I had rather you should be a little offended with my roughness, than be drawn away, with the sweet allurements of curiosity, beyond all recovery. The time will come, I hope, when you will rejoice, that you were so boisterously awakened.

'Jan. 1, 1552. 'Yours, JOHN CALVIN.'

Neither was the truth of this threatening either uncertain or contemptible: for, in the month of October, the next year, Servetus was burned at Geneva[4]. Nevertheless, the gravity of Lælius, and his incredible modesty in the greatest endowments of learning and wit, together with his dexterity of carriage, had so disarmed the anger of those that were in a chafe; that they did not endure to hate the man, although, otherwise, they could not brook his freedom. Which thing may teach them, whom over-much freedom of truth betrayeth into needless dangers, that that very truth which they maintain, is more secured by the circumspect mildness of prudence, than by unbridled zeal. So that they, who of their own accord meet dangers, seem to make greater haste to their own praise, than to the advancement of the public good. And certainly, if there be any, this is the place where the simplicity of the dove is to be mingled with the subtlety of the serpent: unless we suspect the counsel of our Saviour condemning their unadvised rashness, who oftentimes have very bad success in casting down their pearls where they cannot be estimated according to their worth.

[3] [Beginning *an.* 1547.] [4] [And by Calvin's own direction.]

The truth is, Lælius remained entire and inviolate amongst the capital enemies of his opinion; yet did he not suffer the sense of his judgment to perish within the closet of his conscience. Wherefore, to those whom he liked he feared not to entrust the things that had been discovered to him by God: but, chiefly, he instructed his countrymen, the Italians, who, by a pious and voluntary exile, were scattered through several regions of Germany and Poland. I find, in the commentaries of the Polonian churches, that he came twice into our country: first, about the year 1551, when he was six-and-twenty years old; at which time he is said, not without great success, to have conversed with very many of the Polonian nobility; and to have caused Francis Lismaninus, the Corcyræan, confessor to Bona Sforzia, the queen, and who was then (if I be not mistaken) the provincial of the Minorites, and first lifted up an ensign of revolt from the pope in this kingdom, to cast away his cowl: but then, in a few months' space, departing into Moravia, he retired thence to the Switzers. His second coming into Poland I find to have happened, after the death of his father Marianus, who died at Bononia, in the year 1556. For, not long after, about the years 1558 and 1559, he desired letters of recommendation from the kings of Poland and Bohemia, that he might the more securely treat with his friends in Venice concerning his patrimony. Then, indeed, it appeared, to the greatest part of the German and Polonian nobility, in what favour he was. For, in his case, there was very great canvassing both with Ludovicus Priulus, the Doge of Venice, and Cosmus the grand-duke of Tuscany. Almost about the same time, a grievous storm, arising upon a suspicion of heresy, did with a perilous gust shake the whole house of the Socini. After the death of Alexander, Lælius had three brethren surviving: of whom, Celsus lived at Bononia; Cornelius and Camillus together with Faustus, son to his brother Alexander, dwelt at Sene. Amongst these also Lælius, a marvellous artist in suggesting the truth, had scattered the seeds thereof; and though he were separated by the remote distances of countries, yet did he by effectual industry so cherish them, that being unknown as yet, and absent, he drew the wives of some to his party. Nor were there wanting, amongst his other familiars and friends, such as were either partners in the same design, or privy thereunto. But the fair hope of that crop was blasted in the very blade; Cornelius being taken, and the rest either scattered, or chased away. This fear drove Faustus also, then very young, not only out of his native city, but out of Italy itself: who having lived a while at Lyons in France, Lælius was in the mean time extinguished by an untimely death at Zurich. Faustus, being certified of his death by the letters of Marius Besozzus, had much ado to prevent the snares laid for his papers, yet got the possession thereof; having been already by him informed of very many things, which he afterwards, in long progress of time, did by his sharp wit and indefatigable study, polish.

The death of Lælius happened on the third day after the Ides of May, 1562, and in the thirty-seventh year of his age. That so great a wit was not long-lived, will not seem strange to him who shall consider how soon it was ripe. He had hardly passed the age of a stripling, when he left Italy. Within the six-and-twentieth year of his life, having travelled almost through all the regions of the west, he was, by his great renown, made known to most of the chief nobility in sundry parts; and perhaps to all learned men every where. It was well nigh fifteen years that he was absent from his country. Out of so small a space of life, far journeys challenge a great part; by means of which, his exile became profitable to many in sundry coasts of Europe. Add his perpetual commerce with so many great men, together with his continual intercourse of letters; and when you have subtracted these things, how small a pittance of time, I pray you, was left for his studies? And now, being amazed, we must enquire, What was that so profound leisure? what so vigorous industry? what so ready wit? what so vast understanding? as was sufficient to master so many tongues, so many sciences, and withal to recollect the mind to itself, and manage the greatest affairs? To premise these things touching Lælius, had I not listed of my own accord, necessity itself did require. For he it was, who by his guidance and counsel drew Faustus himself and others to enter into that way, which they afterwards followed.

Now I return to Faustus; intending in the first place to relate, in brief, the course and chief occurrences of his life, then to comprise his chief actions; and, lastly, to add a few words concerning the habit of his mind and body, as far as I have by a cursory enquiry attained the knowledge thereof.

He was born, two hours and almost three quarters before sun-rising, on the Nones of December, 1539, well-nigh fourteen years younger than his uncle Lælius. He died in the year 1604, a little before the beginning of the spring, being sixty-five years old. He first spent twenty, and a little after twelve years of age in his country; about three in his retirement at Lyons; the other thirty in voluntary exile. He seemeth to have lost his parents at that age, which is most apt for the improvement of learning and wit. For he complaineth how he employed his labour in the studies of good arts very slightly, and without the guidance of a teacher. And else-where, how he had not learnt philosophy, nor ever was acquainted with school-divinity; and confesseth that in logick itself he never tasted but only certain rudiments, and that very late.

It was a baffle to that proud age, to be taught by so notable an instance, that, even without those helps, which we, though not without cause, yet oftentimes without measure do admire, there may be great men, and such as will perform rare feats. Perhaps also it was expedient, that a wit, born to take cognisance of the opinions of the world, should be tainted with no prejudices; lest it should admit some string of those errors, for the rooting out of which it grew up. For divinity, being full of errors, infected also philosophy itself, and almost all good arts. And therefore not only in the cradle, but also in the very rudiments of the first learning, the infancy of the world hath now for a long time been deceived, and sucked in opinions as true, before it was able to judge whether they were false. Whereby it cometh to pass, that often-times it is better to be seasoned with none, than with perverse doctrines. Nor is it a wonder that sometimes learned men dote more shamefully, and the rude multitude judgeth more sincerely. Which I would not have so taken, as if I would condemn learning, but only the abuse thereof; nor give a check, but a caution to it. With such a slight tincture of learning, and (as I suppose) with the study of the civil-law, the first age of Socinus was taken up, until the three-and-twentieth year. Yet had he before sucked in the principles of divine truth, partly by his own sharp wit, partly by the instruction of his uncle Lælius; especially when, upon the rising of a sudden tempest, he, as we before hinted, betook himself into France. Although Lælius, confiding in the wit of his nephew, did intimate more to his guess, than deliver to his understanding; concealing also some things from the young man, for the trial of his judgment, and openly presaging amongst his friends, that these things should more fully and happily by Faustus be discovered to the world. But, when after the death of Lælius he was returned into Italy, in that unsteady age of his life, his youth, floating like a ship without a pilot, and carried away with I know not what winds, almost grew old amongst the sirens of the court. For, being admitted into the palace of Francis[5] the grand-duke of Tuscany, and very much endeared to him by honourable employments, whilst he there flourished in highest favour and dignity, he spent twelve whole years in the court of Florence. Then did he lose (as he with perpetual groans complained) the most flourishing part of his life[6]; if, at least, that time is to be accounted lost, wherein this sublime judgment was formed, not with the shadowy precepts of learning, but with the substantial experiments of life; wherein also that youthful heat of his evaporated, which, for the most part, hurrieth great wits to great falls. And indeed, were we not otherwise assured of it, yet from the very force of his wit, we might conjecture with how vehement motions that nature of his was sometimes agitated.

About the close of that time, his heart was touched with a serious deliberation, concerning the choice of good things; which he performed with such greatness of mind, that he

[5] [De Medicis.]

[6] [Hence some have censured him as taking the character of a reformer without due preparation and study: while his followers have endeavoured to display it as an advantage that he studied the world, rather than scholastic learning.]

determined, for the hope of heavenly things, to trample under foot all the commodities of earthly wishes: wherefore, without delay, despairing to obtain from the extremely unwilling princes leave to depart, he of his own accord forsook his country, friends, hopes and riches, that he might the more freely employ himself about his own and other men's salvation. That his service had not been ungrateful to the grand-duke, the longing after him, being now absent and in exile, shewed. For sundry times by letters and messengers, chiefly at the motion of Paulus Jordanus Ursinus a nobleman, who had married the grand-duke's sister, he solicited Socinus to return; which he with usual modesty, but resolute mind, did refuse. It was the year of our Lord 1574, and the five-and-thirtieth of his age, when he retired out of Italy into Germany. At his coming, he was entertained by Basil, that courteous receiver of Christ's exiles, which had long since learned to cherish in her lap endangered innocency: where he studied divinity full three years and upwards, being chiefly intent upon the sacred Scriptures; to the sincere understanding whereof, whilst he aspired with daily vows and prayers, he was much helped with a very few writings of his uncle Lælius, and sundry scattered notes left by him: which thing, though it was in his power to suppress it, yet did he always ingenuously own and profess. As he lived at Basil until the year 1575, he detained not, within the closet of his private breast, the truth that had been deposited with him. And therefore, whilst he endeavoured to propagate unto others the light that was risen to himself; he proceeded, by degrees, from reasoning with his friends, to discourse with strangers; and having begun his disputation concerning Jesus Christ the Saviour, by word of mouth, he afterwards comprised it in writing. Which before he could finish; being first excluded by sickness from his studies, then by the pestilence from his books left at Basil; he in the mean time dispatched at Zurich, in the beginning of the year 1578, another disputation with Franciscus Puccius; and afterwards in the same year, being returned to Basil, he put the last hand to his book, 'concerning the 'Saviour.' At that time the Transylvanian churches were extremely infested with the opinion of Franciscus Davidis and others, touching the honour and power of Christ. To remedy which mischief, Georgius Blandrata (a man very powerful in those churches, and with the Bathorrean princes, who had then ruled the nation,) in that very year of the Lord, invited Socinus from Basil; to the end he might draw the ring-leader of the faction, Franciscus Davidis, from so gross and pernicious an error: which that it might the more commodiously be effected, having at a great rate hired a lodging for Socinus, with Franciscus Davidis, he would have them both for above the space of four months to use the same house and table. But the said Franciscus took far greater care how to retain his credit amongst those of his party, than how to seek after the truth. Whereupon, adventuring not only to spread his error in private, but publicly to proclaim it in the pulpit, he drew present danger on himself; being soon cast into prison by the command of the prince of Transylvania, where he shortly after ended his life. Of whose death though Socinus was altogether guiltless, yet did he not escape blame. As if he were not able to vanquish the said Franciscus with other weapons, when, notwithstanding, the disputations of both are published: or as if that magistrate was so addicted to the cause of Socinus, as to employ the weapons of his authority for him, or any one of his party. But, if perhaps some person, who favoured the cause of Socinus, did incite the prince to deal roughly with the said Franciscus, (whereof nevertheless I am not certain;) yet let not Socinus be blamed for him; inasmuch as he could neither know his counsel, nor approve his deed. For, to omit sundry considerations, there could not happen any thing more contrary to the mind of Socinus, than that such a doctrine, as could not be defended with the words and wit of the said Franciscus, whilst he lived, should seem to be confirmed by the mute, but efficacious testimony of his death: especially because, carrying the face of a martyrdom, it presently turned the eyes of all men to it. The disputation of Socinus with him, though written, whilst the said Franciscus was alive, could notwithstanding hardly come to light fifteen years after. When this disputation was finished in May, *anno* 1579, and presented to the Transylvanian churches, Socinus could not long tarry there; by reason of a disease then raging, which they commonly call the cholick. Wherefore in the same

year, being now forty years old, he travelled into Poland, where he made suit publicly to be united to the Polonian churches, which acknowledge none but the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ to be the most-high God: but, not concealing his dissent in certain doctrines, here suffered a repulse very roughly and for a long time.

Nevertheless he, being composed unto patience, not so much by his natural inclination, as by the resolution of his mind, was no whit enraged with this disgrace, nor ever gave any signs of a disaffected mind; but rather undertook to repel with his wit the incursion of divers adversaries, who then infested those churches. And first of all he received the charge of Andreas Volanus, by refelling his 'Paræsenesis'; and upon the same occasion, at the request of Niemojevius, the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans was explained. Afterwards it pleased him to assail Jacobus Palæologus; whose reputation and authority did at that time cherish the relicks of pernicious errors in men otherwise well-minded. Him being somewhat roughly handled, not out of hatred but advice, he always excused. A little after, when Volanus had renewed the fight, he was again encountered; and withal an answer made to the positions of the college of Ponsa. Whilst Socinus undergoeth so much fighting and hatred for the patronage of the truth, amongst so many enemies there wanted not some calumniators. Stephanus was then king of Poland. A pickthank blows his ears with the report of a book written against the magistrate; adding that it would be a very dishonourable thing to suffer a wandering Italian exile to escape scot-free with so bold an enterprise. He hinted at the book against Palæologus: which though it required no other testimony of its innocency, than the reading, yet did he think good to decline the danger.

Whereupon, he departed from Cracovia, where he had now lived four years, to a nobleman, named Christophorus Morstinus, lord of Pawlicovia; in which place he defended his innocency, not so much by skulking, as by the privilege of nobility in our nation: for that suburb-farm is a few miles distant from Cracovia. It seemed a wiser course to clear himself from the crimes laid to his charge, rather out of that place, than out of prison: nor was he entertained in that hospitable house, for that nick of time only, but there cherished for above three years. And to the end that the courtesy shewed to an exile and stranger might be more abundant, a little while after, the daughter of the family, a noble virgin, was, at his suit, given him in marriage; so that, being of a stranger become a son-in-law, he seemed to have established his security in those places, by affinities and friendships. Whilst he lived in the country, he wrote many notable pieces, and chiefly that against Eutropius; constantly defending the fame and cause of that church, which had, with most unjust prejudice, condemned him, and caused him, though innocent, continually to suffer many indignities. His daughter Agnes was born to him in the year of our Lord 1587, and forty-eighth of his age; of whom, being, after her father's death, married to Stanislaus Wiszowatius, a Polonian knight, there are as yet remaining nephews and nieces. In September the same year, he lost his wife Elizabeth: which sad and disastrous chance was followed with a grievous fit of sickness, so obstinate, that, for certain months, it caused the use of his studies to cease. And that no kind of calamity might be wanting; almost about the same time, by the death of Franciscus, the grand-duke of Tuscany, the revenues of his estate, which he received yearly out of Italy, were quite taken away from him. Indeed, a little before, by the bitterness of accusers, and threats of popes, his estate came into danger; but, by the strenuous endeavour of Isabella Medicea, the grand-duke's sister, (who was married to the aforesaid Paulus Jordanus Ursinus,) whilst she lived, and afterwards by the favour of Franciscus the grand-duke, it came to pass, that, during his life, Socinus received the yearly income of his estate. For, indeed, his old deserts were still so fresh in memory, that those princes, though long since forsaken, and oftentimes rejected, did yet, in a most difficult matter, gratify the letters and prayers of a condemned and exiled person. Yea, letters full of courtesy were sent unto him, and he bidden to be of good cheer for the future, as long as they lived; so that, in setting forth books, he suffered not his name to appear. But those princes were then taken away by a destiny disastrous to Socinus. And that all things might seem to have conspired to the

perplexity of the man; being a widower, sick, and stripped of all his fortunes, he was molested with the very times of our common-wealth, which were then exceeding turbulent, because divers did contend who should be the king of Poland; so that the adversaries, thereupon, took greater licence to themselves.

Socinus was now returned to Cracovia, and sought solace, in the midst of so many evils, from the employment, which God had imposed on him, to purge the church of such errors as were then rife in her. Wherefore, although he had been formerly accustomed to frequent ecclesiastical assemblies, yet, in the year 1588, in the synod of Breste (which is a town on the borders of Lithuania), he disputed with greater earnestness and fruit than before, touching the death and sacrifice of Christ, touching our justification, touching the corrupted nature of man; and, finally, with the Davidians and Budneists, touching the invocation of Jesus Christ. This was the year, wherein the care and charge of the church at Luclavicia was committed to Petrus Stoinius, son of Petrus Statorius of Thornville; whose family, having heretofore been naturalized into the nobility of our nation, hath, even at this day, some men surviving, who have been invested with great honours, in our country. He, being no less sharp in judgment, than ready in speech, being once admitted into the friendship of Socinus, yielded willingly to his opinion. A little before, also, he had privately drawn many of the chief ones into his opinion, and there was daily an accession made of such men as complied with them. Nevertheless, certain men of very great authority still stood off; as, Niemojevius and Czechovicius, together with the greatest part of the ancient ministers. The report is, that Securinius was the first that adventured openly to maintain the tenets of Socinus, to which he had assented; not long after, others followed: which party was exceedingly strengthened by the accession of the three Lujenecii, Andreas, Stanislaus, and Christophorus; who, being brethren of noble descent, and born to very great hopes, and brought up partly in the king's court, and partly in the society of the greatest peers, were, by a sacred instinct, transported from the midst of the allurements of this life to the care of religion. These men, as they had, by a most inflamed zeal, trodden under foot all the impediments of piety; so, with an equal candour and greatness of mind, they subscribed to the known truth. And now others of the pastors came in a vie to the party, especially the juniors, who were less retarded with the prejudice of inveterate opinions and authority; and that, by reason of an accident very notable for the newness thereof, which gave a memorable proof, how great the force of the truth is.

Amidst a great jarring of opinions, this was a laudable agreement of that church, that those men contended only with arguments, and not with hatred. And, though they detested one another's opinion, yet did they not condemn one another; and therefore, keeping mutual tolerance entire, they oftentimes disputed very eagerly; and this was the chief work of their synods. Wherefore, *anno* 1585, in the synod of Lublin, the opinion of Socinus, touching the seventh chapter of the Romans, was exceedingly agitated. There were some that defended it; but as great a number of pastors that opposed it: one whereof, named Nicolaus Zitinius, being willed by others of the same party to explain that chapter contrary to the mind of Socinus, and having, to that purpose, stoutly managed the matter, falling in his discourse upon those words, wherewith the Apostle giveth thanks to God for his freedom, stood like a man amazed. And by-and-by, "what is that freedom? (saith he:) what is that benefit, which drew from the Apostle so great thanks? Was it, that he was of necessity detained in so great a servitude of sin? Certainly, such a thing as this can, at no hand, gain approbation with me. I therefore (said he) in like manner give very great thanks to the Father of lights, in that he would have the light of his truth arise unto me, who am now freed from error." Afterwards, entering upon a contrary way of explaining, he accurately disputed for the orthodox opinion. When they, whose cause he had undertaken, being amazed, did rebuke him; his answer was, "That he could not resist the judgment of a convinced mind." This business was of great moment for the propagation of the truth; nor did their endeavours less conduce thereunto, who had lifted up the standard unto others to

embrace it. Amongst them the eloquence of the foresaid Petrus Stoinius did excel. That elegant tongue only had God bestowed on those churches, equal to the wit of Socinus; and able to deliver, in a popular manner, his subtle senses, that were above the ruder sort, and to commend them unto all by his flexanimous speech. Him, therefore, as the chief interpreter of his mind, did Socinus make use of, to the notable advantage of God's church: and, indeed, certain things happened, which did enforce a stricter union with him. Socinus, sojourning at Cracovia, began, long since, to be environed with such dangers on every side, as are, for the most part, wont to accompany the faithful servants of Christ. How great an indignity was there offered to him by that insolent soldier Vernecus, he himself signifieth in a certain letter: but above all, after the printing of his book, 'Touching the Saviour,' the adversaries again began to shew the rancour of their hatred. Whereupon, in the year 1598, the scholars, having stirred up the dregs of the rabble, took Socinus, being then sick, and minding the recovery of his health, and pulling him out of his chamber half-naked, drag him in a contumelious manner through the market, and the most noted streets, the greatest part, in the mean time, crying out, to have him brought to execution.

At length, having been grievously handled in that furious rout, he was, with much ado, rescued out of the hands of the raging multitude, by Martinus Vadovica, professor of Cracovia. The plundering of his goods and household-stuff, together with other things liable to spoil, did not so much grieve him, as the irreparable loss of certain writings, concerning which, he often did profess, that he would redeem it with the expence of his life. Then perished together a notable labour of his against Atheists, which he had undertaken, to refute the ingenious devices of a certain great man. But when, to so barbarous an example of cruelty, threats were also added, he departed from Cracovia to Luclavicia, unto a certain village, famous for his last habitation and death, and distant about nine miles from Cracovia; where having, for certain years, used the table and house of a nobleman, named Abrahamus Blonscius, he lived a neighbour to Stoinius. Both, therefore, affording mutual help near at hand, in chasing away the relicks of errors, had now brought almost that whole church to an unanimous consent in all opinions: for even Niemosevius himself having, in most things, already given assent to Socinus, condemned his own mistakes with such ingenuity, as can never sufficiently be extolled.

Czechovicius only could not be removed from his opinion: who, as the better part prevailed, conniving, though with much ado, at other things, a little after began to make a stir about the opinion, concerning baptism; which nevertheless being suddenly, according to the wish of Socinus, laid asleep, did afterwards vanish of its own accord. Having thus fully purged the church from errors, as if his life had been prolonged hitherto for this purpose only, he was at the end of winter[7], in the sixty-fifth year of his age, taken away at Luclavicia, by a death not so untimely to himself, as sad to his followers. His last words at his death were these; namely, "That he no less full of envy and troubles, than of days, did, with a joyful and undaunted hope, incline to the period of his appointed time, which shewed to him both a discharge from his sorrows, and a reward of his labours."

Petrus Stoinius, who had been the associate of his life and labours, was also the praiser, and in the year following, the companion of his funeral. For, as if he had already ended the appointed task of his life, he followed Socinus, being hardly forty years old.

Having passed over the race of Socinus's life, through which we have made a short cut; it remaineth, that we stop a while in considering what he did and performed.

No man in our memory did better deserve of all the Christian world, but chiefly of the Polonian churches. For first, by setting out so many works, he opened the genuine meaning of the holy Scriptures in innumerable places. Next, he only shewed how to confirm with solid arguments, and skilfully to defend, from subtle cavils and sophisms, those opinions touching the Person of God and Christ, which he found already rife in Po-

[7] [*An.* 1604.]

land. After that he happily extinguished some impious, other profane opinions, whose deadly poison did by stealth insinuate itself into the bosom of the church. No man did more vigorously quell Judaizers: he also exploded the opinion of the Chiliasts, and many other fanatic dreams besides. As for the errors, received from the Reformed churches, which did in a great number, as yet reign in that church; he did, with a marvellous felicity, root them out. Such were that of Justification, that of Appeasing the Wrath of God, that of Predestination, that of the Servitude of the Will, that of Original Sin, that of the Lord's Supper and Baptism; together with other misconstrued doctrines. Finally, having taken away pernicious errors, that he might not also leave any fopperies in the church, he exterminated very many superstitions about indifferent things: of which sort was the over-much affectation of mean clothing, and the eschewing of magistracy, and refusing to prosecute one's own right, even without a desire of revenge; and what other like spots there were, caused by the inconsiderate zeal of their first fervour.

Having explained the order of his life, and his actions; it remaineth that we add a few things concerning the habit of his mind and body. To relate the praises of his wit and judgment, is a superfluous labour; inasmuch as there are so many monuments thereof extant. As for his learning, the more pertinaciously he did it, the more impatiently it breaketh out. It was somewhat late, but more solid. Nor are there wanting, in his writings, the footsteps of a happy memory also. I cannot pass by one proof thereof, which he gave in his disputation with Christianus Francken. This fellow, in the session of the synod of Chmelnica, desiring to shew a proof of his learning and wit, did (in a more arrogant manner than was meet) challenge those pastors to dispute; slighting the mean learning of every one. And that he might with very plenty, puzzle and overwhelm him that was to dispute, having beforehand provided himself, he together proposed fifty arguments, against the adoration of Christ. This matter troubled some, and they, though the church had so often rejected Socinus, did yet enjoin him to make an answer. He, attentively hearing the man (who had on a sudden entered upon an unjust way of arguing, and did, with one breath almost, pour out so many prepared shafts,) was admonished to take in writing, at least, the heads of the reasons, to which an answer was to be returned. But he, in confidence of his memory, slighted the assistance of his pen, and patiently heard the man uttering those treasons of his, as long as he pleased; and by-and-by, in the same order, repeating the long series of his arguments, gave such a solid answer to each of them, that the adversary had hardly any thing to mutter against him. Whereupon, having professed that he was unskilful and unprepared; he went away confounded, to the admiration of all. And, because we have touched the endowments of his nature, if any man be curious to know the figure of his body also, let him know that he wanted not a form answerable to his disposition; being of such a stature, as exceeded not the just size, yet was nearer to tallness. The habit of his body was somewhat slender, yet within measure; in his countenance, the dignity of his high forehead and masculine beauty of his eyes did cast a glance. Nor did the comeliness and grace of his look diminish the vigour and majesty thereof. He was somewhat sparing of meat and sleep, and abstinent of all pleasures, without affectation; only, in the conservation of his health, he seemed scrupulous, and oftentimes over-diligent; yet was he, for the most part, of a prosperous health, but that he was sometimes troubled with the pains of the stone, and with the cholick. Moreover, being grown somewhat old, he complained of the dimness of his sight, contracted with over-much watching: the genius of his life was gentle and innocent. There was a marvellous simplicity in his manners, which was so tempered with gravity, that he was free from all superciliousness. Whence it came to pass, that you would sooner reverence him, than you could fear him. He was very affable, giving honour to every one exceedingly; and would you desire to reprove any thing in him, there was nothing nearer to discommendation, than the over-much debasement of himself.

The clothing of his body was modest, but yet neat and spruce; and, though he was at a remote distance from bravery, yet was he less averse from slight ornaments: he was officious towards his friends, and diligent in all parts of his life. He had so won the

affection of the princes, in whose service he spent part of his life; that neither could long absence extinguish the desire of him, nor manifest offence obliterate the favour to him. Having shewed all manner of officiousness towards his uncles, brethren, and male-kindred, he chiefly regarded and reverenced Lælius. Amongst his female-kindred, besides his grandmother Camilla, a most choice matron, he exceedingly loved his aunt Porcia, and his sister Phyllis; and that according to their deserts. The former of which twain, being, whilst she lived, an example of most commendable chastity, did by her discretion, and incredible gentleness of manners, so gain the affection of her husband Lælius Beccius, a man of rank and quality; that he would often say with tears, that he was unworthy of such and so great a wife: the latter, by the sanctity of her manners and discipline in governing the house, had so approved herself to her husband Cornelius Marsilius, a great nobleman; that, at her death, she left behind her an immortal desire of her company. And, forasmuch, as we are long since slipped from the endowments of nature, to those which he acquired by his own industry, we must not pass over in silence some of his virtues, whereby he was eminent above many. I cannot easily say, whether there was more fire, or wit, in so vehement a disposition; so prone to choler had nature framed him, before he had allayed those violent motions with reason. Nevertheless, he did so break and tame his choleric temper, that the mildness, which afterwards shined forth in him, seemed to very many to be the praise of nature, not of industry. The commendation of his patience likewise is enhanced, as by the indignity of his fortune and injuries, so also by his delicate, and consequently touchy disposition. No evil is wont to happen unto such persons, without an exquisite resentment; nor is it so much to be wondered at, that oftentimes a larger wit is capable of more sorrow.

But he, in this fight also, appeared conqueror of his fortune and nature: after he had, with a Christian greatness of mind, borne and undergone so many calamities from strangers, so many injuries from his countrymen, perils from enemies, ingratitude from friends, envy from the learned, hatred from the ignorant, infamy from all, poverty from fortune; in fine, a continual repulse, not without ignominy from that very church which he had chiefly beautified. I have almost done an injury to fortune, in seeming to have ascribed unto her the cause of his poverty. But I have not now accused her fault, but intimated her condition; which Socinus might, perhaps, by fortune's means have escaped; would either his conscience, or a certain generosity of mind, have permitted him. Certainly, he never sought after the fame of holiness by beggary. Nevertheless, as often as he was able to sustain his condition with the smallest means, he could not be brought to take such gifts as were freely offered him: yea, he did of his own accord, expend his means on the poor. Nor was he only conversant in every kind of alms, but in every kind of liberality also; so as you may thereby understand, that his charity was inflamed with the promiscuous love of all men. Likewise he published certain books at his own charges, that he might omit nothing for the accomplishment of his ardent zeal to promote divine truth, which he had undertaken to propagate; what with so many writings, what with so many letters, what with so many private and public disputations, what with so many informations of them, who were in all places the interpreters of his mind; what with so many long journeys, most of them from the utmost border of Silesia, to the midst of Lithuania; what with the loss of health, fame, and fortunes; what, finally, with the hazard of his life. That very thing, which had been the only solace to sustain him in the midst of so great labours and perils, did he continually inculcate to the whole church, as the only remedy to lead a holy life; namely, a continual hope of immortality, which he thought was to be carefully and delicately cherished. So that when a certain old man shewed a tomb built for himself in token of piety, saying, that he did perpetually meditate on death: Socinus replied, "that he would do more rightly, if he did meditate on the reason of the resurrection." Certainly his prudence shined forth in all the parts of his life, but chiefly in his judgment of spiritual things, and was, as it were, a certain fruit of his humility and modesty; a virtue so inbred and peculiar to his nature, that, in other virtues, he may seem to have vied with others; in this with himself. He never despised

any man, never attempted any thing, but with advice and circumspection. In his very studies also he was so far from all self-confidence, that he never essayed to write any thing, but what had been concocted with long and mature meditation: and this may easily be discerned in his works. How often did he go very gingerly through those rough ways, which others would have securely trodden? So that no man seemeth to have distrusted another's wit, as he did his own; which (as we have said) was then the reward, and now the token of his singular modesty: but especially his faith did much shine forth amongst other praises.

None, in the memory of men, was better furnished with all helps whereby we ascend to fame and wealth, and the highest pitch of this life. Nature, fortune, and, finally, industry, had emulously accumulated nobility of stock, splendour of friendships, grace of princes, liberal means, health, wit, eloquence, learning, and a natural reach capable of the greatest matters. Obedience to the call of God, and the pledge of truth entrusted to him, cost him the loss of so great privileges. It was a small matter to have forsaken so many pledges of the greatest hope, had he not also, as a sacrifice devoted to the public hatred, wittingly and willingly exposed himself to infinite miseries, want, hazards, enmities, universal contempt, reproaches, contumelies, and to an execrable memory of his name in all places. Nor, indeed, looked he for any other reward at present, or shortly after. His wishes reached beyond the bounds of his life, yea, beyond the race of the present age; and his hope was so truly erected towards heaven, that it rested on no prop of earthly solace. I detract not from the praises due to the merits of other men; each of them hath his proper honour. Yet will I, by their good leave, say, that some famous men have perhaps made an attempt at so sublime a proof of faith, but I cannot tell whether any one hath reached it. For the greatest part wanted not helps whereby their virtue was soon relieved, so that they were not long God's creditors. The magnanimity of Luther, and others, was quickly entertained with the applause and affections of princes and people. How many others, otherwise poor and obscure, were, by the maintenance of God's cause, advanced to riches and power? Whom, nevertheless, this vicissitude doth not exclude from the praise of faith, if that which was the cause of their advancement did grow up to maturity, together with them.

But they cannot easily be admitted into this number, who, even with the great detriment of their estates, espouse the cause of God, (whether truly such, or pretended,) being now in a flourishing condition, and come to maturity. For they have what to hope for on the earth, even without respect to heaven; and in the expectation of such present rewards you cannot always easily discern, whether they repose greater confidence in God, than in their own industry. But Lælius and Faustus, men of so great judgment, and so great knowledge and experience of the age wherein they lived; what solace could they promise themselves in the earth whilst they lived, yea, in the next ensuing age, for so many labours and dangers; having professed such tenets as were set off with no pomp of authority, no engagement of parties, no connivance at a more dissolute life, yea, no other blandishment whatsoever; but were rather distasteful and odious unto all, by reason of their austerity? Certainly I can here espy no crevice of earthly hope, which may detract a whit from the praise of a most noble faith; which, how great soever it was, being excluded out of all the earth, was mounted up to heaven, and there conversed with the clemency of God alone.

Ignatius also (that I may omit others, in the memory of our fathers) contemned his country, kindred, wealth, honours, and other allurements, and also underwent many labours and dangers of his own accord; having professed a zeal to God's glory, and the warfare of faith. I slight not the greatness of mind, which shewed itself in him, or some like to him: for neither did they hasten unto glory, through such a way as was altogether pleasant. Nevertheless, I do not yet here behold that difficult proof of a more noble faith, which we seek for. I assume not so much to myself, nor is it at present very material, as to pronounce sentence concerning the purpose of any one's mind, which will, at length,

be performed by an infallible Judge. Wherefore, I regard not what Ignatius had in his mind; since for the present business it is sufficient, what he might have. It is true, he saw the pope's affairs in some provinces afflicted, but could not be ignorant, that in most, or at least in the more powerful ones, (and consequently in his country, and where he intended to fix his abode,) they were well established and flourishing. Who would affirm, that the immense rewards, which that church presently repayeth to her defenders, were unknown to Ignatius? Certainly, the spur of glory is very sharp in generous minds. Wheresoever an illustrious field of glory is opened, not only pleasures and riches become sordid in comparison thereof, but very life itself is vilified. And, therefore, even martyrdoms are easily undergone for a prosperous and rich church, without a more noble proof of religious faith; nor, consequently, can they deserve more admiration, than those brave lads of Canna and Trebia, who were born for the Punic times; or, if you like not the common soldiery, than Codrus, who feared not to die for his country. Indeed, whosoever hath sought after eternity of name in the church of Rome, did wisely choose a race for his glory: for the Roman commonwealth heretofore, although she grew great by this means chiefly, did never propose so many and so great rewards to dangers undertaken for her sake, as the Roman church doth hold forth. For those sumptuous beds and altars were a late invention of the commonwealth, and that to gratify the emperors only: whereas the church doth confer upon her benefactors, not only everlasting veneration of name, but also temples and orders, and an honourable place amongst the canonized saints. What higher thing can the most ardent thirst of glory aspire unto? Wherefore, when so large offers are proposed, and almost grasped with the hand; whosoever, though with some loss of his estate, entered into that warfare, hath no great reason to boast of his faith before God. Whilst the riches of the Roman church, the power of so many princes, and the hugeness of the Spanish empire dispersed over the world, came in to his aid; it was an easy matter, even in the greatest danger, to run before the ensigns. That was an essay of a human and military fortitude, not rising up to the more sacred glory of the martyrs or confessors of the primitive church: for they did so sincerely mind heaven, that they had nothing left them to be hoped for in the earth.

After their example, Lælius and Faustus did so trust God with those things which they lost for his sake, that they received hardly any earthly pledges of the reward to come, no human security for the divine hope, no solace. They followed the faith and clemency of God alone, in expectation to receive the same a long time after their decease: and, having been through the course of their lives perpetually despised, and inglorious, and only famous for the hatred conceived against them, they did not so much as at their death receive a taste of a more honourable report. Nevertheless, the beneficence of the most faithful God did never turn bankrupt to any one that had trusted him: nor would have that noble pair of his servants to be buried in perpetual oblivion, but shewed them to the world, on that side of them where they might be gloriously known, having brought to light so many famous monuments of their wits. And, although the wages of their warfare consisted not in this reward; yet, nevertheless, he hath begun so bountifully to assert the very honour of their name amongst men, that it is, perhaps, more to be feared, lest posterity should confer on them too much dignity, than none at all.

An impartial and brief Description of the Plaza, or sumptuous Market-place of Madrid, and the Bull-baiting there; together with the History of the famous and much-admired Placidus: as also a large Scheme, being the lively Representation of the Order and Ornament of this Solemnity. By James Salgado, a Spaniard[1].

London, Printed by Francis Clark, for the Author, *Anno Domini* 1683.

[Quarto; containing forty-six pages.]

To the most Serene and Mighty Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty;

YOUR royal name was prefixed to this other manual of mine the last year, but I had not the confidence to present your sacred majesty with the same. It was not that I judged the subject-matter altogether despicable and unworthy of acceptation, but because my timorous and bashful disposition induced me to believe, that it was every way sufficient to be honoured with the name of such an inestimable and noble patron; but yet, for all that, my pinching want has now at length prevailed with me to shake off these thoughts, in regard that so great an honour, attended with something else, (your majesty conceives my meaning) would, beyond all peradventure, contribute the more to my present straitened condition. Wherefore, I prostrate myself and labours at your royal feet, looking upon it as my greatest happiness, if your majesty may be pleased to spend some few minutes, for a recreation, in the perusal of this short description of the Bull-baiting at Madrid; but if good fortune deny me this honour, I must patiently share in the lot of my countrymen, who now-a-days are generally unfortunate. However, your majesty's long life, prosperous reign, and eternal happiness, shall, in all circumstances, be the most earnest prayer of

Your Majesty's most devoted supplicant,

JAMES SALGADO; a Spaniard.

To the READER.

READER,

I HAVE taken a view of Spain, France, Italy, and the United Netherlands; but, I must confess, I did never see (except here in England) such a crowd of authors, printers, bookbinders, stationers, gazettes, observators, pacquets, mercuries, intelligences, and bills of surgeons, calling themselves Doctors, forsooth; whereas, in very deed, they ought to be

[1] [James Salgado, "a Spaniard and converted priest," as he cal's himself in a little book intitled "Symbiosis Papæ et Diaboli, ut et Cardinalis et Morionis. Lond. 1681." Lat. & Angl.—To which is added "Appendix, in quâ diabolicæ Papæ Machinationes ulteriùs depinguntur: occasione nunquam satis deplorandi obitûs nobilissimi viri & zelosissimi Protestantis, D Edmund-bury Godfrey, &c. Lond. 1681." 8vo. Lat. & Angl.—— Salgado likewise wrote a book "De Somoza Labyrinthus Creditorum concurrentium ad Litem per Debitorem communem inter illos causatam. Fr. 1663." 2 tom.]

styled Mountebanks. In a word, I do not remember to have seen a people so much busied with, and fond of novelties: while, therefore, I stood amazed, behold, pinching Want and simple Bashfulness (by way of dialogue) made their address unto me; the former, in these following words: "I see you are a stranger, and ought to be encouraged by, and sheltered under the protection of, the generous English nation: for that cause, I judge it your near concernment to come with a full hand, if you look for any gracious acceptance." On the other side, Shame replied: "Mr. Salgado, believe my undissembled simplicity, the English are most ingenuous, and of a pregnant wit; what then can you expect, by publishing any thing, but scorn and contempt? For many will be apt to say, What meaneth this ugly, pale Spaniard; who, with his whimsies and trifles, busies our printers, and creates us much trouble?" "What? (answered Necessity:) hunger constrains him to take such a course; for Mr. Salgado, I am confident, by all laudable means endeavoureth to eschew hard straits, not hunting after airy praise and a great name." Which the one saying, stopped the mouth of blushing Shame.

Thus, being past shame, I do set this treatise on the pillory; *i. e.* I stick not to expose it to the censures of carping criticks. But, methinks, I hear a great many entertaining a discourse to this purpose: "It is not worth our while to take strict notice of a poor distressed man past shame, seeing necessity has no law?"

Wherefore, most noble, puissant, ancient, and generous English, or rather angelical nation, (for you are my tutelar angels, in regard that, these five years, and above, I have enjoyed life and sanctuary by your protection and benign generosity,) I present you with this solemnity of the Bulls at Madrid, my native soil. If any thing therein be amiss, I claim an interest in the clemency of your promise; but, if otherwise, look upon it as a testimony of my undissembled gratitude. Farewell.

SIR,

I AM certified by your letter, that a commendable curiosity has induced you to travel through France, Italy, and Germany; adding further, that had you not been persuaded to the contrary by a certain person (one, who I am apt to believe, has no good-will to my country) the pleasures and rarities of Spain had not escaped your impartial and diligent consideration. Assure yourself, none could be more concerned to enjoy your fellowship there, nor readier to do you good offices, than I; upon consideration of the manifold and signal obligations laid upon me by a person of your worth. But, seeing it is to no purpose to repent what is past, I shall forbear to enlarge on this subject. Yet, because you seem to be not a little dissatisfied that you had not the good fortune of seeing Spain, and more especially the Escurial, and the yearly festival of Madrid, I shall endeavour, according to my bounden duty, to satisfy your curiosity in this point; insomuch that, from your closet, you may receive a full view of the Spanish court, and its magnificence, as also the goodly and large fields of Madrid, without expending much, or exposing your person to danger, after the manner of most travellers who repair thither: and, for your greater clearness in the matter, I send you this large scheme.

In describing the matter in hand, my style shall be plain, and the relation impartial; in regard that I bear no liking to disingenuity, or the forging of romantic novelties and fictions.

As for the Escurial, we shall have a fairer opportunity to treat on it at another occasion. This, in the general, you may know, that (according to the unanimous consent of all who have travelled thither) it is a thing very well worth the while. Our present discourse then shall be wholly confined to the Bull-baiting (as it is called) at Madrid.

It has been the fate of Spain, as that of other puissant nations, not to have escaped scot-free of the frequent and noisome inroads of many cruel adversaries of different languages, laws, and constitutions; so that some *vestigia* of the one must be supposed to remain, as well as the other. Those who did bear chief sway there, were the Romans,

Vandals, Goths, and Saracens; insomuch, that the Spanish tongue appears to be an aggregate of the Latin, German, and Arabick. The Saracens obtained the latest conquest, their laws and language leave the deeper impression. Among other their constitutions, this festival, which we are about to describe, was one.

You may easily object, that it is a cruel and barbarous recreation; which I am ready to grant, and so much the rather, in that its original is derived from such a barbarous rabble as the Turks were, and are to this day. Nevertheless, an uncontrolled custom, of long continuance, has given it the force and validity of a law, and the most honourable designation of a royal festival; which, if any person, of what quality soever, once endeavoured to rectify, he should inevitably incur the risk of reproach and shame, if not a more sad fate. It being therefore altogether extrinsic to any purpose and concernment, as a private man, to determine any thing against the lawfulness and unlawfulness of this solemnity; I shall content myself, by making a clear discovery thereof, for your greater satisfaction.

Lincoln's-Inn-Fields are neither so large, nor spacious, as this place of public resort at Madrid, which is exactly square; being surrounded with houses, uniform all along in their dimensions, erected to the altitude of five pair of stairs, with a great many most curious windows, and balconies overlaid with the purest gold. Moreover, the square is level; to the end, that the foaming bulls, and prancing horses, may run their courses with the greater easiness and celerity. From the ground to the first pair of stairs, are reared up theatres made of timber for the people. The thirty balconies, set a-part for the king and court, are sumptuously furnished with the richest tapestry, and choicest velvet, that money or art can purchase. Here, it is observable, that all noblemen, whose lot it is not to attend the court for that present quarter, are denied the privilege of these balconies; wherefore such persons may possess whatever other places they judge most convenient. In Spain there are divers kinds of councils, as the king's council, that of the Inquisition, war, India, Italy, the Low-Countries, and Arragon, and consequently counsellors of different degrees and qualities; for which cause it is appointed, that each of those have their balconies a-part, beautified with silks and tapestry of colours differing, according to the diversity of those offices and officers.

All ambassadors from foreign kings and potentates are treated after the same fashion, except the pope's legate; whose modesty and piety, forsooth, lays such a restraint upon him, that that profane festival, not being of the church's appointment, must not be honoured with his presence. All other ranks of persons, assembled thither, may possess what seats they are able to purchase. This, I say, because the general confluence to this common play, from all corners, makes such a crowd; that, notwithstanding the great number of theatres, balconies, and windows, mentioned elsewhere, none can purchase a room in the first pair of stairs, at a lower rate than two-hundred crowns; yea, and those places which are not exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, after four o'clock, must be supposed to amount to a greater sum of money. Above the first row of windows, places may be got more easily. Seeing this festival falls out yearly in the months of June and July, any person may imagine, that a refreshing shadow cannot be enjoyed without much money, and great moyan; because of the then extraordinary heat of this place, which ordinarily is known to be a most hot climate. In the cool of the evening (a most dangerous season, I confess,) all persons, promiscuously, throng thither; but chiefly about ten of the clock at night, when the affections are much delighted with a most sweet melody and concert of instrumental and vocal musick, and, on all occasions of that nature, the guitar and harp are most frequently used; because generally the Spaniards can dextrously play on those instruments. Where it is observable, that all musicians are had in great account at such a time, not respecting what persons they be; which is hardly discernible, in regard that all are disguised by most gorgeous apparel. It is further to be observed, that if the jealous Spaniard can espy any man complimenting his wife with jocose words or kisses, without any consideration, he will furiously assault such a person with sword and cudgel, whence arise many most lamentable tragedies; for the preventing of which, the law has wisely

appointed a considerable number of Alquaciles, whom we here call Constables; whose proper and sole office it is, to mediate betwixt those persons, rewarding them with bonds and fetters for the commission of such horrid outrages.

The ensuing day, about eight of the clock in the morning, no place can be found empty; whilst none of the members of the court are present, but the mayor and aldermen.

This morning game or recreation (called *Encierro*, or the Bringing forth of the Bull) is thus performed: there is a gate in Madrid, De la Vega by name, nigh to which a large room is appointed for the reception of the bulls, the day preceding this solemn feast, where they are gently fed, rather to render them the more furious, than in the least to strengthen the miserable creatures. It is certain, that, for the most part, bulls are more furious in Spain, than any other part of the world; and there, more especially, such as feed by the rivers Tago and Jarama, flowing betwixt Toledo and Madrid.—But, to return to our purpose; there is a long and straight street, or lane, adjoining to the house in which the bulls are shut up, and terminating in the place of public resort, where all passages are carefully stopped; only, over-against the foresaid street, there is another large room left wide open, whither the mad animals do throng, finding no other place of refuge left them; by which means, a most easy course is contrived for leading them forth to slaughter. I shall not detain you longer, by relating other passages of the Encierro: for it is a matter scarce worth our while, as being destitute of order or ornament, by reason of the court's absence. About two of the clock in the afternoon, twelve gladiators repair to the place, where all are permitted to fight, whom magnanimity, or boldness, shall excite thereto; which liberty would unquestionably produce sad tragedies, if full gaols, and empty purses, were not sufficient means to stop such disorders. Two hours after, there appear the nobility in their stately coaches; all the ground being sprinkled over with water, because of the burning heat of the sun. Which, while it is a setting, the king and court, with the counsellors and ambassadors, are to be seen, to the great satisfaction of all persons. Upon the back of this, the royal constables, being twelve in number, in good equipage, and mounted on horses, with the richest harness imaginable, drive away all persons and disorders; insomuch, that, in a very short time, the constables are to be seen, and none else in the plain square. Afterwards, twenty-four hogsheads of water are carried in waggons, resembling so many green mountains, because of their bigness, and being covered over with most fragrant herbs; those large vessels are the seats of twenty-four men, who, upon demand, open the bung-holes; so that, in an instant, the whole plain is besprinkled with water. In the next place, the king's life-guard, consisting of one-hundred Spaniards, and as many Germans, attend his majesty all along, being armed with halberts; whom coats of red and yellow silk, and caps of the choicest black velvet, adorn exceedingly.

By this time, methinks, you have got a pretty clear idea of what is antecedaneous to the main thing in hand: so that, if the most stately balconies and theatres, if the vast number of people, if the nobility gorgeously (I had said wonderfully) arrayed; if the king's constables maintaining good order, if, in the last place, his majesty's life-guard: I say, if each, and all of those be impartially canvassed by such a considerate person as you are, I doubt not, but you will be constrained, upon the most solid grounds and reasons imaginable, to join with me in the commendation of this festival, beyond any recreation in the world. I confess, France and Italy vaunt very much of their splendid games, as they call them; and the English, upon more just grounds, extol the costliness of their prizes, and the stateliness of their coursing horses: but, in my humble opinion, what I am a describing, may claim a right to the pre-eminence. Yet, if what has been hitherto said, cannot sufficiently evince the truth of this point, I shall endeavour to drive out one foaming bull; that, by seeing the result of such an enterprise, your curiosity may receive the greater satisfaction.

We told you, that the bull was shut up in a large room; therefore the person, whose undaunted courage or boldness sets him a work to encounter with this raging creature,

stands to his posture at the door of the said house, with a long and sharp-pointed lance in his hand, having one of his knees set to the ground. Immediately after the sound of a trumpet, a constable runs with all possible speed, and sets the door of the room, where the furious animal is inclosed, wide open. Way being thus made, and all persons attentively looking on, the man is, by-and-by, assaulted with great violence; which onset, if by dexterity, or good luck, he can evade, there is a fair occasion presented him, for killing or wounding the bull to purpose; which if he miss to do, his life or members are in jeopardy. It is a thirsting desire after some imaginary honour, that sets such bold fellows upon the exposing of themselves to those dangerous circumstances, rather than the advantage of getting the beasts which they have killed, or wounded to purpose.

That the next bull may be rendered the more furious, they set up a quantity of wool, in figure representing a man, with a considerable weight at his legs; which while the beast pusheth in a most formidable manner, the weight keeps it in a straight position, by which means the bull is wonderfully enraged. Sometimes a very despicable peasant is set upon a lean deformed horse, and exposed very often to a violent death, because of his antagonist's strength and rage. For dragging out the bulls once killed, six mules of divers colours are appointed, which, by the conduct of four men, accomplish this work with all possible velocity and artifice. Six foot-men are ordained to encounter with the four beasts yet remaining, to whom no other weapon is granted, but a dagger with some few rexones in a bag, which in length exceed not six or seven inches; having hafts well ordered with bunches of garlands, and points exceeding sharp, for the more ready carrying on of the intendment. Such as be thus stated, are commonly most dextrous, whom it behoves to fight with the bull face to face: he who doth otherwise, will undoubtedly incur the risk of imprisonment, with most abashing reproaches, and the loss of a considerable prize. Some men are so nimble, that by a gentle motion they can easily evade the bull's fury, and attain their design. Thus matters go on until such time as the trumpet sounds: then butchers-dogs, and men armed with broad swords, quickly dispatch the strength and violence of those formidable animals.

Some years ago, I remember, upon an occasion of this kind, to have seen a thing admirable indeed, *viz.* A young man of twenty years, encountering with a big bull, escaped all his comminations by the nimble and dextrous motion of his leg; afterwards he did spring upon his back, and catching hold of his left horn, wounded him in several places with the rexones; in which posture he continued until the trumpet was about to sound: then, and not till then, he dispatched the foaming bull with his dagger, having sustained no prejudice imaginable. All persons present were possessed with a wonderful opinion of the youth, because of his surpassing agility, courage, dexterity, and boldness. But seeing this example is remarkable, we shall insist on it at greater length hereafter.

It will not be amiss here to mention what fell out, upon such an occasion as this, in the presence of Charles the First, of blessed memory:[2] who, while prince of Wales, repaired to the court of Spain, whether to be married to the Infanta, or upon what other design, I cannot well determine. However all comedies, plays, and festivals, (this of the bulls at Madrid being included,) were appointed to be as decently and magnificently gone about, as possible; for the more sumptuous and stately entertainment of such a splendid prince. Therefore, after the three bulls had been killed, and the fourth a-coming forth, there appeared four gentlemen in good equipage; not long after a brisk lady, in a most gorgeous apparel, attended with persons of quality, and some three or four grooms, walked all along the square a-foot. Astonishment seized upon the beholders, that one of the female sex

[2] [James Howell, in a letter to Viscount Colchester, dated from Madrid, Aug. 16, 1623, speaks of this entertainment as follows: "There was a great show lately here of baiting of bulls with men for the entertainment of the prince. It is the chiefest of all the Spanish sports; commonly there are men killed at it, therefore there are priests appointed to be there, ready to confess them. It hath happened oftentimes, that a bull hath taken up two men upon his horns, with their guts dangling about them. The horsemen run with lances and swords, the foot with goads. As I am told, the pope hath sent divers *bulls* against this sport of bulling; yet it will not be left, the nation hath taken such an habitual delight in it." Familiar Letters, p. 140. edit. 1737.]

could assume the unheard boldness of exposing herself to the violence of the most furious beast yet seen; which had overcome, yea almost killed, two men of great strength, courage, and dexterity. Incontinently the bull rushed towards the corner where the lady and her attendants stood: she, after all had fled, drew forth her dagger very unconcernedly, and thrust it most dextrously into the bull's neck, having catched hold of his horn; by which stroke, without any more trouble, her design was brought to perfection: after which, turning about towards the king's balcony, she made her obeisance, and withdrew herself in suitable state and gravity. Sir, did you ever see, or hear, any example to parallel this? Wonderful indeed! that a faint-hearted feeble woman, one would think, should stand in the fields undauntedly, after her attendants had quickly made their escape; yea, and have overcome such a furious creature as that bull was. This being a matter of fact, which I thus branch forth into divers circumstances; I hope my fate shall not be so bad, as to be called a liar. Nevertheless, in regard that I judge you one of my best friends, I will not conceal the mystery of the matter from you. This person was a man, though in the habit of a woman, of great experience, agility, and resolution, who had been well inured to this hard labour at several other occasions, whom they appointed to be disguised so much the rather, that the prince of Wales might be the more taken with the thing.—But, not insisting further on this, I shall proceed to the remaining part of my relation, with all brevity and perspicuity possible.

Noblemen of singular magnanimity, being mounted on horses, incomparably nimble and pretty, with costly harness beseeming the dignity of their riders, and the splendour of the festival, appear in great state and pomp: whose grooms in a most decent manner carry the lances, with which their masters intend to dispatch the bulls. Their province and charge is to irritate the rage and fury of the formidable beast. Those heroic minds, managing their lances most dextrously, accomplish their noble purposes, very often by killing or wounding the foaming animals: which if they fail to do, then the horses sustain great prejudice; insomuch, that their riders are dismounted, whom it behoves, in that case, to encounter with the bulls on foot, lashing them with broad-swords; which, if any decline to do, he is baffled, and branded with the character of pusillanimity and cowardice. You may easily imagine, that generous spirits will prefer death to such an ignominy and reproach. Thus, three or four persons of quality continue, until it be pretty late; at which time they drive out a bull, covered all over with artificial fire, by which he is rendered most furious and hurtful. For curiosity, and want of further order, induces the rabble to approach so near unto him, that, by his most dreadful pushings, many sustain mutilation, yea, and death itself; insomuch that a tragedy is oftentimes the conclusion of this solemnity.

In the last place of this relation, it may be worth the while to give a brief account of a notable instance of folly in a young lady, and passionate temerity in three gallants, while the king and nobility were present. Three gentlemen, Marcus Antonius, Charles, and Lodovicus, fell over head and ears in love with a certain lady of good extraction and education, being the only child of her parents, and then about the age of twenty years, whose name was Margareta. Those rivals could hardly look upon one another without menaces and blows; of whom, while any one endeavoured, after the Spanish custom, to make a sweet, pleasant melody, in the hearing of the lady, then the other two disturbed him; which did breed many and great quarrellings in the streets each night; insomuch that the lady's parents, and all others, dwelling nigh that place, were highly offended: which when Margareta had espied, having, it seems, very little affection for any of them, she directed letters to them severally, for preventing of all such disorders for the future; of which epistles the sum and tenour follows:

'Gentlemen,

'I CANNOT be induced to believe, that musick, accompanied with scandalous disturbances, can be termed a testimony of sincere affection; yea, it seems that you aim

'more, by such a course, to disgrace and baffle my name, than to testify any real respect 'to my person. Therefore, I earnestly entreat you may be pleased to desist from such a 'foolish, unmannerly, and scandalous action. But if all this cannot be sufficient to put a 'stop to the folly of your exorbitant affections, I shall pose you with this experiment. 'Whoever resolves to express his dexterity, courage, and agility, to all beholders sufficiently, and his ardent love towards me; let him buckle with the bull to-morrow, in presence of all the assembly; and he who shall be so fortunate as to cut off his neck, and 'present me with his horns, may be assured, by my subscription, that I shall not decline 'to own him for my husband. Which, if any, or all of you refuse to do, get you gone; 'for effeminate men are none of those I aim at, or desire to be joined unto. Farewell.

'From MARGARETA.'

This pertinent and smart letter non-plussed all the rivals; seeing, thereby, a province was prescribed them, which they never dreamed of, nor judged any ways honourable: because noblemen, such as those were, how dextrous soever they be, are never desired to grasp with the bull on foot, and very seldom on horseback. Yet, notwithstanding all opposition and reluctancy, lest they should be branded with the detestable character of pusillanimity, they unanimously consented to the proposition; each of them signifying apart, by a most passionate letter, that he was absolutely determined to satisfy her demand, or die. Wherefore, till the time appointed, they remained with the rabble, that more easy and speedy access might be attained, to appear in the performance of a thing in which their credit was so nearly concerned; where they composed themselves, until the noblemen, well mounted, were about to encounter with the fifth full: at which time, Marcus Antonius, stepping down, got most nimbly on the bull's back, intending, by that means, to dispatch him quickly with his broad-sword. Next to him appeared Charles, whose business and work it was to catch hold of the beast's horns; which fell out so fortunately, according to his desire and design, that the bull stumbled by the first assault; so that Antonius fell to the ground. Lodovicus, espying Charles sticking fast to the horns, and Antonius dismounted, with a dextrous and seasonable stroke, cut off the bull's neck. Charles immediately got to the lady with the head; signifying, that the condition of the compact was fulfilled, and therefore he claimed an interest in her for his wife. Lodovicus did take it very ill to be thus trepanned by subtle Charles; seeing he it was who cut off the neck, and therefore concluded the prize to be his, in all justice. Antonius, moreover, being the person who first gave proof of his magnanimity, making way for the other two, concluded it highly reasonable, that he should be preferred before either of them; which did breed such a wrangling among them, that, had not the alquaciles, or constables, interposed, they would have committed a most lamentable tragedy. Being now led to the king, they gave an account of the matter; which when his majesty heard, he commended, in some respect, their valour, but could not approve of their inconsiderateness. Seeing, therefore, he understood it to be vanity, if not cruelty, in the foolish lady, rather than any sincere love, to demand such a dangerous attempt; strict orders were given, that none of the rivals should persist or proceed in a course so very foolish. Thus the debate ended.

We have now impartially described what is considerable in the yearly festival at Madrid. I grant, indeed, as before, that it is a recreation scarcely beseeming Christians, whose meekness and gentleness should not admit of such barbarous diversions: nevertheless, to speak no more of that, it is generally concluded, that persons, appointed for such an exercise, ought to be furnished, not only with suitable courage, but also with agility and dexterity, to evade the assaults of a violent brute; by which means many become famous.

Here we may observe, how much the Roman plays come short of this game: for criminals were there compelled to grapple with boars and lions, most truculent creatures, of which few can promise themselves the victory; and thus poor convicted pannals suffered a most cruel death. To which it may be added, that those games were chiefly designed

to satisfy the bloody and vindictive humours of the people, who rejoiced in such lamentable experiments. It is otherwise here, in regard that no man is constrained to undergo this hard labour; neither are criminals punished with such a death; but masculine and noble minds desire an occasion of this kind, whereby proof may be given of their agility, and undaunted courage. However, as I told in the beginning, it is not my work to praise or condemn this most ancient and uncontrolled custom. All I aimed at was, to satisfy your commendable curiosity, by describing this festival, which is judged in Spain a most noble recreation.—Our next business shall be to enlarge a little on the history of Placidus, of whom mention was made elsewhere.

The History of PLACIDUS.

THIS Placidus, a youth very much admired and praised, because of his valiant exploits, was the son of Fadrick who played the merchant with one Antonius in Seville; a city in Spain well known, and much commended by travellers of all nations and languages who resort thither.

Undaunted courage set our Placidus a-work to grapple with a most violent brute, after he had remained some time in Madrid, whither he repaired without the knowledge and consent of his indulgent parents for this very end; that, in the flower of his age, all persons, from the king to the peasant, might receive a sufficient, I may say wonderful, specimen of his surpassing fortitude and magnanimity.

Here it is observable, that Fadrick and his hopeful son seemed rather to be one person, than two: for, in nature, demeanour, stature, speech, and countenance, they resembled one another so much, that a quick-sighted man could hardly distinguish betwixt them. Yea, although the father was a man of fifty, and the son but of twenty years, yet any who looked upon their pictures, affirmed stiffly that the one was an exact pattern to the other: and, had not the eyes of men been a demonstration to the contrary, I am apt to believe that the possibility of such an universal similitude (so to call it) would be thought a chimæra. Yet, if we consult authors of good note and great worth, many instances of this kind may be found.

Valerius Maximus, with great confidence, affirms that Pompey the Great, Urelius, and Publius Libertinus differed in nothing, but their vestments; so that, if two of them were arrayed after the same fashion, a quick-sighted person could not assign a difference betwixt them. It is also written by Pliny, that two boys, the one being a Syrian, and the other a French, were so very like to one another in every point, that a certain person sold them to Marcus Antonius, under the notion of brethren. Antonius, perceiving their language to differ, threatened the person who had thus imposed on him; to whom the other replied, "If they had been brethren, I would not require so great a sum of money; because in that case, nature could not be said to bring forth so great a wonder, as now you see."

If it be true in any respect, that, according to the philosopher, similitude begets affection; how much more in this instance of Fadrick and Placidus; whose mutual love was wonderful beyond that of most persons in such a relation? Yet, by the interposition of Agnes, a young lady of singular endowments and education, the brightness of this splendid passion suffered in some measure an eclipse. This beautiful object became the centre of their desires and incontaminate love, which could not be smothered long: wherefore, they discovered their maladies to one another in a most friendly manner; and determined, after a serious and mature consultation, to submit the event of the matter in hand to the young lady's and her mother's arbitrement; insomuch that the person excluded should remove from his native country, lest, by his presence, way might be made for jealousy, whose effects are more dangerous no-where, than in Spain. After this, both of them met with

bad entertainment, and small encouragement, at the hands of Agnes and her mother: yet, in process of time, Fadrick's riches and constancy had great influence on the matron. It is true the youth of Placidus was no small motive to obtain the respect of the pretty lady: nevertheless, bags of money were an argument *à fortiore*. After both parties had pondered sedately the circumstances most remarkable, the mother speaks to her daughter after this manner: "My dear child, you see there is no solid objection, which can be brought against those worthy persons, who have set their affections on you; and therefore I judge it most reasonable, that you freely declare your own sentiments in this affair. I know the neatness and youth of Placidus will have great weight with you; and, on the other hand, Fadrick's declining age will in some measure alienate your affections from him. But hearken diligently, my daughter, to the dictates of right reason, rather than fond fancy, which misleads many in your circumstances; and you shall find riches and experience more eligible, than undaunted youth, or any other imaginary foundation, on which the superstructure of your desires and designs is fixed. That this may yet have the greater weight in your estimation, consider how much riches contribute to beget esteem and honour in this city where we live; so that persons of noble extraction lose their dignity frequently with their wealth. What is beauty but a fading flower, which nature, in a short time, or some unexpected accident, will prey upon, and reduce to nothing? Let a brisk gallant discharge, to admiration, all the punctilios of court-education and activity: will that purchase food and raiment? Whereas money answers all things: without which, trading and commerce should die. I judge it superfluous to make an enumeration of the qualities of gold which we eat, and with which we are clothed. Hence arose the proverb, 'That is gold which is purchased by gold;' which saying renders it most universal, seeing all things are valued at some rate or other. It is true, I confess, Placidus is inferior to few gentlemen in probity and reputation; but it is as true his father, though rich, has many children, and may, in all probability, beget many more. What then will the riches amount to, which must be divided among so many? You know, if it were possible to divide the ocean into many rivulets, this vast collection of waters would appear very inconsiderable, in respect of what it now is. But I pass by this topick, lest that you may suspect interest prevails with me. In the next place, therefore, let us consider whether or no you can promise yourself as great satisfaction in the one as the other. Not at all; for whoever is married to Placidus, must necessarily be in a slavish subjection to his father, his brethren, sisters, and relations; whereas the wife of Fadrick will enjoy immunity from such a bitter lot, as being above and beyond the reach of all those censurers.

"Alas! alas! woeful experience, the school-mistress of fools, has furnished me with this observation; as witness those grey hairs, brought forth untimeously by excessive grief and sorrow. Shall you deck yourself with the finest needle-work, and most gorgeous raiment possible: then black-mouthed backbiters will readily misconstrue your neatness. If, on the other hand, such a decorum be neglected: why, say they, she is not content with her lot and condition. You cannot frequent divine worship without the character of levity or hypocrisy; nor forbear such a religious observance, but immediately occasion will be taken of branding you with the stigma of an irreligious wretch. In fine, the eyes of all relations will be fixed upon you, that you cannot promise yourself satisfaction and tranquillity in the most minute circumstance. And it may be added further, that such an uncharitable multitude may so influence your husband with prejudice; that, in a very short time, the greatest of all your miseries shall arise with his jealousy or unbeseeming carriage towards you. If so be, then, that by being espoused to Fadrick, no such inconveniencies can, in reason, be suspected: what remains, but that, in obedience to those pressing arguments of your loving mother, and in relation to your own future contentment, you cheerfully assent to the proposals of the father, without the least reluctancy imaginable?"

Those pithy motives, founded on reason and experience, wrought a sensible and sudden change upon Agnes; insomuch that, in a thundering manner, she decided the whole

matter in favour of Fadrick; which conclusion produced no less sorrow to Placidus, than contentment and joy to Fadrick. Whereupon, dejected Placidus, according to his passion, without any more delay, forsook his native country, having got from his father about a thousand guineas; who left it to his choice, to spend his time in India, Italy, or the Low-Countries; being to receive money upon bill, according to the custom and necessity of gentlemen, while abroad.

When he had come to Naples in Italy, his genius inclined him to play the soldier, as being an employment, by which honour and lasting renown is more attainable. After a few months there, he enjoined his trustee to certify Fadrick, and all relations, of Placidus's death, that intercourse of letters might be stopped; which he judged the fittest course and method, to free him from pensive melancholy: but all this could not eradicate a passion so deeply rooted.

Fadrick, by successful traffick, attained quickly to vast possessions, which, with a virtuous wife, might be supposed a pleasant condition. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the want of children was matter of great grief to him. Wherefore, that his memory might not die with himself, he resolves, without delay, to distribute his riches among his nephews, Charles and Bernard, who are brought to him, for that purpose. Their uncle and his lady entertain the boys, with all the expressions of joy and kindness possible. In a very short time, their good behaviour and affability did procure unto them a great many friends and acquaintances in Seville, where they pass under the notion of Fadrick's sons. The old man's love to his nephews rose to so much the greater height, in that he perceived himself decaying more sensibly than could be expected by the course of nature, not being, as yet, sixty years; whereas Agnes appeared more brisk than ever.

Thus Charles and Bernard, discovering that their uncle had, in a manner, centered the comfort and tranquillity of his decrepit old-age on them, waxed insolent and disrespectful towards Agnes; whose prudence taught her to obviate the very beginning of this evil, by representing such enormities to her indulgent husband. The old man, complying with his wife, appointed a lodging elsewhere for his nephews, with all things necessary, and suitable to their condition; which course no ways abated the insolence of the young men, but rather increased the same; insomuch that they branded Agnes with incontinency, and many other vicious qualities.

At this time Placidus, having travelled all Italy over, came to Bononia, where his life was in jeopardy. For, happening to be late out of his lodging, the second or third night after he came to town, he wandered in the streets, by reason of darkness, and his unacquaintedness with the several corners of the city: at length he espied in a place, somewhat remote, a glimmering light, whither when he had approached, three cut-throats are found assaulting one gentleman with all possible fury. The compassionate Placidus, thinking that a fit season for charity and fortitude, became the oppressed gentleman's assistant; by which means two of the rogues were grievously wounded, the third being smote with the edge of the sword.

Having thus rescued the Italian from imminent death, not without some danger (for he sustained the prejudice of two or three wounds), he calls his servant to bring his horse. James Viteli, in whose behalf he had seasonably appeared, answered, saying, "Sir, your ineffable kindness and courage calls for my attendance as a servant, who am ready and willing to wait upon all opportunities, whereby I may express my gratitude. I know diligent search will be made for us by-and-by; therefore, seeing I take you to be a stranger unacquainted with this city, I entreat you may be pleased to accept of my company, and, by the grace of God, we shall escape the rage and fury of our adversaries; and I promise to dress and cure your wounds in a very short time." Placidus concluded it highly reasonable to lay hold on such a good motion: wherefore, James Viteli conducted him from one street to another, until at last he came to an house, where, it is probable, he had been known; upon which consideration, he knocks hard at the door, until such time as a comely youth had given him access: forthwith, according to his duty and promise, he dressed the wounds of Placidus, which were not deep nor deadly; enjoining withal, that the

student should go in all haste to such a street by name, and return with an exact account of all emergents. Whither when the young man had come, he sees all things in a hurly-burly, one man being dead, on whom a great number of citizens are gazing; and orders given to apprehend such as could be suspected any way accessary to such an assassination. Where also he heard a certain person imprisoned, confessing that he was the servant of one Placidus, a Spaniard, who had killed the man. When the youth returned, he gave an impartial account of all occurrences observed by him. The gentlemen, perceiving what might be the result of such a commotion, slipped away quietly; in regard that they concluded it most dangerous to stay so near the place of justice, where a strict search was to be made.

Having thus escaped hazard, Placidus is curious to know the original of his companion's misfortune, in being assaulted by three men in such a place. To whom Viteli answered thus: "My dearest Placidus, I determined to disclose this secret to no man living; yet, considering you to be my greatest friend upon earth, who in my cause exposed your noble person to danger, and, neglecting all the important affairs which induced you to see Bononia, has continued my companion in affliction, though a stranger. I say, upon these, and many other weighty considerations, which my shallow brain cannot comprehend, nor my stammering tongue express; I will, with the greatest candour and ingenuity imaginable, discover this matter to you.

"I was born at Rome, the queen and mistress of the world, where, when I was very young, my honourable parents gave up the ghost. After that I had sucked in the first and common principles of learning, my good friends and relations sent me to the famous university of Bononia, where I made no despicable proficiency in philosophy, and all the languages professed there; which are the Spanish, German, French, Hebrew and Greek. All which could not satiate my thirsting desires after knowledge, until the study of physick became my work and business. But a lady of singular endowments and quality, being pleased to honour me with the strongest testimonies of sincere affection, diverted my thoughts from prosecuting the most pleasant of all studies. How secret soever this matter was kept, the lady's brother understood it; which prompted him, with two other conspirators, to lie in wait for my life; and undoubtedly I had become a prey to their fury, if (by the Divine Providence) one of the three had not signified to me the method of this most horrid plot.

"Then I determined to travel through Spain and other countries; but, being driven from Genoa by a most violent tempest, I was enslaved to the Turks, who first brought me to Algiers, and then to Constantinople, where I was sold very often under the notion of a slave. At length I am presented to one of Mahomet's physicians, who, finding me pretty expert in the principles of medicine, was pleased to encourage me with his fellowship and instruction, to my great advantage, I must confess, in some respects; whose gentleness was such, that he would not thwart my inclinations of returning to Italy, but rather encouraged me by the gift of two-thousand guineas.

"After a tedious and dangerous voyage, I came to Venice; where, being unknown, the people looked upon many of my operations and experiments as miracles, rather than the product of natural knowledge; for which cause, the magistrates encouraged me with promises of a very considerable salary. But all this could not induce me to stay, seeing my thoughts and desires were much concerned with returning to Bononia, where I had enjoyed so many pleasant days. I could not imagine that it was possible for any in that place to know me after the absence of six complete years; which time also might quench the ardour of Camilla's passion; (ah! her name cannot be concealed, nor my love towards her suppressed.) Upon those considerations I came to Bononia, where I was entertained with great courtesy by all persons of knowledge, to whom I discovered my various misfortunes and difficulties: by which means the noise of my being in town came to the hearing of Camilla; who incontinently saluted me by a most pathetical letter, as you may easily imagine. Thus our love was renewed; and so much the more, because she came, the ensuing day, disguised, to my chamber, where we entertained a most comfortable dia-

logue, founded on the solid hopes of obtaining our longed-for desires. I seemed to decline and reject the profession of medicine in the university of Bononia, merely, that Camilla's brother, and his associates, might not in the least suspect me, whom they hated with an inveterate hatred, which time, nor dignity, could not eradicate. Nevertheless, by debating, I obtained the honour of that place. Then engines of cruelty are set on work to dispatch me some way or another: and, I must confess, the rogues had accomplished their corrupt design, if (by the Divine Providence) your seasonable charity and magnanimity had not rescued my life from their malice. In testimony, therefore, of my gratitude, I protest to remain your most faithful friend and servant, while I breathe; declaring, to that end, a willingness of accompanying you to Spain, or any-where else."

Placidus was very much taken with the grateful acknowledgments, and protestations of lasting kindness, so pitifully expressed by Viteli. Yet, being unwilling to divulge or disclose the hidden sorrow which burdened his spirit, he answered the other in a most courtly and complimenting strain: "Sir, you may confidently assure yourself of my unalterable good-will, wherever you be, or however stated." The pregnant Viteli, by a groan attending those words, perceived Placidus to be a little discomposed; wherefore he resolved to know the cause of so great grief at a more seasonable occasion. In the mean while, they entered into a strict league of amity, having all things common; in which real kindness consists, if we hear the philosopher. A few days after, they came to Genoa; where, as all along their peregrination, their thoughts were alleviated, by giving an impartial and free account to one another, of their divers misfortunes; and so much the more, in regard that Viteli, by his superlative knowledge, and jocose brisk disposition, was a physician no less capable to remove the sorrows of the mind, than the distempers of the body. Yet Placidus, in some measure, continues dumpish and pensive: so that Viteli intended to expiscate and extort from him the original and cause of so lasting a grief, and did carry all things on, in order to his conclusion, so wittily, that Placidus is allured to discover the perplexity of his mind, after this manner: "Your probity and gentleness extract from me a secret, which I never purposed to disclose." After which he makes mention of Fadrick's compact with him, (while both of them had a longing desire to enjoy the virtuous and beautiful Agnes,) who, by the instigation and persuasion of her covetous mother, rejected him, embracing Fadrick. In a word, he did not omit the least punctilio, which could satisfy the curiosity of Viteli; who, replying, answered thus: "My dear Placidus, be of good cheer, for there is no malady so great, which admits not of a remedy applied with so much the better success, that the patient can discover his distemper distinctly, as you have done: and therefore I constantly promise (being taught by experience what such a case meaneth) to remove your trouble and grief, by an experiment at first, it is probable, strange in your eyes; though, after mature deliberation, most obvious. All I crave is, that you condescend yet once more to walk with me in the streets of Seville."

Having thus embarked at Genoa, they arrived at Barcelona; from whence they sailed by Tarragona, Valencia, Alicant, Carthagena, and the borders of Granada, until they came to Malaga, and at length to Cadiz, the haven of St. Mary and St. Luke, and sailed thence along the river Betis to Seville; where, being in strangers' apparel, they search for a convenient lodging; in which Placidus abode, while the intelligent Viteli went abroad, informing himself, the best way he could, about the state of affairs in Fadrick's house; which he understood exactly, and returned to Placidus, signifying how indulgent dying Fadrick was towards his insolent nephews, Charles and Bernard; as also, that Agnes looked as brisk as ever. In a word, he answered the most particular questions so fully, that Placidus's grief was, in a great measure, assuaged.

The learned Viteli gave such proof of his knowledge in physick, by sundry wonderful experiments, that, in an instant, his name spread abroad. Agnes, therefore, hearing of such an expert physician, thought it her near concernment and duty to consult with him concerning the nature of Fadrick's disease, which was concluded mortal by all other physicians in Seville. Viteli, having visited the old man, discerned nature shrinking, and

death approaching. Nevertheless, to encourage the lady, he confidently affirmed, in the presence of many learned and judicious men, that his disease was not mortal: which assertion he confirmed with reasons and arguments founded upon the most solid and genuine philosophy, so that no place was left for cavils; all physicians, there present, being persuaded of the truth of his discourse: which comforted Agnes so much, that, with great intimacy, in private conferences, she searched into Viteli's sentiments in this affair.

The expert physician failed not, at such a time, to make mention of Placidus, whose valiant exploit he praised with such eloquence and admiration, that the lady's pristine love revived, and prompted her to enquire very concernedly where he lived, and whether there was any truth in the noise of his death? The smart Viteli, by such questions, perceiving much affection to center in the lady's breast towards Placidus, answered her thus: "Madam, I am obliged to declare the truth, and cannot sufficiently declare what is true concerning his lasting renown abroad; nor how constant and christian his love has been to you: otherwise, the excessive grief of his spirit had undoubtedly rendered him desperate, and accessary to his own death. The rumour of his death implied, that his love might be termed dead; because, without the hope of enjoying its object."

"God knows, (said Agnes,) how much I desired to be married to him; but fortune has so ordered, that I should be the wife of Fadrick, though much against my inclinations. Yea, I must add, seeing this subject is pleasant, that the love of Placidus is of great force with me to this hour. It is true, I am obliged every way to bear a suitable respect to Fadrick, who has continued all along a kind husband, never believing the odd aspersions with which his insolent nephews, Charles and Bernard, endeavoured to brand me." "I know, (said Viteli,) that many waters cannot quench love, but it must break forth after some manner or other; and, methinks, the Divine Providence has conducted me hither in a good season: therefore, seeing that I am persuaded, that, according to the course of nature, Fadrick cannot live fifteen days; Madam, if you be pleased, I shall in the mean time contrive and carry on matters so dextrously, that by your husband's last will, and without the least opposition, you may enjoy your beloved Placidus, instead of his father." "I have heard Fadrick (replied the lady) at sundry times, in a most pathetical and passionate manner expressing sorrow and grief for the death of his *great* and *real* friend Placidus, as he called him; for, said he, 'If my son were alive, I would dispose of my sub-'stance to him and you: ordering, withal, your cohabitation, under the notion of husband 'and wife.' But, supposing Placidus be yet alive, our union will meet with great opposition from Fadrick's insolent nephews." "Nay, madam, (said he,) leave that to me; for I am willing to lose the reputation of a gentleman, yea, and life itself, if I do not carry on the matter so wittily, that in great peace, without the least shadow of fear or danger, you shall enjoy Placidus for your loving husband." Thus Agnes went to her closet with great joy.

Placidus could not easily be persuaded of the possibility of the matter, yet his companion's pregnant wit and knowledge added some confidence to him; for Viteli had undertaken, not only to remove Fadrick's present distemper, but also to renew his youth and strength, chiefly that, by such means (a sophism indeed!) Placidus might attain to the enjoyment of his longed-for Agnes. "For which cause, (said the ingenious Viteli, in the presence of learned physicians,) you shall, in a very short time, perceive Fadrick brisk and vigorous; with teeth, hair, and colour suitable to the age of thirty or forty years." Those learned men laughed him to scorn, and the lady doubted of the matter greatly; but, to put an end to doubting and mocking, he spoke to the physicians, in the presence of Agnes, Charles, and Bernard, after this manner: "I must confess, the opposition of such judicious men might terrify Galen, Hippocrates, and Æsculapius; of whom it is reported, that he raised himself from the dead. How much, then, may a novice (such as I am) tremble, when I consider, that I have undertaken, in your presence, to demonstrate how the radical moisture may be restored; insomuch that decrepid old-age shall be constrained to clothe itself with the colour, vigour, and other qualities of brisk youth! Nevertheless, the strength, which attends truth reduced to practice, revives my fainting spirits; so that with con-

fidence I affirm the certainty, as well as the possibility of my demonstration; which I shall endeavour to evince in the Spanish tongue, though with the greater difficulty, for the satisfaction of Agnes, Charles, and Bernard, the parties mostly concerned.

" Gentlemen,

" You know very well, experience, authority, and reason, are the surest foundations, by which any truth can be supported; from all which my proposition shall be made evident. The learned Arnoldus, Villa Nova, Tully, Paracelsus, Cardanus, and others, whom we need not mention, favour us in this point; as also the alchymists *arbor vitæ;* so that authorities abound with us.

" In the next place, Blaicus de Taranto affirms, that in Saguntum, in the kingdom of Valencia, there was a nun of sixty years, whose age was renewed, having teeth, hair, colour, and vigour, as if she had been but thirty years old. And Antonius Torquemada, in his Dialogues, gives us an account of an old man, who was restored to strength, being one-hundred years old; after which wonderful change he lived fifty years. From which author, and common tradition, we hear of such an instance in Toledo. All learned men know that passage related by Ferdinandus de Castaneda, (*lib.* viii.) and by Petrus Malfeus, (*lib.* iii. *Hist. Ind.*) how that a nobleman of India lived three-hundred and forty years; in which time his age was renewed thrice.

" If we consult reason, we shall find her no less favourable, than authority or experience; for what is youth, but an equality or proportion of natural heat and radical moisture? Yea, according to Galen, and all other learned physicians, the difference of the ages is deduced from the different operations of the natural heat. And Aristotle affirms, that the nature of old-age consists in frigidity and siccity; from whose explication, (*lib. de Long. & Brev. Vitæ,*) we learn, that such men wax old soonest, whose lives have been attended with greatest labours and cares, which cause a *dispendium* of natural heat. Therefore, if this be true, it seems that humid medicaments, with hot potions and applications, may restore decaying age, by reducing the radical moisture, and natural heat, to such a proportion as they enjoy in youth. And it is observed, that the Divine Providence has furnished divers stones, herbs, and waters, with qualities which, if known, would silence all cavillings in this matter. It is reported by Cardanus, Langius, and Petrus Chieza, that, in Bonica and Lucaya, wells are extant, whose waters are more delicious than the choicest wines, having in them virtue to renew a man's age: this is testified by Aristotle, (*lib.* iii. *Hist. Animal. cap.* 12.) and other authors of good note. Homer also mentioneth the like of herbs. And, methinks, although the simples, requisite for producing such strange effects, be not commonly known, yet it is a *malè sequitur* to infer, therefore no man knows them. Yea, no man in sober reason can deny, that spirits are contained in herbs, waters, and stones: which being once granted, it necessarily follows, that these, when well extracted and applied, may serve to carry on such a rare work, as I now mention, and am about to demonstrate. Further, it is observable, that I have been travelling many years; by which I had occasion to discourse with Mahomet's physicians, as also with Arabians, Persians, and Phœnicians; upon which consideration it may be suspected, that I know things not discovered, as yet, in this place. Wherefore I shall (with God's grace) restore Fadrick to strength and health; seeing I perfectly understand his malady and complexion. But you may ask, if, in such a case, he may be called young? I answer, Not at all: but that he is in a better disposition for life, according to his nature. Now, if this theory suffice not to stop the mouths of wranglers, the matter shall be put beyond all doubt by practice."

Thus ended Viteli his pertinent discourse: who, after the dying old man had been committed to him, made a paction, that none should disturb him, by coming into the room, where he was, to tarry with the sick person, except such as he called; and that apothecaries should grant him what simples he pleased to ask. All persons consented to those demands, but none more cordially and cheerfully than Agnes, who was privy to Viteli's design. The next day was appointed for the work. Viteli, having repaired to his lodging, discovered to Placidus how much he was applauded by the physicians; and also that

Agnes was exceeding glad; the young men, Charles and Bernard, being much dejected: and he persisted in the former confidence, that all things would succeed aright, and be brought to an happy issue. He strictly charged Placidus to eschew all society; considering, that the non-observance of that rule had a necessary tendency to mar the curious contrivance. Then he returned to the patient, to whom he gave a potion, which, being mingled with a little poison, set the old man's tongue at work; giving vigour and agility to his body in a short time, to the admiration of all beholders. After which, Viteli spoke privately to Agnes, saying: "Madam, Fadrick will not, in all probability, live nine days; therefore it is convenient to call Placidus; seeing the old man, in his last will, has made you his heir, appointing a thousand pounds for each of his nephews, to either of which if you be married, the possessions set a-part for you are lost: but if you choose Placidus for your husband, he must in all reason receive the half of his father's substance. Now you see how nearly you are concerned to hearken to my propositions, seeing matters shall be so dextrously carried on, that all persons will conclude Fadrick yet alive. This, I hope, will prove acceptable and comfortable to you and Placidus, whom I ought to serve, according to my capacity, while I live. The old man will go down to the grave with joy, by this course; which will create affliction to his insolent nephews."

Not long after, Fadrick dieth, and is buried after a most clandestine manner; in whose place they substitute Placidus, whom all persons affirmed to have been Fadrick restored to health and vigour. Which business being fully concluded, to the satisfaction of the parties mostly concerned; Viteli prosecuted his design of travelling.

This relation discovers much of the world's deceitfulness, which is frequently defended by great authorities improved with disingenuity.

Sir, I shall add no more concerning the solemnity at Madrid, and the history of Placidus; wishing that your pleasure in reading may correspond to the desire I entertained to satisfy your curiosity in writing the same.

Farewell.

A Case of Conscience; Whether it be lawful to admit Jews into a Christian-Commonwealth? Resolved by Mr. John Dury: Written to Samuel Hartlib, Esq.

London, Printed for Richard Wodenothe, in Leadenhall-street, next to the Golden Heart; 1656.

[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

I FIND it the practice of most of the Protestant commonwealths here in Germany, to admit of the Jews; but they do it with a huge mark of distinction between them and others: by which means they are made vile and contemptible. In the Cantons of Switzerland, they are not admitted, no not so much as to travel through the country, or to come into a town or city without leave, and paying a certain duty, or to stay in a city over night: which is said to befall unto them, by reason of some heinous conspiracy (to do a mischief to the country, where they had liberty to live) attempted by them. I know

none of the Reformed churches or divines, who make their admission to be unlawful; but it is a work which the civil magistrate takes wholly into his own consideration, to do, or not to do therein, what he finds expedient for the advantage of the state: nor do I remember to have read or heard that the case hath ever been put to any of the churches, to be scanned as a matter of conscience.

There is one of the chief reformed divines, Doctor Alteng; who, in his Problematical Theology, (part ii. problem 21.) puts this question: *Utrùm Judæi in societate Christianorum tolerandi sint?* And he doth answer it affirmatively; and I am clearly of his opinion, that it is not only lawful, but, if matters be rightly ordered towards them, expedient to admit of them; nay, to invite and encourage them to live in Reformed Christian-commonwealths. How far it may be a sin to refuse them admittance, when they do desire it, upon lawful terms, and in a reasonable way, is a further question; which cannot be decided, till the former points of the lawfulness and expediency of admitting of them be made out.

The Apostle makes a large difference between things lawful and expedient to be done; 1 Cor. x. from verse 23, till the end of the chapter. Things are said to be lawful, which being looked upon in themselves, are not repugnant to any law of God, or of nature: and consequently left free to be done, if there be some cause found inducing thereunto; or not to be done, if there be causes found to the contrary; in which respect things lawful are counted indifferent, that is, by themselves; not putting any obligation upon the conscience, to determine it either for doing or not doing, but leaving it at liberty to be determined by the concurrence of other circumstances, which make the doing or not doing of the thing good or bad, as clothed with such and such qualities concomitant or consequent. An example of concomitant circumstances, making an action, in itself lawful, not to be expedient at a certain time, is given by the Apostle; 1 Cor. x. 27, 28, 29. An example of a thing, though lawful, yet not expedient, by reason of a consequent circumstance, is given, 1 Cor. vi. 12, 13. And another of the same kind, touching the receiving of wages, for doing the work of the ministry, 1 Cor. ix. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Which the Apostle shews was not expedient for him to receive, though it was commanded by God to be given.

By this notion of lawful and expedient actions, we must look upon the admitting of the Jews, if the question be in respect of lawfulness, without any limitation to be answered affirmatively: for, taking Jews as they are, that is, men of a strange nation, who are banished from the country of their inheritance, and made pilgrims and wanderers through the world; a people in misery and distress, and so an object of hospitality; there is no doubt but they may lawfully be received into any civil society of men, to live and have a being therein, as strangers. For it is not lawful for them to desire to be received upon any other terms, because the rest of the world must be ingrafted upon them towards God, and not they upon any other people. For, in respect of God's providential government of the world, the prerogative is still theirs, to be a people set a-part above all others, for the manifestation both of his mercies and judgments. I say, then, that they being such a people set a-part, not only in their forefathers, but in their present state, for such an end, and in this state being made strangers every where, and not lawful for them to make any other account of themselves: and God having recommended the entertainment of strangers, as a special duty of charity unto all Christians; and no nation of the world being a greater object of charity, and fitter to be pitied by Christians, than Jews; it is clear to me, that if the question be put in general terms, concerning the lawfulness of admitting of them, the answer cannot be other than affirmative.

But, if the question be made concerning the expediency of admitting of them at such and such a time, in this or that place, upon those or these terms; then I suppose the great rules of expediency are to be observed, which are, 1. In respect of God's glory, according to the Apostle's direction, 1 Cor. x. 31. 'Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye 'do, do all to the glory of God.' Whatsoever, then, conduceth to the glory of God, is not only lawful, but expedient to be done. 2. In respect of our neighbours, there is a

twofold rule; the one is of edification, the other avoiding offences. The rule of edification is expressed by the same apostle, in the same chapter, verses 23, 24. in these words: 'All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient. All things are 'lawful for me, but all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but every one that 'which is another's.' Where the 23d verse puts 'not expedient' and 'not edifying' for equivalent terms; expounding each other, and equidistant from that which is lawful. And the 24th verse shews what is meant by 'edifying.' The rule of avoiding offence is again in the same place expressed, verse 32; 'Give no offence, neither to the Jews nor 'to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God. Even as I please all men;' &c. 3. In respect of ourselves the rule is, that we ourselves be not thereby deprived of our Christian or civil liberty; which the Apostle expresseth, 1 Cor. vi. 12, in these words: 'All things are 'lawful for me, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful for me, but I will 'not be brought under the power of any.' If, in the circumstances of their admission, nothing be found contrary to those rules, but all can be made consonant to the glory of God, to the edification of others, without danger of offence, and without bringing a yoke upon ourselves; then their admission will be judged not only lawful, but also expedient: and to determine, how the circumstances may agree with those rules, doth belong chiefly to those to whom the power of admitting of them is given by God; that is, to the rulers of the state, without whose consent no societies ought to be formed in the state. For, seeing the Jews come into Christian-commonwealths, not as members thereof, but as strangers therein; and yet form a society, or kind of commonwealth among themselves; it can belong to none pertinently to judge of the expediency of admitting of them, but unto those whom God hath set over the commonwealth to procure the welfare thereof. Others may be consulted withal concerning particular circumstances, which may be proposed unto them, to hear their opinion what they will judge of them; but upon the whole matter, none ought to give a verdict, but such as can compare all circumstances at once, with the frame of the whole state, to discern, by the forenamed rules, whether their admission be expedient or not. And seeing it may stand in their own power, by the admission of them, to order things so towards them, as to make all circumstances consonant to the rules of expediency; I conceive, it will be their duty, when they are intreated so to do, to endeavour the performance thereof: and if they do not so, I know not how to excuse them from a failing in the duty of their calling. And although particular persons, to whom the judgment, *super totam materiam*, doth not belong, ought not to meddle beyond their line in the business; yet being required to contribute their assistance and advice, how to frame things in a way towards them, which is most expedient; they ought not to refuse it. Therefore, I also shall put in my mite among the rest; although I am at a great distance for the present, and cannot know how things stand at home.

If then the question be, How their admission may be so circumstantiated, as to answer the forenamed rules of expediency? I would advise thus:

I. To advance the glory of God by their admission, I conceive they must be restrained from some things, and may be fairly induced to some other things. The things, from which they must be restrained, are chiefly these: 1. Not to blaspheme the Person of Jesus Christ; or, if any doth, that he shall be liable to the law which Moses hath given, in case of blaspheming the Name of God. 2. Not to seduce any, or go about to make proselytes; or if any doth, he shall, *ipso facto*, forfeit his liberty, or undergo some other heavier punishment. 3. Not to profane the Christian-sabbath, but to rest upon it, as well as upon their own sabbath; and not to dishonour any of the ordinances of Christianity, under some punishment to be inflicted, suitable to the offence.

The things, whereunto they may be fairly induced, are (as I conceive) these: 1. To hear us concerning the grounds which we have for Christianity, and that with patience, and without contradicting contentiously; but, in case of doubts, that they should propose the same by way of question to be resolved, that we may have cause to give them a reason

of our faith and practice. 2. To declare to us the grounds of all their faith and practice, and to answer such questions as we happily may propose to be resolved by them, upon such a declaration. 3. To avoid on both sides all contradictory disputes in these conferences, and not to trouble any of the weaker sort of either side, with the matters to be handled therein; but only to set them a-foot amongst a few of the rabbies of each side, in a friendly way.

Here at Cassel something hath been intended this way, by obliging them to come once a month to a lecture, wherein the grounds of Christianity were opened unto them: and although few or none have been thereby so openly converted, as to embrace all the truth; yet some of them have been so moved, that they have wept much sometimes at the things which they have heard. Also a small catechism of our belief, concerning the Messiah, hath been penned for them; and they have been obliged to read it, and learn it, so as to answer to the questions contained therein, that it might appear they were not ignorant of our meaning; for the aim was only to glorify God in this. For the glory of our God is chiefly made manifest in his truth and faithfulness to make good his word, for he hath 'magnified his word above all his works:' and if we can order their admission so, as to manifest unto them the truth of his word revealed unto us by the promises of the Gospel, in the knowledge of his Name; and so lay that knowledge before them in the lump, that they cannot but see that God hath appeared unto us, and doth rule us by 'Spirit and truth,' and makes a great difference between our communion with himself and their literal worshipping of him: if, I say, we can contrive, in their admission, the business so towards them, that they shall not only be restrained from dishonouring our God and his ordinances, or overthrowing his truth in the minds of any; but that they shall be made to see the goodness of God's mercy to us, that he hath adopted us to be his people in their stead; then the first rule of expediency will be observed, and there will be no great difficulty to contrive the business so, that the other rules also will be put in practice.

Now, concerning the method of spiritual prudence, how to go about this work towards them, is a subject too large to be entered upon at this time. One caveat only may be suggested at present, which is this, that the scanning of particular questions and doubts which they may have concerning the genealogy of Christ, and other circumstantial matters in the New Testament, should be avoided; and the main undeniable truths wherein the Old and New Testament agree, and which make up the substance of saving knowledge, and of the practice of piety, and the fulfilling both of the promises made to us, and the threatenings denounced against them, should be only insisted upon, and branched out; to let them see the body of the whole truth of God, made out to us, and our endeavour to glorify God thereby. And thus much shall be at this time hinted at, concerning the observation of the first rule of expediency towards them in their admission; which being not only feasible, but a main duty incumbent to all Christian magistrates to intend and endeavour: it is to me evident, that their admission is not only lawful, but expedient also.

II. To advance their edification by their admission, according to the second rule of expediency; I conceive matters may be so ordered towards them, that they may be made to understand, that the intention of the state, in admitting of them, is not to have profit or temporal advantages by them, (which may be had as well by our own industry, and perhaps better, without theirs,) but rather out of Christian love and compassion towards them: and in witness of our thankfulness to God, for the good which hath been derived from them to us; and for the hope which we have, that all his goodness shall be fulfilled both in them, and us, when the Messiah shall return in his glory. The Apostle saith, that 'Charity edifieth;' and it is a truth approved by daily experience, that, without charity, no ground can be laid of mutual commerce, or increase of good things, mutually communicable. Therefore I would suggest humbly this, that to open a door in their hard hearts, for doing good unto them, the charity of the state, in the act of their ad-

mission, should be ratified towards them, and they made fully sensible, that it is not for any profit, which they can bring to the state, that they are admitted; but for a desire in us, for doing them good, for the good, which, through their misery, is befallen to us Gentiles, *viz.* that we have the oracles of God, by their means, preserved and conveyed to us; and the knowledge, and the accomplishment of the benefit of all the promises, whereof we desire, that they may be made partakers again with us. And this being made professedly the ground of their admission, *viz.* our thankfulness to God, to shew that mercy to them, which he hath shewed to us: all other duties of good-will, and lawful communion, tending to the accomplishment of this end, may be wisely and kindly built thereupon, so as, without prejudice, they will be glad to receive the same, and entertain the motions which we may make to that effect; and, amongst other effects of our love, they may receive, by the same act of their admission, an assurance, that in all treaties with the nations which persecute and oppress them, a care shall be had of them, and their interests, as with Spain and Portugal, and the Grand-Signior, and others, if any be, who seek to destroy them: that in public transactions their liberty of living with them shall be procured so far, as in the power of our state shall lie by God's permission.

III. To avoid offences between them and us, in admitting of them, it will be expedient that they live by themselves, and that their worship be performed in their own tongue; that the insolencies, which the common sort of both sides may use one towards another, be prevented by laws and special orders, to keep them from incroaching upon others, beyond their bounds. For they are naturally more high-minded than other nations, and make less conscience of oppressing the Gentiles, than others do; because they find they are oppressed by them, and imagine themselves the only noble people in the world; and therefore aspire to have, not only liberty to live by themselves, but riches and power over others, wherever they can get it: which inclinations of theirs, being the chief causes of offences, must be prevented, not as here in Germany, by making them base and vile; but by other more friendly ways, which prudence and equity will suggest.

IV. To avoid the temporal inconveniencies which may arise from their covetous practices and biting usury, and other subtleties in trade; by which we of the nation may be prejudged in our liberty, and brought, in some respect or other, under their power: the wisdom of the state will look to it, nor is it in my way to take it into consideration. Therefore, I shall leave this last rule of expediency unto their vigilancy, and draw to a conclusion of these suggestions; wherein I have no more to say but this: that if they desire admittance, and will receive it in a way, wherein these rules can be observed, then they should be admitted; and that it will be a sin in those, who will not admit them upon these terms; or who will not propose such terms as these, unto them, when they desire admittance; or who having an opportunity to invite them in their distress, do not mind these principles in admitting of them, to give them entertainment in their commonwealth. As for other considerations of future hopes, although I believe as much of them, as most men do; yet I can draw no argument from thence for any particular admittance of them, at this time; because I know that the times and seasons of their deliverance are in God's hand alone, and that we are very much inclined to mistake in conjectures of that nature. But the universal rules, which are grounded upon the main ends and duties of Christianity, must be observed by those that will trust unto God, for a blessing upon their endeavours. And when they have (towards such ends, and according to such duties) done that which they think, is acceptable to God; then they ought to acquiesce, and leave the issue to Providence, which I am persuaded will be favourable to the state. And, in this assurance, I rest ever,

Cassell, in haste, Sir,
Jan. 8, 1656. Your most affectionate and faithful servant in Christ,
JOHN DURY.

POSTSCRIPT.

CONCERNING the Jews, if I can, I will send you the abstract of the laws, by which they are received here. Our state doth wisely to go warily, and by degrees, in the business of receiving them. Menasseh Ben Israel's demands are great; and the use which they make of great privileges, is not much to their commendation here and elsewhere. They have ways, beyond all other men, to undermine a state, and to insinuate into those that are in offices, and prejudicate the trade of others; and therefore, if they be not wisely restrained, they will, in a short time, be oppressive; if they be such as are here in Germany. To call in the Caraits would fright away these; for they are irreconcileable enemies. Time must ripen these designs, and prudence may lead them on.

An Historical Narration of the Manner and Form of that memorable Parliament which wrought Wonders. Begun at Westminster, 1386, in the Tenth Year of the Reign of King Richard the Second.[1] Related and published by Thomas Fannant, Clerk.

Printed in the Year 1641.

[Quarto; containing forty pages.]

THIS present occasion so opportunely befitting me, I am resolved to treat of that which hath been omitted, and slipped out of memory long since, concerning divers and sundry changes and alterations in England, in former times; nor will it be burthensome to write of that, whereby every good and careful reader may learn to avoid diver-

[1] [Another edition of this tract, printed in the same year, has the addition of 'A character of the said amiable but unhappy king [Richard II.] and a briefe story of his life and lamentable death.' It is as follows: Richard, son of the valiant and victorious Edward the blacke prince, was borne at Bourdeaux, and grand-child to king Edward the third, being eleven years old, began his reign the twenty-first day of June, in the year of our Lord 1377, and was crowned king at Westminster the 16th of July. In beauty, bounty, and liberality, he far surpassed all his progenitors; but was overmuch given to ease and quietness, little regarding military matters of armes; and being young, was most ruled by young counsel, regarding little the counsel of the sage and wise men of the realme; which thing turned this land to great trouble, and himself to extreme misery. For being first disgraced by his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Hereford, son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, he was at length by him (with the generall consent of the whole parliament) deposed from his crown and kingdom, 29 September, 1399; and committed to prison, and afterwards wickedly murdered. For, being sent to Pomfret castle, to be safely kept, and princely maintained, he was shortly after, by king Henry's direction and commandment, (who feared lest his estate might be shaken while king Richard lived,) wickedly assaulted in his lodging by sir Piers of Exton, and eight other armed men; from one of which, with a princely courage, he wrested a brown bill, and therewith slew four of them, fought with all the rest; untill coming by his own chair (in which the base cowardly knight himself stood for his own safety) he was by him stricken on the head with a pole-axe, in the hinder part of his head, that presently he fell down and died; when he had reigned twenty-two years, fourteen weeks, and two dayes.

More memorable things done by Parliaments.

By parliament Richard Montague (since made bishop of Chichester and now bishop of Norwich), his perni-

sities of miseries, and the danger and fear of cruel death. I will, therefore, speak of that which hath lain hid in the darksome shade of forgetfulness, concerning men who have been led away by the deceitful path of covetousness, and have come to a most shameful and ignominious death; a famous example, to deter all men from practising those, or the like courses.

ABOUT the year of Christ 1386, at such time as Richard, the Second of that name, then in the prime of his youth, swayed the imperial scepter of our realm; there flourished, famous in his court, certain peers, though some of them not of any honourable descent, yet favoured by fortune; by name, Alexander Nevell, archbishop of York; Robert Vere, duke of Ireland; Michael de la Poole, earl of Suffolk, then lord-chancellor; Robert Tresilian, lord chief-justice of England; and Nicholas Brambre, sometimes mayor of London.

These men, being raised from mean estates by the special favour of the king, and advanced to the degree of privy-counsellors, were the men who had the only rule of the commonwealth, which they, under the king, governed for some small space with careful diligence; meriting thereby deserved commendations. But not long did they thus steer the ship of the kingdom: for many of them being of inferior rank by birth, not having their veins dignified with the streams of noble blood, they were the sooner enticed with the libidinous baits of voluptuousness, and infected with the insatiable itch of avarice; insomuch that, despising the authority of the king, and neglecting the commodity of the realm, but only desiring to keep up the revenues of the kingdom, so wrought, that by their policy, the king is impoverished, and the treasure exhausted; the commons murmur at the multiplicity of tenths, levies, and subsidies; the peers repine to see themselves disgraced, and their inferiors honoured; and, in a word, the whole kingdom endures an universal misery.

The nobility, seeing the miserable state wherein the kingdom lay, bleeding, as it were,

cious booke, intituled 'Apello Cæsarem,' (first confuted by Dr. Carlton then bishop of Chichester, and divers other orthodox divines,) was displayed; and by proclamation, dated 1628, the booke was called in and prohibited: and he, the said Montague, was discovered to be a notable unorthodox man, &c.

By parliament Roger Maynwayring, D. D. and parson of St. Giles's in the Fields, and the king's chaplain, was discovered to be an unorthodox man, and brought on his knees to the bar of the honourable house of parliament, and the book of his two seditious printed sermons against parliaments, intituled 'Religion and Allegiance,' called in and prohibited: and he, the said Mainwayring, was censured and deprived of his livings, not to come near the court, nor to exercise or use any ministerial office, &c. But notwithstanding, soon after the fatal dissolution of that parliament, 1629; he the said Mainwaring, by the power of a little great prelate, was not only restored to his former livings, but soon after he was preferred and made dean of Worcester, afterwards a bishop, and is now bishop of St. David's, the first bishoprick in Wales.

And inasmuch, as so many memorable things have been done by parliaments, some whereof in former times, have indeed done no lesse than write wonders; for reformation of corruptions, and grievances, and exemplary executions in the state and commonwealth; and seeing the other day (*viz.* 22d of February) there was that correspondence and happy agreement betwixt his sacred majesty and both the houses of parliament now sitting, which made the evening of that day crowned with bon-fires, and bell-ringing for joy: let us not cease to pray and beseech the Lord of Hosts, still to unite the heart of the king's majesty to the parliament (his great council), that the upper and lower houses may unanimously agree and be reciprocally united to the king; that many matters, now much amiss in church and common-wealth, may be reformed, and this year may be accounted *annus aureus*, and that this present parliament, begun this yeare, may be inscribed and engraven in marble and in letters of gold.

By parliament the Earl of Strafford, deputy of Ireland, grievous to the common-wealth was discovered, and, after an honourable trial, was attainted of high treason, for which he suffered death, May the 12th, 1641.

Sacred to memory
Posterity the (long expected)
Happy Parliament,
Begun MDCXL.
Ended and made a session.
(Sic!)

— — —

Vivat Rex.
Floreat Regnum.
Bene valeat Parliamentum.
Hallelujah.]

to death, urged their king to summon a parliament; which was done shortly after. In which, amongst many other acts, the aforenamed Michael de la Poole is dismissed from his chancellorship; and, being accused of divers and many points of injustice, as bribery, extortion, and the like, he was soon after cast into the castle of Windsor, and all his lands, which were of no small revenue, were confiscated to the king. Neither did the parliament here give over, but provided further for the whole state. By the mutual consent of the king and prelates, barons, and commons, with an unanimous conjunction, they constitute, and give plenary and absolute power to certain commissioners, as well of the spiritualty, as of the temporalty, for the ordering and disposing of the public affairs, according as shall seem best and most necessary for the desperate state of the commonwealth; to depress civil dissensions, and to pacify and appease the grudgings of the people.

Of the spiritualty, were chosen the archbishop of Canterbury, the aforenamed bishop of York, the bishop of Ely, lately made chancellor of England; the bishop of Winchester, bishop of Hereford, lord-treasurer; bishop of Exeter, abbot of Waleham, and the Lord John of Waltham.

Of the laity, were elected the duke of York, the earl of Arundel, the lord Coltham, the lord Scroope, and John Devereux, knight. These, as men eminent in virtue, were chosen by the general suffrage, and sworn to carry themselves as dutiful and obedient subjects in all their actions. And it was further enacted, that if any should refuse, or disobey, the ordinances so made for public good, the punishment of his first offence should be the confiscation of his goods; and, for the second, the loss of life. Thus disposing all things for the best, the parliament being dissolved, every man returned to his own house.

Soon after, the aforenamed chancellor, with others of their confederates, being moved with implacable fury against the statutes of the late parliament; they buzzed into the king's ears, that the statutes, lately enacted, were very prejudicial to the honour of his crown, and much derogatory to his princely prerogative; insomuch that he should not have power, without the consent of the new appointed commissioners, to do any thing befitting a king; no, not so much as to bestow a largess: a principal means to gain the people's love upon any, though never so well deserving.

By these, and other the like instigations, with which the devil (as never unmindful of the end of those, who by their lives do prove themselves) did continually supply them; they practised to annihilate and disannul these acts of the parliament, which seemed any ways to abbreviate or curb their usurped authority.

And, first, By their serpentine tongues, ambitious projects, flattery painted out with glossing discourses, and covered over with the shadow of vigilancy for the good of the kingdom, they so bewitched the noble inclination of the youthful king, whom they induced to believe that all the ill they did was a general good; that he began to distaste, and at last to abhor the last passed acts, as treacherous plots, and most wicked devices.

Next, They studied how to ingross all, or the most part, of the wealth and riches of the kingdom, into their own coffers; and, to the same end, dealed so cunningly, yet pleasingly, with the king, that he gave to the duke of Ireland John of Bloys, the heir of the duchy of Brittany, and his ransom; to others, towns; to others, cities; to others, lands; to others, money, amounting to the sum of one-hundred thousand marks, to the great impoverishment both of king and kingdom: neither did these king-eaters and realm-devourers any thing regard it, but, setting unskilful and insufficient captains and governors over towns and forts so obtained, gave occasion to the enemies of the crown to surprize them, and dispossess the king of them.

Thirdly, Vilifying the dignity of the king, contrary to their allegiance, they drew the king to swear, that with all his power, during his life, he should maintain and defend them from all their enemies, whether foreign or domestic.

Fourthly, Whereas it was enacted by the last parliament, that the king, at certain seasonable times, and when his leisure would permit him, should sit at Westminster, with his council there, to consult of the public affairs; through the persuasions of the aforesaid conspirators, he was drawn into the remotest parts of the realm; to the great disparage-

ment of the fidelity of those honourable, grave, and faithful peers, late made joint commissioners, in whose hands the whole safety and prosperity of the commonwealth did reside.

And when as the lord-chancellor, the lord-treasurer, keeper of the privy-seal, or any other of their privy-council, came to relate any of their own actions, or the state of the realm, they could not be granted access, unless they related the business in the presence and hearing of the conspirators; who were always ready to upbraid them, if they uttered any thing that displeased them; and to commend them for any thing, though most nefarious, that did content them: for thus could they the sooner learn and dive into the acts of the commissioners, and the better find evasions for their accusations. Furthermore, whenas the king, in company of the conspirators, went in progress towards the parts of Cheshire, Wales, and Lancashire, they made proclamation, in the king's name, throughout the shires, as they journied, That all barons, knights, esquires, with the greatest part of the commonalty able to bear arms, should speedily repair to the king for his defence against the power of the commissioners; chiefly of the duke of Gloucester, and the earl of Arundel, because they, above the rest, did, with their chiefest endeavours, study to suppress and quell the devices of the conspirators.

Fifthly, Contrary to the aforesaid acts, they caused the duke of Ireland to be created chief-justice of Chester; thereby selling justice as they listed, condemning the guiltless, and remitting the guilty; never respecting or looking unto the equal balance of justice, but poising down the scales with heaps of bribery.

Sixthly, By the procurement of the confederates, they caused certain honest persons, who would not consent to their extortions, to be called and summoned to their court; and there to answer to certain false accusations, wherewith they were unjustly charged by perjured hirelings: of which men so accused, some were put to death, some cast into prison, all were vexed and troubled with delays, length of their journey to and fro, and excessive charges; neither were they eased of any of their burthens, unless they would part with round sums of money to the duke and his accomplices.

Seventhly, They gave pardons under the broad seal to felons, murtherers, and such-like; only with this condition, that they should murther any, whomsover they thought did mislike their exaction.

Eighthly, They taught the country of Ireland to look to its pristine state; I mean, of having a king: for they plotted to have the duke created king of Ireland; and, for the confirmation of which their design, they allured the king to send his letters to the pope.

Ninthly, The aforesaid Nicholas Brambre, in the time of his mayoralty, caused twenty-two to be falsely accused of felonies, and laid into Newgate, under pretext and colour of divers crimes; and in the silent and dead time of the night, to be fast bound, and by a strong hand, to be carried into Kent, to a place commonly called Fawlocks; and then to have their heads struck off, except one, who, being favoured by the murtherers, safely escaped: the blood of the rest dyed the streams of a small rivulet adjoining.

Tenthly, Soon after, to add one mischief to another, they sent letters, under the king's signet, to the mayor of London, by John Rippon, clerk; with a certain libel, or schedule, inclosed in the said letters, the tenour of which is as followeth: 'That the aforenamed 'three commissioners, *viz.* the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel, and Warwick, 'and others of the council, were to be arrested, indicted, condemned, and put to lament-'able death; as being such as had conspired against the king, against his prerogative, and 'against his crown and imperial dignity:' and this they did, in a manner, constrain the king to assent unto. Upon receipt of these letters, the mayor and aldermen of the city of London called a common-council, wherein they consulted what course were best to be taken in this matter: and after long debate, *pro & con*, it was on all sides agreed, to deny and not to suffer that cruel and unheard-of tragical complot to be executed.

It ever happeneth, one wicked act draws on a second, and that second a third, and so forwards, till the weight cracks the supporter. Therefore the said conspirators, being blinded with rashness, principally sent letters by John Godfrey, knight, to the king of

France, the king's adversary, to conclude a five-years truce, who should come over to Calais, and from thence should send for the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel, and Warwick, and for some other of the commissioners; as though the king were unwilling to determine of any thing without their advice: and, being thus circumvented, should be condemned as traitors, and so put to an ignominious and cruel death.

And, for the doing and performing of these things, the king of France was to recover all the castles, towns, and lands, lying in these countries, and belonging to the king of England. To prove these things to be true, there were certain writings produced by the commissioners, wherein were contained letters from the king of France to the king of England; and from the conspirators, in the king of England's name, to the king of France.

Moreover, there were other letters intercepted, directed to the said king of France; the substance whereof was to incite the king of France to levy a puissant power, both horse and foot, and to draw them down to Boulogne, and thence to transport them into England, against the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel, and Warwick, and the rest of the commissioners, and all those that did either countenance or favour the said statutes and commissioners; which, as they falsely alleged, were made in derogation of the king's prerogative: and the aforesaid commissioners to vanquish, oppress, and put to death, and consequently, the whole nation and language utterly to ruin.

Not here concluding their devilish conspiracy, the five aforesaid conspirators departed from Westminster to the castle of Nottingham, and sent a writ for Robert Beale, lord-chief-justice of the Common-pleas, John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, and William Burleigh, judges of the said court, and for John Locton, the king's serjeant at law: who being come into the council-chamber, (not knowing what they were sent for,) the aforesaid conspirators caused the gates and doors of the castle to be shut, and then propounded these questions following unto them: First, Whether those statutes, ordinances, and commission, made in the late parliament at Westminster, were derogatory to the king's dignity and kingly prerogative? And because they were to be punished who did procure those constitutions, and did incite and move the king to consent unto them, and did, as much as in them lay to hinder the king from exercising his royal prerogative: to these, and other the like questions, with a joint consent, they answered, "That they were to suffer death as traitors, or else to endure some capital punishment." In witness of which assertion, being terrified with the fear of present death, the aforesaid judges, together with John Carey, lord-chief-baron of the Exchequer, they signed and sealed a certain writing, in manner of a protestation, in presence of these witnesses, Alexander Nevill, archbishop of York; Robert, duke of Ireland; Michael, earl of Suffolk; John Rippon, clerk; and John Blake, fruiterer; dated the 19th of September, *anno Dom.* 1387, in the eleventh year of the reign of king Richard the Second.

Then were they compelled to swear, that they should keep the passages undiscovered, upon pain of death; and so they had licence to depart. And, when they had plotted those and many other devilish conspiracies, they bound themselves, by an oath, to try all ways, and use all means, as far forth as lay in their power, to disannul and utterly abrogate the acts and statutes of the last parliament. And, that which is worse, they caused the king to swear, that in his proper person, with his whole power, he should take revenge of the duke of Gloucester, of the two earls and their adherents, by causing them to be put to death.

The carriage of all which actions may more easily be known, if the time and the order of them be duly considered.

But our merciful and ever-gracious God, although there were so many plots, so many conspiracies, so many treasons wrought against our state, whereby many miseries did accrue to our kingdom; yet unwilling to take revenge, or to punish us for our sins, but rather, according to his gracious pity, to ease us of our burthenous calamity; inspired into the hearts of the aforesaid duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel, and Warwick, the spirit of valour and magnanimity: who seeing the heap of ills that daily did arise by

the practices of these conspirators, they set almost in every part of the kingdom intelligencers, who should apprehend all messengers, and intercept all letters of the king, or that went under the king's name, and should send them to the commissioners.

And thus did they come to have intelligence of the whole plot of the conspirators; all their letters being indorsed with 'Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, and good-'will towards men.' And, by coming to the knowledge of each circumstance, they found that the kingdom was at the point of destruction, according to that evangelical saying, 'Every kingdom divided against itself shall be dissolved.' Wherefore they sought for a remedy: for, by the law of nature, it is tolerable to repel violence by violence. Since it is better to prevent than to apply a remedy to a wound, every man according to his ability levied a power for the preservation of the king and kingdom; all which forces being united, amounted to the number of twenty-thousand fighting men, and courageously resolved to frustrate all the intended designs of the conspirators, and to open the nut by cracking the shell. They divided their army, committing part of it to the earl of Arundel: who by night marched away with his forces, and pitched his tents near to London; there fortifying himself in the forest adjoining, until such time as he had gained more convenient time and greater force, by the coming of his consorts. And in the mean time he used such discipline in his camp, that he lacked nothing, but all things were there sold at reasonable rates, as it had been at a market; and hardly could he contain the common people from joining with him, for the overthrow of the conspirators and their adherents.

On the other side, the conspirators intending to prevent their purposes, by power of a certain spiritual commission, and by virtue of certain letters-patents in the hands of the conspirators, though nothing to the purpose; yet, to blind the people, they caused to be proclaimed throughout the whole city of London, that none, upon pain of the forfeiture of all their goods, should either sell, give, or communicate privately or publicly, victuals, armour, or any other necessaries, to the army of the earl of Arundel; but should debar them of sustentation, comfort, or help, as rebels to the king and country. But on the other side, they began to fear when they were denied their hoped-for aid by the mayor and commonalty of the city of London; and again, they were troubled at the rising of the commoners, to invade them. Wherefore they counselled the king to absent himself from the parliament, which was to begin at Candlemas next, (according as the king and commissioners had appointed it,) and not consult of the affairs of the kingdom, nor of his own estate, commodity, or discommodity, unless the duke of Gloucester, the two earls of Arundel, and Warwick, with the rest of the commissioners, would swear, that neither they, nor any in their name, should accuse them or urge any accusation against them.

And they caused it to be proclaimed through the city of London, that none, under pain of confiscation of all their goods, should speak any upbraiding speeches concerning the king or the conspirators; which was a thing impossible to hinder.

Not long after it happened, that the king, with the aforesaid five conspirators, came from his manor of Sheene to Westminster, to St. Edmond's tomb, for the solemnizing of a pilgrimage. The mayor and aldermen of the city of London met him on horseback sumptuously attired, honouring him very much. And, when they came to the Mews, they descended from their horses, and went bare-foot to the tomb of Saint Edmond; whereas the chaplain of the commissioners, with the abbot and convent, met them with a stately procession.

In the mean time the three noblemen, *viz.* the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel, and Warwick, having mustered their troops on the fourteenth of November, in the same year, at Waltham-Cross, in the county of Hertford; and from thence sent for the commissioners, that were there at Westminster in parliament with the king, sending an accusation in writing to the king against the aforesaid conspirators, *viz.* the archbishop of York, duke of Ireland, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, and Nicholas Brambre; wherein they accused them of high-treason: which their appellation they did offer to maintain, and that they were willing to prosecute the same; and, to prove it to be true,

they caused also the rest of the commissioners to subscribe, as parties to their appellation.

When these things came to the ears of the king, he sent unto them, requiring to know what their request was, and what they wished to have done? They returned answer thus: "That they did desire, that the traitors, which were always about him, filling his ears with false reports, and did daily commit insufferable crimes and injuries, might be rewarded with condign punishment; for it were better, that some few should die for the people, than the whole nation should perish. And they likewise craved, That they might have safe liberty of going and coming to his Grace."

When the king heard their request, he gave them his royal consent, and commanded them to appear at Westminster; and the king sitting on his throne in the great hall, the three aforesaid peers appellants, with a gallant troop of gentlemen, entered; and, making three lowly obeisances on their bended knees, they reverenced the king; and, drawing near, (the cause of their coming being alleged,) they there again appealed the archbishop, duke of Ireland, lord-treasurer, and Brambre, of high-treason, according as they had done before at Waltham-Cross: but they betook themselves to the private corners of the palace, (even as Adam and Eve from the presence of God,) not having the heart to appear to justify themselves.

The king called forth the appellants to prove and prosecute the appellation, prescribing them a day and place for the trial, which was to be on the morrow after Candlemas-day; and in the mean time the king commanded them, upon their honours, not any party to molest the other, until the next parliament.

Those things, thus passed, were publicly proclaimed throughout all England; and they departed joyfully.

The duke of Ireland, under the guidance of his grand captain the devil, marching into Cheshire, Lancashire, and Wales, raised a new power, amounting to the number of six-thousand fighting men, in the king's name, to overthrow and confound the appellants; from thence he marched towards London with his army, with a furious intent and resolution to perform his bloody design. But God, beholding their foolish hearts, filled them with vain hopes, that they should accomplish their enterprises. And, whilst these plots were laid, the appellants being suddenly advertised thereof, raised a power, and, joining with them the earl of Derby, the earl of Nottingham, and other commissioners, marched with long and wearisome marches into a field, near a village called Whitney, at a place called Lockford-Bridge; in which field the duke of Ireland was with the army, having a river on the one side of them, whereas they stood ready prepared to give an overthrow to the appellants, and displaying the king's standard, contrary to the laws of the land. But, although they were so valiant at the beginning, yet were they discouraged at the end; for, when they saw the army of the appellants march down from the mountains like a hive of bees, and with such a violent fury, fear benumbed them, and they were so amazed, that when they should have given the assault, (God not suffering the effusion of blood,) they stood like a hive of bees, or a flock of cattle without a head, making no show or countenance of resisting; but, without any stroke given, they flung down their arms, and yielded themselves to the mercy of the appellants; and a few being slain, and some drowned in the river, gave an easy victory to the conquerors. The duke of Ireland himself, putting spurs to his horse, took the river, and hardly escaped; and though he was pursued, yet he escaped through the midst of the troops. And thus, by the mercy of God, they obtained the glorious palm of victory from the hand of Heaven.

When the news of the victory was blown to the ears of the rest of the conspirators, who were then struck with fear, and careful for their preservation; under covert of the night they fled by water to the Tower, drawing the king along with them.

On the other side, Nicholas Brambre, with a bold and resolute courage, in the king's name, caused all the gates of the city to be shut against the appellants, and to be guarded with an able and sufficient watch. But these worthy and dauntless members of the com-

monwealth marched towards London to confer with the king: but, when they heard, that the said Nicholas Brambre had caused the gates of the city to be shut against them, and to be strongly guarded, and that the whole city did purpose to keep them out, they stayed their resolution.

On the twenty-seventh day of September, in the same year, with a melodious sound of divers kinds of instruments, as well of war as of peace, they encamped themselves in Clerkenwell, within the liberties of the city of London; not purposing, on the one side, rashly or unadvisedly to enter the city, nor, on the other side, to make any show of fear; but with a stayed mind, as befitting wise men, with good deliberation to conclude every thing in its due time. And whenas the mayor, with the citizens, came unto them with pleasing words, promising unto them all that the city could afford with reason and equity, the duke of Gloucester said, "Now I know, that lyars speak nothing but lyes, neither can any man hinder them from the relating." Whereupon, by a joint consent, in the evening they removed their tents, and pitched them before divers gates of the city.

On the morrow, there happened an interview between the king and the appellants, so far, that they opened their minds one to the other: but because the king loathed to speak with them with such a rabble of men, and in regard of an intolerable boldness, and some quarrel which was like to arise; and, on the other side, refusing to go out of the Tower to speak with them; and the appellants, fearing some violence or wrong to be offered to them, would not speak with the king without a strong guard of valiant warriors: therefore the most wise of the appellants, after divers disputations, had resolved to go and confer with the king. But first they sent a strong troop well armed to search all the corners and caves of the Tower; and relation being made of the safety of the place, with a selected band of valiant cavaliers, they entered the Tower, and, seizing the gates, and placing a guard, appeared before the king, and there the third time appealed the aforesaid conspirators, in the same sort and form as before. Which appellation being ended, the king swore, "That he would adhere to their counsel, as a good king and a just judge, so far as the rule of law, reason, and equity, did require."

These things being accomplished, they departed from the Tower to their tenements and lodgings; and then it was published and made known in the presence of the king, and throughout the dominions, That on the morrow after Candlemas-day, the aforesaid conspirators should personally appear to answer to the appellation, whereby they were charged with so many treasons. And because the harvest was now ripe, and time convenient to cut up those pestiferous cockles and thistles; by the assent of the king, and consent of the said commissioners and appellants, they expelled divers of the officers of the household; *viz.* in the place of John Beauchamp, steward of the household, they appointed John Devereux, knight, one of the commissioners; Peter Courtney, knight, was made chamberlain, in the stead of Robert duke of Ireland: and the aforesaid John de Beauchamp, Simon de Burleigh, vice-chamberlain; John Salisbury, Thomas Trynett, James Barats, William Ellingham, and Nicholas Nagworth, knights; and officers of the clergy, *viz.* Richard Metford, secretary; John Blake, dean of the chapel; John Lincolne, chancellor of the exchequer, and John Clifford, clerk of the chapel, were kept under arrest too, and were as partakers in the aforesaid treason; for that they, knowing and having intelligence of the said conspiracy, did not discover them.

Others also, as servants of the aforesaid conspirators, and drawn in by craft, yet guiltless, were dismissed and sent away; as men unprofitable, and good for no use

And thus this hideous brood of monsters, so often shaken, was quite overthrown.

And, on the vigil of the Purification of Saint Mary, in the privy-chamber at Westminster, by joint consent of all the commissioners, the aforesaid John ———[2], John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, William Burleigh, John Locton, and John Carey were displaced from their offices; and without any further ado, arrested of treason, and by the command of the

[2] [*Qu.* Blake?]

chancellor, clapped into the Tower; and Roger Carleton in the place of Belknap, Walter Clapton in the place of Tresilian, were constituted: and so for that time they departed, and went to dinner.

And because Shrovetide was thought a fit time to punish the delinquents, according to their deserts, therefore the great parliament began the second of February following, in this manner: All the peers, as well of the spiritualty as of the temporalty, being assembled in the great hall at Westminster, the king soon after came, and sat down on his throne; and after him appeared the five noblemen, appellants, (the fame of whose admired worth echoed through all the land,) who entered the house in their costly robes, leading one another hand in hand, with an innumerable company following them; and, beholding where the king sat, all at once, with submissive gestures, they reverenced the king. The hall was so full of spectators, that the very roofs were filled with them: and yet, amongst this infinite multitude of the people, there could not be found any of the conspirators, or of their accomplices: but Brambre was taken a little before, and cast into the gaol of Gloucester.

The clergy then placing themselves on the right-hand, and the nobility on the left-hand of the king, according to the ancient custom of the high-court of parliament; the lord-chancellor standing with his back towards the king, by the king's command, declared the cause of their summons to parliament. Which being ended, the five foresaid appellants, arising, declared their appellation by the mouth of Robert Pleasington, their speaker, who thus spoke: "Behold, the duke of Gloucester comes to purge himself of treasons, which are laid to his charge by the conspirators." To whom the lord-chancellor, by the command of the king, answered: "My lord duke, the king conceiveth so honourably of you, that he cannot be induced to believe, that you, who are of affinity to him in a collateral line, should attempt any treason against his sacred majesty." The duke, with his four companions, upon their knees, humbly gave thanks to the king, for his gracious opinion of their fidelity.

Then, after silence proclaimed, they arose, and delivered-in certain articles in writing, wherein were contained the particularities of the treason. Which said articles were read by Godfrey Martin, the clerk of the crown, standing in the midst of the parliament-house, by the space of two hours, with an audible voice. At the reading of which, there was a wonderful alteration in the house. For, whereas before the people were glad of the discovery of the treason; at the rehearsal of it, their hearts were so overcome with grief, that they could not refrain from tears. When the articles were read, the appellants requested the king, that sentence of condemnation might be given against the conspirators, and they to receive the reward of their deserts; which the king promised to grant. This was the first day's work. The second was ended with variation of divers consultations, which I will not relate in particular, but treat of the whole parliament in general. And, when the third day came of their proceedings against the conspirators, the lord-chancellor, in the name of the clergy, in open parliament, made an oration, shewing, that they could not by any means be present at the proceeding, where there is any censure of death to be passed. For the confirmation whereof, they delivered-in a protestation; which, being read, they spoke, "That neither in respect of any favour, nor for fear of any man's hate, nor in hope of any reward, they did desire to absent themselves; but only, that they were bound by the canon, not to be present at any man's arraignment or condemnation." They likewise sent their protestation to the chapel of the Abbey, where the commons sat: which was allowed of. And then, when the appellants called for justice against the conspirators, the lords of the spiritualty arose, and went into the king's chamber, near adjoining.

But the king being moved in conscience and in charity, perceiving that in every work they are to remember the end; and being willing, contrary to the rigour of the law, to favour rather those that were guilty, than the actors in that treason, if they were able to allege any thing in their defence, caused the process to cease. But the peers,

being earnest, requested, that no business, past, present, or to come, might be debated, until this treason were adjudged: to which petition the king graciously granted his assent.

On the eleventh day of February, when nothing could be alleged, nor no witness produced, in justification of the conspirators, but the definitive sentence of condemnation must be pronounced against them, the aforesaid John Devereux, marshal of the court, and, for that time, the king's lieutenant, adjudged them this heavy doom: 'That the 'said archbishop of York, duke of Ireland, earl of Suffolk, Tresilian, and Brambre, 'should be drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there to be hanged upon a gibbet, 'until they were dead; and all their lands and goods to be confiscated, that none of their 'posterity might be by them any way enriched.'

On the twelfth day of February, which was the first day of Shrovetide, Nicholas Brambre appeared in parliament: and being charged with the aforesaid articles of treason, he craved favour to advise of council learned, and some longer time for his more full answer to his accusation: but yet he desired a thing neither usual, nor allowable by the law; and required a thing, which the rigour of the law, in a case of that nature, would not afford. But the judges charged him to answer severally to every point in the articles contained: whereunto Brambre answered, "Whosoever hath branded me with this ignominious mark, with him I am ready to fight in the lists, to maintain my innocency, whensoever the king shall appoint." And this he spoke with such a fury, that his eyes sparkled with rage, and he breathed as if an Ætna had laid hid in his breast; choosing rather to die gloriously in the field, than disgracefully on a gibbet.

The appellants, hearing this courageous challenge, with resolute countenance, answered, "that they would willingly accept of the combat;" and thereupon flung down their gages before the king: and on a sudden, the whole company of lords, knights, esquires, and commons flung down their gages so thick, that they seemed like snow in a winter's day, crying out, "We also will accept of the combat, and will prove these articles to be true to thy head, most damnable traitor;" and so they departed for that day.

And although the appellants were not idle in the night; yet, on the next day (to aggravate their appellation against the conspirators) there came divers companies of the city of London, complaining of the manifold injuries they had suffered by Brambre, and other extortioners and exactions wherewith they had been daily charged; and yet they protested, that they did not accuse him, either for hate to his person, or for love, fear, or hope of reward from his enemies, but only they charged him with the truth.

But before they proceed with his trial, they were staid by most unfortunate Tresilian, who being got upon the top of an house, adjoining to the palace, and having descended into a gutter, only to look about him, he was discovered by certain of the peers, who presently sent some of the guard to apprehend him; who entering into the house where he was, and having spent long time in vain in looking for him, at length one of the guard stepped to the master of the house, and taking him by the shoulder, with his dagger drawn, said thus; "Shew us where thou hast hid Tresilian, or else resolve thy days are accomplished." The master trembled, ready to yield up the ghost, for fear, answered, "Yonder is the place where he lies;" and shews them a round table, covered with branches of bay, under which Tresilian lay close covered. When they had found him, they drew him out by the heels; wondering to see him, as vipers use, to wear his head and beard overgrown, with old clouted shoes, and patched hose, more like a miserable poor beggar, than a judge.

When this came to the ears of the peers, the five appellants suddenly arose up, and without expressing any reason, departed out of the parliament-house; which bred great alteration in the house, insomuch that many followed them: and when they came to the gate of the hall, they met the guard leading Tresilian bound, crying, as they came, "We have him, we have him."

Tresilian, being come into the hall, was asked what he could say for himself, why judg-

ment should not pass upon him for his treason so often committed? He became as one that had been struck dumb, and his heart was, as it were, hardened to the last, and would not confess himself guilty of any thing: and for this cause the parliament arose, deferring Brambre's trial till the next day. But Tresilian was, without delay, led to the Tower, that he might suffer the execution of the sentence passed against him. His wife and his children did, with many tears, accompany him to the Tower; but his wife was so overcome with dolour and grief, that she fell down in a swoon, as if she had been dead.

Immediately, Tresilian is upon a hurdle, and drawn through the streets of the city, with a wonderful concourse of people following him: at every furlong's end, he was suffered to stand still to rest himself, and to see if he would confess and report himself of any thing; but what he said to the friar, his confessor, is not known, neither am I able to search it out. When he came to the place of execution, he would not climb the ladder, until such time, as being soundly beaten with bats and staves, he was forced to go up; and when he was up, he said, "So long as I do wear any thing upon me, I shall not die." Wherefore the executioner stripped him, and found certain images, painted like to the signs of Heaven; and the head of a devil painted, and the names of many of the devils wrote in parchment: the exorcizing toys being taken away, he was hanged up naked; and because the spectators should be certainly assured that he was dead, they cut his throat; and because the night approached, they let him hang until the next morning; and then his wife, having obtained a licence of the king, took down his body, and carried it to the Grey-Friars, where it was buried.

On the morrow, sentence was likewise pronounced against Brambre, who being drawn upon a hurdle from the Tower to Tyburn, through the city, shewed himself very penitent, humbly craving mercy and forgiveness at the hands of God and men, whom he had so grievously offended, and whom he had so injuriously wronged in time past, and did earnestly desire them all to pray for him. When the rope was about his neck, ready to be turned off, a certain young man, the son of one Northampton, asked him, If he had done justice to his father, or not? (for Northampton was sometime mayor of the city of London, more wealthy, and more substantial, than any else in the city: him did Brambre and Tresilian accuse of treason and conspiracy against the state, and condemned him to die; being despoiled of his estate, he himself, at length, hardly escaped:) to whom Brambre answered, and confessed, with bitter tears, that what he did was most vile and wicked, and with an intent only to murder and overthrow the said Northampton; for which, craving pardon of the young man, being suddenly turned off, and the executioner cutting his throat, he died. Behold, how pleasant and delightful it is to climb up to honour! I suppose it is better to live meanly at home, with quietness, amongst poor men, than to lord it amongst princes; and, in the end, to climb a ladder amongst thieves: it is even better to undergo the burthen, than to assume the name of honour; therefore, whosoever do not regard the laws, let them observe and consider the end of these men, and with what period they finished their days.

These men being dispatched, the parliament discontinued their proceedings against the rest of the conspirators till a more convenient time, and took into their consideration other more weighty affairs of the weal-publick: they made the earl of Arundel lord-admiral, giving him authority to resist and to repulse, either by sea or land, the enemies of the crown, wheresoever he should find them. And it was further agreed on, that for the appeasing of all private discontents (if any were), the king, and the rest of the appellants, with the rest of the commissioners, should dine together in the great hall: which they did, and there was great joy at this reconciliation through all the kingdom.

When these things were concluded, they then began again this arraignment of the traitors: whereupon John Blake and Thomas Uske were indicted on the fourth day of March; who, although they were men of inferior quality, yet were they found to be parties in the said treason. Uske was a serjeant-at-arms, and was indicted amongst the conspirators, for that, being late made sheriff of Middlesex, he had indicted the five appellants and the commissioners, as traitors; and Blake was an intelligencer of Tresilian's, one that used to go and come between the conspirators, and relate the state and success of the treason from

one to another. And, when they could say nothing to prove themselves clear, sentence was pronounced upon them, as on their masters before them: they were carried to the Tower, and from thence were dragged at the horse-tail to Tyburn, and there hanged. But Uske obtained this favour, that his head was cut off, after he was hanged, and set aloft upon Newgate, for fowls of the air to take repast.

On the sixth day of March, there were called to answer, Robert Belknap, John Holt, Roger Falthorp, William Burleigh, John Locton, and John Carey, baron of the exchequer, for their conspiracy against the commissioners at Nottingham; but, because it is not needful to rehearse every part of their indictment, they were all condemned like as the rest.

Whilst the peers were trying them, the clergy were retired into the king's chambers; but when word was brought to them of the condemnation of the judges, the arch-bishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, the chancellor, the treasurer, and lord-keeper of the privy-seal, arose hastily, and went into the parliament-house, pouring forth their complaints before the king and the peers; humbly upon their knees, beseeching them that, for the love of God, the virgin Mary, and of all the saints, even as they hoped to have mercy at the day of Judgment, they should shew favour, and not put to death the said judges then present; and bitterly bewailing their iniquities, in whose hearts the very life, soul, and spirit of our English laws lived, flourished, and appeared: and there appeared great sorrow, both on the part of the complainants, and also of the defendants.

The duke of Gloucester likewise, with the earls of Arundel, Warwick, Nottingham, and Derby, (whose hearts began to be mollified,) joined with them in their lamentable petition.

At length, by intercession of the clergy, the execution upon the persons was ceased, and their lives were granted them; but they were sent to the Tower to be kept close prisoners.

On the twelfth of March, being Thursday, it happened, that the aforesaid knights, Simon de Burleigh, John de Beauchamp, James Bereverous, and John Salisbury, were brought into the parliament-house, where their accusations were read, proved, and they found guilty, and not any way able to clear themselves.

From this day, almost till the Ascension of our Lord, the parliament-house was only taken up with the trial of sir Simon Burleigh; for three appellants, *viz.* the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel, and Warwick, with the whole house of commons, urged that execution might be performed according to law. And, on the other side, the king and queen, the earls of Derby and Nottingham, and the prior of St. John, his uncle, with the major part of the upper house, did labour to have him saved.

But, because the commons were tired with so many delays and excuses in the parliament; and fearing, as it was most likely, that all their pains would be to little or no purpose, they humbly craved leave of the king, to go to their habitations.

There was also some muttering amongst the common people; and it was reported to the parliament, that the commons did rise in divers parts of the realm, but especially about Kent, in favour of the said sir Simon Burleigh; which when they heard, those that before spoke and stood for him, now flew clean from him; and, by joint consent, on the fifth day of May, sentence was pronounced only against the said sir Simon, that he should be drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there to be hanged till he was dead, and then to have his head struck from his body. But, because he was a knight of the Garter, a gallant courtier, powerful, and once a favourite of the king's, and much respected of all the court; the king, of his special grace, was pleased to mitigate his doom, that he should only be led to Tower-hill, and there be beheaded.

On the twelfth of May, the Thursday before Whitsontide, in like manner were condemned John Beauchamp, steward of the household to the king; James Bereverous, and John Salisbury, knights, gentlemen of the privy-chamber: whereof the two first, *viz.* John Beauchamp and James Bereverous, were beheaded on Tower-hill; but John Salisbury was drawn from Tower-hill to Tyburn, and there was hanged.

On the same day, also, was condemned the bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor: but, because of his great dignity, he was pardoned. Now they began to loath the shedding of so much Christian blood, they took into consideration other more weighty affairs for the good of the realm; concerning the wars with the Scots and French, concerning loans and subsidies, and of the customs of wine and wool. And also concerning the translation of some bishops; because pope Urban the Sixth, after it came to his ears, that the archbishop of York was condemned, to avoid all hope of irregularity, created him archbishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland; which archbishoprick was under the power of the Scots, enemies to the crown, and in the gift of the arch-pope: and because the pope did challenge half the titles of all England to maintain his wars; but, although he craved it, yet he was denied: therefore he dealed warily and craftily, hoping to make up his mouth by the translation of bishops; the bishop of Ely, then lord-chancellor, was made archbishop of York; the bishop of Dublin succeeded in his place, the bishop of Bath and Wells in his place, the bishop of Sarum in his place, and the lord John of Waltham, lord-keeper of the privy-seal, in his place. And thus, by his translation of bishops, he gained himself much money, according to the laws of the canon; and when this came to the ears of the parliament, that such a sum of money should be transported out of the land, they strove what they could to hinder it; but could not, because the clergy gave their consent.

On the last day of May, the king appointed both houses to meet at Keemington, where they made a conclusion of all the trials of the said treason; granting licence to Thomas Trenet, William Ellingham, and Nicholas Nagworth, knights; Richard Metford, John Slake, and John Lincolne, clerks, to put in bail, provided they were sufficient; and to go into any place of England where they listed, without any let or hindrance of any of the king's officers.

Moreover, the six justices, with the bishop of Chichester, who stood condemned with them, were sent into Ireland, there to remain for term of life; and thus they were to be divided, *viz.* Robert Belknap and John Holt, in the village of Dromore in Ireland, not to remain as justices, or any officers, but to live as banished offenders; not to be out of town, above the space of two miles, upon pain of death: but the king, out of his gracious bounty, was pleased to give a yearly annuity of forty pounds to Robert Belknap, and of twenty marks to John Holt, during their lives; and to Roger Fulthorp the king allowed forty pounds, and to William Burleigh forty pounds, during life; confining them to the city of Dublin: granting Burleigh the liberty of two miles, and to Fulthorp three miles, for their recreation. John Carey and John Locton, with the yearly allowance of twenty pounds during life, are confined to the town of Waterford, with the like liberty, and the like penalty; and the bishop of Chichester is likewise sent to Cork, there to remain, with some allowance, and the like penalty.

Behold these men, who feared not God, nor regarded men, but having the laws in their own hands, wrested them now this way, now that way, as pleased best their appetites; wresting them at their pleasure for their own commodity; were, at the last, brought down to the depth of misery, from whence they were never able to free themselves!

On the third day of June, which was the last day of the parliament, the king, the queen, the peers of both states, with the commons, came to the Abbey of Westminster; where the bishop of London, because it was in his diocess, sung mass: and the mass being ended, the archbishop of Canterbury made an oration concerning the form and danger of the oath; which, although the peers and commons had taken the oath of allegiance and homage to the king, yet because the king was young, they took the oath a-new, as at the first, at his coronation.

These ceremonies being performed, the metropolitan of England, with all his suffragans there present, having lighted a candle, and putting it under a stool, put it out; thereby excommunicating all such as should seem to distaste, dislike, or contradict any of the forepassed acts in the last parliament: and the lord-chancellor, by the king's appointment, caused all that were present, to swear to keep the said statutes inviolably whole and undis-

solved, as good and faithful liege-people of the king's; and the form of the parliament was observed throughout all the realm.

On the morrow, which was the fourth day of June, many courteous salutations and congratulations having passed between the king, the nobility, and commonalty; the parliament was dissolved, and every man returned home.

And now let England rejoice in Christ, for that the net, which was laid so cunningly for our destruction, is broken asunder, and we are delivered. To God be the praise for all!

The Names of such as were charged and condemned of High-Treason in this aforesaid memorable Parliament.

Alexander Neville, archbishop of York.

Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland; who was banished into France, where he was killed by a wild boar.

Michael de la Poole, earl of Suffolk, and lord-chancellor.

Robert Tresilian, lord-chief-justice of the King's-bench.

Sir Nicholas Brambre, sometime lord-mayor of London, made a privy-counsellor.

John Blake, a serjeant at arms.

Thomas Uske, an intelligencer of Tresilian's.

All these, except the duke of Ireland, were drawn and hanged at the Elms, now called Tyburn.

Robert Belknap; John Holt; Roger Falthorp; William Burleigh; John Locton; John Carey, baron of the Exchequer.

All these former six named men were, as it seems, judges; and, although condemned, yet their lives were saved at the intercession of some of the guiltless peers, and they afterwards were banished into Ireland.

Sir Simon de Burleigh was also condemned and beheaded. He was a knight-banneret, and of the Garter, a great and gallant courtier; and his body lieth honourably buried and intombed in Paul's church.

Sir John Beauchamp, steward of the household to the king; and sir James Bereverous; were also condemned, and beheaded at Tower-hill.

Sir John Salisbury was condemned, drawn from Tower-hill to Tyburn, and then hanged.

There were also detected, and condemned of the aforesaid treason, the bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor; sir William Ellingham, knight; sir Thomas Trinet, knight; sir Nicholas Nagworth, knight; Richard Metford, clerk; John Slake, clerk; John Lincolne, clerk.

An Abstract of many memorable Matters done by Parliaments, in this Kingdom of England.

By parliament, sir Thomas Wayland, chief-justice of the Common-pleas, (17 Edw. I.) was attainted of felony for taking bribes, and his lands and goods forfeited; as appears in the Pleas of Parliament, (18 Edw. I.) and he was banished the kingdom, as unworthy to live in that state, against which he had so much offended.

By parliament, sir William Thorp, chief-justice of the King's-bench in Edw. III.'s time, having of five persons received five several bribes, which in all amounted to but one-hundred pounds; was for this alone adjudged to be hanged, and all his goods and lands forfeited.

The reason of the judgment is entered in the roll in these words: 'Because that, as 'much as in him lay, he had broken the king's oath made to the people, which the king 'had intrusted him withal.'

By parliament, holden *anno* 22 Hen. II. assembled at Nottingham, and by advice thereof, the king caused the kingdom to be divided into six parts, and justices-itinerants appointed for every part; with an oath by them to be taken for themselves, to observe and cause inviolably to be observed, of all his subjects of England, the assizes made at Clarendon, and renewed at Northton.

By parliament, in the 11th of Edw. I. the dominion of Wales was united to the crown of England: in the parliament, in *anno* 16 of Edw. I. 1289, upon the general accounts made of the ill administration of justice in the king's absence, by divers great officers and ministers of justice, these penalties were inflicted upon the chief ministers thereof; whose manifest corruptions the hatred of the people to men of that profession, apt to abuse their science, and authority, and the necessity of reforming so grievous a mischief in the kingdom, gave ease thereunto by the parliament then assembled, wherein, upon due examinations of their offences, they are fined to pay to the king these sums following:

First, Sir Ralph Hengham, chief-justice of the higher bench, seven-thousand marks.
Sir John Loveton, justice of the lower bench, three-thousand marks.
Sir William Brompton, justice, six-thousand marks.
Sir Soloman Rochester, four-thousand marks.
Sir Richard Boyland, four-thousand marks.
Sir Thomas Sadington, two-thousand marks.
Sir Walter Hopton, two-thousand marks.
These four last were justices-itinerants.
Sir William Saham, three-thousand marks.
Robert Lithbury, master of the rolls, one-thousand marks.
Roger Leicester, one-thousand marks.
Henry Bray, escheator and judge for the Jews, one-thousand marks. But sir Adam Stratton, chief-baron of the Exchequer, was fined in four-and-thirty thousand marks. These fines, as the rate of money goes now, amount to near three-hundred thousand marks; a mighty treasure to be gotten out of the hands of so few men; which how they could amass in those days when litigation and law had not spread itself into those infinite wreathings of contention, as since it hath, may seem strange even to our greater-getting times.

In the parliament, *anno* 2 of Edw. III. held at Nottingham, that great aspirer Mortimer was accused, condemned, and sent up to London; and drawn, and hanged at the common gallows at the Elms, now called Tyburn.

In the 50th year of the reign of Edw. III. *anno Dom.* 1376, was held a parliament at Westminster, which was called 'the Great Parliament;' where were divers complaints exhibited by the parliament, charging the king's officers with fraud; and humbly craving that the duke of Lancaster, the lord Latimer, then lord-chamberlain, dame Alice Peirce the king's concubine, and one sir Richard Sturry, might be removed from court: their complaints and desires are so vehemently urged by their speaker, sir Peter la Moore, that all these persons were presently put from court.

By parliaments, all the wholesome fundamental laws of this land were and are established and confirmed.

By act of parliament, the pope's power and supremacy, and all superstition and idolatry, are abrogated, abolished, and banished out of this land.

By act of parliament, God's true religion, worship, and service, are maintained and established.

By act of parliament, the two famous Universities of Cambridge and Oxford have many wholesome and helpful immunities.

By parliament, one Pierce Gaveston, a great favourite and notable misleader of king Edward II, was removed, banished, and afterwards by the lords executed. So were Hugh Spencer the father, and Hugh the son.

By parliament, Epsom and Dudley, two notorious pollers of the commonwealth, by exacting penal laws on the subjects, were discovered, and afterwards executed.

By parliament, the damnable Gunpowder-treason, hatched in hell, is recorded to be had in eternal infamy.

By parliament, one sir Giles Mompesson, a modern caterpiller and poller of the commonwealth, by exacting upon inn-holders, &c. was discovered, degraded from knighthood, and banished by proclamation.

By parliament, sir Francis Bacon, made by king James, baron Verulam, and viscount St. Albans, and lord-chancellor of England, (very grievous to the common-wealth,) by bribery, was discovered and displaced.

By parliament, sir John Bennet, judge of the Prerogative-court, pernicious to the common-wealth in his place, was discovered and displaced.

By parliament, Lionel Cranfield, sometime a merchant of London, made by king James, earl of Middlesex, and lord-treasurer of England, hurtful in his place to the common-wealth, was discovered and displaced.

By parliament, one sir Francis Mitchel, a jolly justice of peace for Middlesex in the suburbs of London, (another notable canker-worm of the common-wealth,) by corruption in exacting the penal laws upon poor alehouse-keepers and victuallers, &c. was discovered, degraded from knighthood, and utterly disabled for being justice of peace.

By parliament, Spain's late fraud was discovered, and by act the two treaties, with that perfidious nation, for the match of the prince, our now gracious king, and restitution of the Palatinate, were dissolved and annihilated: both which had cost the king and his subjects much money, and much blood. We may remember, that that sage counsellor of state, sir William Cecill, lord Burleigh, and lord-treasurer of England, was oftentimes heard to say, 'He knew not what an act of parliament might not do.' Which sage saying was approved by king James, and by his majesty alleged in one of his published speeches.

Which being so, now the face of Christendom being at this present so torn and miserably macerated, and the Christian world distracted; the Gospel in all places almost persecuted; both church and common-wealth, where the Gospel is professed in all places beyond the seas, lying a-bleeding, as we may say; and we our selves at home, not without fear and danger. To conclude, what good may we not hope and pray for, by this present and other ensuing parliaments, the only means to rectify and remedy matters in church and common-wealth much amiss?

A Letter written to Dr. Burnet, giving an Account of Cardinal Pool's Secret Powers: from which it appears, that it was never intended to confirm the Alienation that was made of the Abbey-Lands. To which are added two Breves that Cardinal Pool brought over, and some other of his Letters, that were never before printed.

London, Printed for Richard Baldwin, in the Old-Bailey Corner, on Ludgate-Hill, 1685.[1]

[Quarto; containing forty pages.]

SIR,

I HAVE fallen on a register of Cardinal Pool's letters, which carries in it all the characters of sincerity possible. The hand and the abbreviatures shew that it was written at that time. It contains not only the two breves that I send along with this, but two other breves; besides several letters that passed between Cardinal Pool and the bishop of Arras, that was afterwards the famous cardinal Granvel; and others, that passed between Pool and the cardinal de Monte, and cardinal Morone, and Soto, the emperor's confessor. There are also in it some of Pool's letters to the pope, and to Philip, then king of England; and of these I have sent you two, the one is to the pope, and the other is to Philip. But with these I shall give you a large account of some reflections that I have made on these papers, since I hear that you desire I would suggest to you all that occurs to me upon this occasion.

You have given the world a very particular account, in your 'History of the Reformation,' of the difficulties that were made concerning the church-lands, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign; and of the act of parliament that passed in her reign, confirming the alienation of them, that was made by king Henry the Eighth; and of the ratification of it made by Cardinal Pool, who was the pope's legate, and was believed to have full powers for all he did. You have observed there were two clauses in that very act of parliament, that shew there was then a design formed to recover all the abbey-lands. The one is a charge given by Pool, to all people that had the goods of the church in their hands, to consider the judgments of God that fell on Belshazzar, for profaning the holy vessels, even though they had not been taken away by himself, but by his father; which set the matter heavy upon the consciences of those that enjoyed these lands. The other was the repeal of the statute of Mortmain, for twenty years: for, since that statute was a restraint upon the profuse endowments of churches, the suspending it for so long a time gave the monks scope and elbow-room; and it is not unlikely, that within the time limited of twenty years, the greatest part of the work would have been done. For superstition works violently, especially upon dying men, when they can hold their lands no longer themselves; and so it is most likely, that if a priest came to tell them frightful stories of purgatory, and did aggravate the heinousness of sacrilege, they would easily be wrought

[1] [From the date of publication affixed to this letter, we may venture to conclude that its intention was to create an alarm among the wealthy adherents of popery, when in the bigoted reign of the second James, the Protestant interest is well known to have fallen to a degree that threatened the revival of popery in England. During this time, the press was almost the only vehicle that remained to the well-affected, by which they could struggle against the over-bearing ascendancy of the papists; accordingly we find it, in this eventful period, teeming with whatever could tend to render popery obnoxious, or to threaten its adherents with impending danger.]

upon to take care of themselves in the next world, and leave their children to their shifts in this.

But I go now to give you some account of the papers that accompany this letter.

The first is the breve that contains the powers that were given to Cardinal Pool, besides those general powers or bulls that were given him as legate. This bears date, the 8th of March, 1554; and so probably it was an enlargement of the powers that were, as it is likely, granted him at his first dispatch from Rome; and therefore these carry in them, very probably, more grace and favour than was intended or allowed of at first. For Pool had left Rome, the November before this, and no doubt he carried some powers with him: but, upon the remonstrances that were made by the emperor, as well as from England, it seems those were procured that I now send you. The most uneasy part of this whole matter was that which related to the church-lands: for it is delivered in the canon-law, that the pope cannot alienate lands belonging to the church, in any manner, or for any necessity whatsoever. And by the same canon, which was decreed by pope Symmachus, and a Roman synod, about the year 500, the giver and seller of church-lands, as well as the possessor, is to be degraded and anathematized; and any church-man whatsoever may oppose such alienations, and, these notwithstanding, may recover the land so alienated. The pope, according to this decree, could not confirm the alienations that had been made by king Henry; and if he did confirm them, the act must be null in law, and could be no prejudice to the present incumbent, or his successor, to claim his right. Therefore, pursuant to this, the powers given to Pool authorize him only to indemnify and discharge the possessors of the church-lands, for the goods that they had embezzled, and for the rents that they had received: for it runs in these words, (which I have marked in the breve itself, that you may readily turn to it): 'And to agree and transact with the pos-'sessors of the goods of the church, for the rents which they have unlawfully received, 'and for the moveable goods which they have consumed; and for freeing and dischar-'ging them for them, they restoring first (if that shall seem expedient to you) the lands 'themselves, that are unduly detained by them.' By these powers it is plain, that the pope only forgave what was past, but stood to the right of the church, as to the restitution of the lands themselves. And that clause (if that shall seem to you expedient) belongs only to the order and point of time; so that the discharging what was past might have been done by Cardinal Pool, before or after restitution, as he pleased: but restitution was still to be made; and he had, by these powers, no authority to confirm the alienations that had been made by king Henry the Eighth, for the time to come. But these limitations were so distasteful, both in England and the emperor's court, that Pool found it necessary to send his secretary Ormanet to Rome, for new instructions, and fuller powers. He addressed him to cardinal De Monte for procuring them. Ormanet was dispatched from Rome, in the end of June, 1554, and came to Pool in the end of July; as appears by the date of Pool's letters to cardinal De Monte, which is the 29th of July; upon the receipt of the two breves that Ormanet brought him, bearing date the 26th and 28th of June.

The first of these is only matter of form; empowering him to act as a legate, either about the emperor or the king of France, in as ample manner as former legates had done. The second relates almost wholly to the business of abbey-lands; in it the pope set forth, that whereas he had formerly empowered him to transact with the possessors of church-lands, and to discharge them for the rents unjustly received, or the moveable goods that were consumed by them; yet, since the perfecting of the reduction of England would become so much the easier, as the pope gave the greater hopes of gentleness and favour in that matter, he therefore, (not being willing to let any worldly respects lie in the way of so great a work, as was the recovery of so many souls; and in imitation of the tender-hearted father, that went out to meet the prodigal child;) empowers the cardinal, according to the trust and confidence he had in him, to transact and agree with such of the possessors of them, by the pope's authority, for whom the queen should intercede, and to dispense with them for enjoying them in all time coming. But the *salvo*, that comes

in the end, seems to take all this off: for he reserves all to the pope's confirmation and good pleasure, in all those things that were of such importance, that the holy-see ought first to be consulted by Pool.

By these powers, all that Pool could do was only provisional, and could not bind the pope; so that he might disclaim and disown him, when he pleased: and the agreements, that he made afterwards with the parliament, were of no force, till they were confirmed by the pope. And as the pope that succeeded Julius the Third, who granted these breves, (but died before the execution of them was brought to him for his confirmation,) would never confirm them; so this whole transaction was a public cheat put on the nation, or at least on the possessors of the abbey-lands: nor did it grant them either a good title in law (I mean the canon-law), or give any security to their consciences, in enjoying that which, according to the doctrine of the church of Rome, is plain sacrilege. And therefore I cannot imagine how those of that church can quiet their consciences in the possession of those lands. It is plain, by the progress of this matter, that the court of Rome never intended to confirm the abbey-lands: for all that was done by Pool was only an artifice to still men's fears, and to lay the clamour, which the apprehension of the return of popery was raising, that so it might once enter with the less opposition; and then it could be easy to carry all lesser matters, when the great point was once gained; as the saddle goes into the bargain for the horse. And indeed though a poor heretick may hope for mercy, notwithstanding his abbey-lands, because it may be supposed to be sin of ignorance in him, so that he possesses them with a good conscience, and is that which the law calls *bonæ fidei possessor;* yet I see no remedy for such as go over to the church of Rome; for if there is a sin in the world that is condemned by that church, it is sacrilege; so that they must be *malæ fidei possessores*, that continue in it, after the enlightening which that church offers them.

A man may as well be a papist, and not believe transubstantiation, nor worship the host, as be one, and still enjoy his church-lands. Nor can any confessor, that understands the principles of his own religion, give absolution to such as are involved in that guilt, without restitution: so that it is a vain thing to talk of securing men in the possession of those lands, if popery should ever prevail. For, though the court of Rome would, to facilitate our reconciliation, offer some deceitful confirmation, as was done by Cardinal Pool; yet no man, after he went over to that church, could suffer himself to enjoy them. Every fit of sickness, or cross accident, would, by the priest's rhetorick, look like the beginning of the curse that fell on Ananias and Saphira. The terrible imprecations, that are in the endowments of monasteries, would be always tingling in his ears: and if absolution were denied, especially in the hour of death, what haste would the poor man make to get rid of that weight which must sink him into hell? For, as he must not hope for such good quarters as purgatory; so, if he happened to go thither, he would be so scurvily used by the poor souls, which have been kept frying there, (for want of the masses which would have been said for them in the abbey-church, if he had not with-held the rents,) that he would find so little difference between that and hell, that even there he might be tempted to turn Protestant again, and believe that purgatory was no better than hell. If any will object, that, at least, Cardinal Pool's settlement secures them till it is annulled at Rome. To this, as these papers will offer an answer, since his settlement was to have no force, till it was confirmed by the apostolic-see, which was never yet done: so if our English papists go into the opinion that is now generally received and asserted in France, that the pope's power is limited by the canons, and subject to the church; then the confirmation given by Cardinal Pool is null of itself, though it had been granted exactly according to the letter of his instructions: since there has been, in several ages of the church, so vast a number of canons made against the alienations of church-lands, that, if they were all laid together, they would make a big book. For, in the ages of superstition, as the church-men were mightily set on enriching the church; so they made sure work, and took special care that nothing should be torn from it, that was once consecrated.

But I return from this digression, to give you some account of the other letters, that are in my register. There is a letter of cardinal Morone's to Pool, of the 13th of July, sent also by Ormanet, in which he tells him: that though the emperor had writ very extravagantly of him to the pope; yet the pope said, 'He was sure there was no just occasion given for it.' And whereas the emperor pressed, that Pool might be recalled; the pope continued firm in his resolution, not to consent to so dishonourable a thing. He adds, that the pope was not yet determined in the business of the church-lands; but had spoken very often very variously concerning that matter. After this, there follows another breve of the 10th of July; by which the pope, upon the consideration of the prince of Spain's being married to the queen of England, enlarges Pool's powers, and authorizes him, as his legate, to treat with him: but this is merely a point of form.

Pool sent Ormanet, with an account of this dispatch, that he had received from Rome, to the bishop of Arras, to be presented by him to the emperor. All the answer that he could procure (as appears by Ormanet's letter) was, that the emperor had no news from England since his son's marriage; but that he would send an express thither, to know the state of affairs there; which he thought must be done first, before the legate could go over. And of this the bishop of Arras writ to Pool, three days after Ormanet came to him: his letter bears date from Bouchain, the 3d of August, 1554.

By Ormanet's letter it appears, that these last powers gave the emperor full satisfaction, and were not at all excepted against: only Granvel made some difficulty in one point, Whether the settlement of the church-lands should be granted as a grace of the pope's, by the cardinal's hands, immediately to the possessors; or should be granted to Philip and Mary, and by their means to the possessors? For it seems, it was thought a surer way to engage the crown, to maintain what was done, if the pope were engaged for it to the crown; with which he would not venture so easily to break, as he might perhaps do with the possessors themselves. But Ormanet gave him full satisfaction in that matter; for the manner of settling, it being referred wholly to the cardinal by his powers, he promised, that he would order it in the way, that should give the nation most content.

The emperor's delays became very uneasy to Cardinal Pool, upon which he wrote to Soto, that was the emperor's confessor, the 12th of August, and desired to speak with him. By the place, from whence the cardinal dates most of these letters, it appears he was then in a monastery, called Diligam, near Brussels. I will not determine whether it may not be a mistake, that passes so generally, that no wonder you have gone into it, that he was stopped at Dilling, a town upon the Danube, by the emperor's orders, which might have been founded on his being lodged in this monastery: for as he dates some of his letters, from Diligam, and others from Brussels; so he dates one from Diligam-abbey, near Brussels. But this is not of any great importance.

After some letters of no great consequence, there comes a long one writ by Pool, to the pope, bearing date from Brussels, October 13, 1554; which I send you. In it Pool gives him an account of the first conference, that he had with the emperor, on this subject. He told the emperor, "That though, as to matters of faith, the pope could slacken nothing, nor shew any manner of indulgence; yet, in the matter of the church-lands, in which the pope was more at liberty, he was resolved to be gentle and indulgent. And, as to all the pains and censures, that the possessors had incurred, and the rents that they enjoyed, which were points of great importance; he was resolved to use all sorts of indulgence, towards them, and to forgive all. Nor had he any design of applying any part of these goods, either to himself, or to the apostolic-see, of which some were afraid; though he might pretend good reason for it, considering the losses, that that see had sustained, by reason of the schism: but he would give up all that to the service of God, and the good of the kingdom. And such regard had the pope to the king and queen of England, that he was resolved to grant, upon their intercession, whatsoever should be thought convenient, to such persons, as they should think worth gratifying; or were capable to assist in the design of settling the religion." To all this the emperor answered with a new delay. "He was expecting to hear very suddenly from England; and it was necessary to

have that difficulty concerning the church-lands first cleared; which, by his own experience in Germany, he concluded to be the chief obstacle. For, as to the doctrine, he did not believe, they stuck at that; and he thought that they believed neither the one nor the other persuasion, and therefore they would not be much concerned in such points. Yet, since these goods were dedicated to God, it was not fit to grant every thing to those that held them; and therefore, though Pool had told him, how far his powers extended, yet it was not fit, that it should be generally known." But as the emperor was putting in new delays, Pool pressed him vehemently, that the matter might, at last, be brought to a conclusion. The emperor told him, "That great regard must be had to the ill dispositions of the parties concerned; since the aversion, that the English nation had to the very name of obedience to the church, or to a red hat, or a religious habit, was so universal; that his son had been advised to make the friars, that came over from Spain with him, change their habits. But, though he had done it, yet the danger of tumults deserved to be well considered." Pool replied, "That if he must stay till all impediments were removed, he must never go. Those, that were concerned in the abbey-lands, would still endeavour to obstruct his coming; since, by that means, they still continued in possession of all that they had got." In conclusion, it was resolved, that Pool should stay for the return of the messenger, that the emperor had sent to England.

Two things appear from this letter. One is, that Cardinal Pool intended only to grant a general discharge to all the possessors of the abbey-lands, for what was past; but resolved to give no grants of them, for the future, except only to such as should merit it, and for whom the queen should intercede, and whose zeal, in the matter of religion, might deserve such a favour: and it seems, that even the emperor intended no more, and that he thought that this should be kept a great secret. The other is, that the aversion of the nation to popery was, at that time, very high, so that tumults were much apprehended; yet the whole work was brought to a final conclusion, within two months, without any opposition, or the least tumult. So inconsiderable are popular discontents, in opposition to a government well established, and supported by strong alliances.

Pool, being wearied out with these continued delays, of which he saw no end, writ a long and high-flown, or (according to the style of this age) a canting letter to Philip, then king of England. I send it likewise to you; because you may perhaps desire to see every thing of Pool's writing, for whose memory, you have expressed a very particular esteem. He tells the king, that he had been knocking at the gates of that court now a year, though he was banished his country, because he would not consent, that she, who now dwelt in it, should be shut out of it; but, in his person, it was St. Peter's successor, or rather St. Peter himself, that knocked: and so he runs out in a long and laboured allegory, taken from St. Peter's being delivered out of prison, (Acts xii.) in the Herodian persecution; and coming to Mary's gate, where after his voice was known, yet he was held long knocking, though Mary was not sure, that it was he himself, &c. Upon all which he runs division; like a man that had practised eloquence long, and had allowed himself to fly high, with forced rhetorick. And to say the truth, this way of enlarging upon allegory, from some part of Scripture-story, had been so long used, and was so early practised; that I do not wonder much to see him dress this out with such pomp, and so many words. I shall be very glad, if these papers give you any considerable light in those matters; in which you have laboured so successfully. I am very sincerely,

Sir,

Your most humble servant, W. C.

Cardinal Pool's general Powers for reconciling England to the Church of Rome.

JULIUS PAPA III.

Dilecte fili noster, salutem & apostolicam benedictionem: Dudum, cùm carissima in Christo filia nostra Maria, Angliæ tunc princeps regina declarata fuisset, & speraretur regnum Angliæ, quod sævâ regnum tyrannide ab unione sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ separatum fuerat, ad ovile gregis Domini & ejusdem ecclesiæ unionem, ipsâ Mariâ primùm regnante, redire posse. Nos te, præstanti virtute, singulari pietate, ac multâ doctrinâ insignem, ad eandem Mariam reginam & universum Angliæ regnum, de fratrum nostrorum consilio & unanimi consensu nostrum & apostolicæ sedis legatum-de-latere destinavimus: tibique inter cætera, omnes & singulos utriusque sexûs, tam laicas quàm ecclesiasticas, sæculares & quorumvis ordinum regulares, personas, in quibusvis etiam sacris ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque statûs, gradûs, conditionis, & qualitatis existerent, ac quâcunque ecclesiasticâ, etiam episcopali, archiepiscopali, & patriarchali; aut mundanâ, etiam marchionali, ducali; aut regiâ dignitate præfulgerent, etiamsi capitulum, collegium, universitas, seu communitas forent, quarumcunque hæresium, aut novarum sectarum, professores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores, & fautores eorum, etiamsi relapsæ fuissent, eorum errorem cognoscentes, & de illis dolentes, ac ad orthodoxam fidem recipi humilitèr postulantes, cognitâ in eis verâ & non fictâ, aut simulatâ, pœnitentiâ, ab omnibus & singulis per eos perpetratis (hæreses, & ab eâdem fide apostasias, blasphemias, & alios quoscunque errores, etiam sub generali sermone non venientes sapientibus) peccatis, criminibus, excessibus, & delictis, necnon excommunicationum, suspensionum, interdictorum, & aliis ecclesiasticis, ac temporalibus etiam corporis afflictivis, & capitalibus sententiis, censuris & pœnis in eos præmissorum occasione, à jure vel ab homine latis, vel promulgatis, etiamsi in iis viginti & plus annis insorduissent, & eorum absolutio nobis & divinæ sedi, & per literas in die cœnæ Domini legi consuetas, reservata existeret, in utroque, conscientiæ videlicèt, & contentioso foro, plenariè absolvendi, & liberandi, ac aliorum Christi fidelium consortio aggregandi: Necnon cum eis super irregularitate per eos præmissorum occasione, etiam quia sic ligati, missas & alia divina officia, etiam contra ritus & ceremonias ab ecclesiâ eatenùs probatas, & usitatas, celebrâssent, aut illis alias se miscuissent, contracta; necnon bigamiâ per eosdem ecclesiasticos, sæculares, vel regulares, verè aut fictè, seu aliis qualitercunque incursâ (etiamsi ex eo quod clerici in sacris constituti, cum viduis vel aliis corruptis, matrimonium contraxissent prætenderetur) rejectis & expulsis tamen priùs uxoribus, sic de facto copulatis: Quòdque bigamiâ & irregularitate ac aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in eorum ordinibus, dummodò ante eorum lapsum in hæresin hujusmodi, ritè & legitimè promoti vel ordinati fuissent, etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque & qualitercunque etiam curata beneficia, sæcularia vel regularia ut priùs, dummodò super eis alteri jus quæsitum non existeret, retinere: et non promoti, ad omnes etiam sacros & presbyteratûs ordines, ab eorum ordinariis, si digni & idonei reperti fuissent, promoveri, ac beneficia ecclesiastica, si iis aliàs canonicè conferentur, recipere & retinere valerent, dispensandi & indulgendi: ac omnem infamiæ & inhabilitatis maculam sive notam, ex præmissis quomodolibet insurgentem, penitùs & omninò abolendi; necnon ad pristinos honores, dignitates, famam, & patriam, & bona etiam confiscata, in pristinumque, & eum, in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, statum restituendi, reponendi, & reintegrandi: ac eis, dummodò corde contriti, eorum errata & excessus alicui per eos eligendo catholico confessori, sacramentalitèr confiterentur, ac pœnitentiam salutarem eis per ipsum confessorem propterea injungendam omninò adimplerent, omnem publicam confessionem, abjurationem, renunciationem, & pœnitentiam jure debitam, arbitrio suo moderandi vel in totum remittendi. Necnon communitates & universitates, ac singulares personas quascunque, à quibusvis illicitis pactionibus & conventionibus, per eos cum dominis aberrantibus, seu in eorum favorem, quodomolibet initis, & iis præstitis juramentis, & homagiis,

illorumque omnium observatione, & si quem eatenùs occasione eorum incurrissent perjurii reatum, id etiam absolvendi, & juramenta ipsa relaxandi. Ac quoscunque regulares & religiosos, etiam in hæresin hujusmodi ut præfertur lapsos, extra eorum regularia loca absque dictæ sedis licentiâ vagantes, ab apostasiæ reatu, & excommunicationis aliisque censuris ac pœnis ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea etiam juxta suorum ordinum instituta incursis, paritèr absolvendi: ac cum eis ut alicui beneficio ecclesiastico curato, de illud obtinentis consensu, etiam in habitu clerici sæcularis, habitum suum regularem sub honestâ togâ presbyteri sæcularis deferendo, deservire, & extra eadem regularia loca remanere liberè & licitè possint dispensandi. Necnon quibusvis personis, etiam ecclesiasticis, ut quadragesimalibus & aliis anni temporibus & diebus, quibus usus ovorum & ca. ium est de jure prohibitus, butyro & caseo & aliis lacticiniis, ac dictis ovis & carnibus, de utriusque seu alterius, spiritualis, qui catholicus existeret, medici consilio, aut si, locorum & personarum qualitate inspectâ, ex defectu piscium aut olei, vel indispositione personarum earundem, seu aliâ causâ legitimâ id tibi faciendum videretur, ut tuo arbitrio uti & vesci possit, indulgendi & concedendi. Necnon per te in præteritis duntaxat casibus, aliquos clericos sæculares, tantùm presbyteros, diaconos, aut subdiaconos, qui matrimonium cum aliquibus virginibus, vel corruptis sæcularibus, etiam mulieribus, de facto eatenùs contraxissent, consideratâ aliquâ ipsorum singulari qualitate, & cognitâ eorum verâ ad Christi fidem conversione, ac aliis circumstantiis, ac modificationibus tuo tantùm arbitrio adhibendis, ex quibus aliis præsertim clericis in sacris ordinibus hujusmodi constitutis, quibus non licet uxores habere, scandalum omninò non generetur, citra tamen altaris ac alia sacerdotum ministeria, & titulos beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, ac omni ipsorum ordinum exercitio sublato, ab excommunicationis sententiâ, & aliis reatibus propterea incursis, injunctâ indè eis etiam tuo arbitrio pœnitentiâ salutari, absolvendi ac cum eis dummodò alter eorum superstes remaneret, de cætero sine spe conjugii, quod inter se matrimonium legitimè contrahere, & in eo postquàm contractum foret, licitè remanere possent, prolem exindè legitimam decernendo, misericorditèr dispensandi: ac quæcunque beneficia ecclesiastica, tam sæcularia quàm regularia, & quæ per rectores catholicos possidebantur, de ipsorum tamen rectorum catholicorum consensu, seu absque eorum præjudicio, cuicunque alteri beneficio ecclesiastico ob ejus fructûs tenuitatem, aut hospitali jam erecto vel erigendo, seu studio universali vel scholis literariis, uniendi, annectendi, & incorporandi, aut fructus, reditus, & proventus, seu bonum beneficiorum dividendi, separandi, & dismembrandi, ac eorum sic divisorum, separatorum, & dismembratorum partem aliis beneficiis seu hospitalibus, vel studiis aut scholis, seu piis usibus similitèr arbitrio tuo perpetuo applicandi & appropriandi. 'Ac cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum (restitutis, priùs 'si tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebitè detentis) super fructibus malè 'perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordandi, & transigendi, ac eos desuper li-'berandi & quietandi:' ac quicquid concordiis & transactionibus hujusmodi proveniret, in ecclesiâ cujus essent bona, vel in studiorum universalium, aut scholarum hujusmodi, seu alios pios usus convertendi, omniaque & singula alia, in quæ in præmissis & circa ea quomodolibèt necessaria & opportuna esse cognosceres, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, & exercendi: necnon catholicos locorum ordinarios, aut alias personas Deum timentes, fide insignes, & literarum scientiâ præditas, ac gravitate morum conspicuas, & ætate venerandas, de quarum probitate & circumspectione ac charitatis zelo plena fiducia conspici posset, ad præmissa omnia, cum simili vel limitatâ potestate (absolutione & dispensatione clericorum circa connubia, ac unione beneficiorum, seu eorum fructuum & bonorum separatione, & applicatione, ac concordiæ cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum & eorum liberatorum, duntaxat exceptis,) substituendi & subdelegandi: ac diversas alias facultates per diversas alias nostras tam sub plumbo quàm in formâ brevis confectas literas, concessimus, prout in illis plenius continetur. Verùm cùm tu ad partes Flandriæ ex quibus brevissima ad regnum transfretatio existit, te contuleris, ac ex certis rationalibus nobis notis causis inibi aliquandiù subsistere habeas, ac à nonnullis, nimiùm forsan scrupulosis, hæsitetur, an tu in partibus hujusmodi subsistens, prædictis ac aliis tibi concessis facultatibus uti ac in eodem regno locorum ordinarios, aut alias personas ut præmittitur qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te juxta dictarum literarum conti-

nentiam pro tempore concessis utantur, alias juxta earundem literarum tenorem substituere & delegare possis: nos causam tuæ subsistentiæ in eisdem partibus approbantes, & singularum literarum prædictarum tenores, præsentibus pro sufficientèr expressis, ac de verbo ad verbum insertis, habentes, circumspectioni tuæ quod quamdiù in eisdem partibus de licentiâ nostrâ morum traxeris, legatione tuâ prædictâ durante, etiam extra ipsum regnum existens, omnibus & singulis prædictis & quibusvis aliis tibi concessis & quæ per præsentes tibi conceduntur, facultatibus, etiam erga quoscunque, archiepiscopos, episcopos, ac abbates, aliosque, ecclesiarum tam sæcularium quàm quorumvis ordinum regularium, necnon monasteriorum & aliorum regularium locorum prælatos, non secùs ac erga alios inferiores clericos, uti possis, necnon erga alias personas in singulis literis prædictis quovis modo nominatas, ad te pro tempore recurrentes vel mittentes, etiam circa ordines, quos nunquam aut malè susceperunt, & munus consecrationis quod iis ab aliis episcopis vel archiepiscopis etiam hæreticis & schismaticis, aut alias minùs ritè & non servatâ formâ ecclesiæ consuetâ impensum fuit, etiam si ordines & munus hujusmodi etiam circa altaris ministerium temerè executi sint, per te ipsum vel alios, ad id à te pro tempore deputatos, liberè uti, ac in eodem regno tot quot tibi videbuntur locorum ordinarios vel alias personas, ut præmittitur qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te, eis pro tempore concessis (citra tamen eas quæ solùm tibi, ut præfertur, concessæ existunt) etiam te in partibus Flandriæ hujusmodi subsistente, liberè utantur; & eas exerceant & exequantur alias, juxta ipsarum literarum continentiam ac tenorem substituere & subdelegare. Necnon de personis quorumcunque episcoporum vel archiepiscoporum, qui metropolitanam aut alias cathedrales ecclesias de manu laicorum etiam schismaticorum, & præsertim qui de Henrici regis & Edvardi ejus nati receperunt, & eorum regimini & administrationi se ingesserunt, & eorum fructus, reditus, & proventus, etiam longissimo tempore, tanquam veri archiepiscopi aut episcopi temerè & de facto usurpando, etiamsi in hæresin, ut præfertur, inciderint, seu anteà hæretici fuerint, postquàm per te unitati sanctæ matris ecclesiæ restituti exstiterint, tuque eos rehabilitandos esse censueris, si tibi aliàs digni & idonei videbuntur, eisdem metropolitanis & aliis cathedralibus ecclesiis denuò, necnon quibusvis aliis cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis per obitum vel privationem illarum præsulum, seu aliàs quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de personis idoneis pro quibus ipsa Maria regina, juxta consuetudines ipsius regni, tibi supplicaverit authoritate nostrâ providere, ipsasque personas eisdem ecclesiis in episcopos aut archiepiscopos præficere: ac cum iis qui ecclesias cathedrales & metropolitanas, de manu laicorum etiam schismaticorum ut præfertur, receperunt, quòd eisdem seu aliis ad quas eas alias ritè transferri contigerit, cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis, in episcopos vel archiepiscopos præesse ipsasque ecclesias in spiritualibus & temporalibus regere & gubernare, ac munere consecrationis eis hactenùs impenso uti, vel si illud eis nondum impensum exstiterit, ab episcopis vel archiepiscopis catholicis per te nominandis suscipere liberè & licitè possint. Necnon cum quibusvis per te ut præmittitur pro tempore absolutis & rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus & excessibus præteritis non obstantibus, quibusvis cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis in episcopos & archiepiscopos præfici & præesse, illasque in eisdem spiritualibus & temporalibus regere & gubernare: ac ad quoscunque etiam sacros & presbyteratûs ordines promovere, & in illis aut per eos jam licèt minùs ritè susceptis ordinibus etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare necnon munus consecrationis suscipere, & illo uti liberè & licitè valeant; dispensare etiam liberè & licitè possis, plenam & liberam apostolicam autoritatem per præsentes concedimus facultatem & potestatem: non obstantibus constitutionibus & ordinationibus apostolicis, ac omnibus illis quæ in singulis literis præteritis voluimus non obstare, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die 8° Martii, 1554; *pontificatûs nostri anno quinto.*

A second Breve, containing more special Powers relating to the Abbey-Lands. Julius P P. III.

Dilecte fili noster, salutem & apostolicam benedictionem. Superioribus mensibus oblatâ nobis spe per Dei misericordiam, & charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Mariæ Angliæ reginæ, summam religionem, & pietatem, nobilissimi illius Angliæ regni, quod jamdiu quorundam impietate, à reliquo catholicæ ecclesiæ corpore avulsum fuit, ad ejusdem catholicæ & universalis ecclesiæ unionem, extra quam nemini salus esse potest, reducendi; te ad præfatam Mariam reginam, atque universum illud regnum, nostrum & apostolicæ sedis legatum-de-latere, tanquam pacis & concordiæ angelum, de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalium consilio atque unanimi assensu, destinavimus, illisque facultatibus omnibus munivimus, quas ad tanti negotii confectionem necessarias putavimus esse, seu quomodolibet opportunas. Atque inter alia circumspectioni tuæ, ut cum bonorum ecclesiasticorum possessoribus, super fructibus malè perceptis, & bonis mobilibus consumptis concordare & transigere, ac eos desuper liberare, & quietare, ubi expedire posset, autoritatem concessimus & facultatem, prout in nostris desuper confectis literis pleniùs continetur: Cùm autem ex iis principiis, quæ ejusdem Mariæ sedulitate & diligentiâ, rectâque & constante in Deum mente, tuo & in eâ re cooperante studio atque consilio præfatum reductionis opus in prædicto regno usque ad hanc diem habet, ejusdemque præclari operis perfectio indiès magis speretur; eòque faciliores progressus habitura res esse dignoscatur, quo nos majorem in bonorum ecclesiasticorum possessionibus in illâ superiorum temporum confusione, per illius provinciæ homines occupatis, apostolicæ benignitatis & indulgentiæ spem ostenderimus. Nos nolentes tantam dilectissimæ nobis in Christo nationis recuperationem, & tot animarum pretioso Jesû Christi Domini nostri sanguine redemptarum, salutem, ullis terrenarum rerum respectibus impediri, more pii patris, in nostrorum & sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ filiorum, post longum periculosæ peregrinationis tempus, ad nos respectantium & redeuntium, peroptatum complexum occurrentes; tibi, de cujus præstanti virtute, singulari pietate, doctrinâ, sapientiâ, ac in rebus gerendis prudentiâ, & dexteritate, plenam in Domino fiduciam habemus, cum quibuscunque bonorum ecclesiasticorum, tam mobilium quàm immobilium, in præfato regno possessoribus, seu detentoribus, pro quibus ipsa serenissima regina Maria intercesserit, de bonis per eos indebitè detentis, arbitrio tuo, autoritate nostrâ, tractandi, concordandi, transigendi, componendi, & cum eis ut præfata bona sine ullo scrupulo in posterum retinere possint, dispensandi, omniaque & singula alia, quæ in his, & circa ea, quomodolibet necessaria & opportuna fuerint, concludendi & faciendi: 'salvo tamen in his, in quibus, propter rerum 'magnitudinem & gravitatem, hæc sancta sedes meritò tibi videretur consulenda, nostro & 'præfatæ sedis beneplacito & confirmatione,' plenam & liberam apostolicam autoritate tenore præsentium & ex certâ scientiâ concedimus facultatem. Non obstantibus literis, felicis recordationis Pauli P P. II. prædecessoris nostri, de non alienandis bonis ecclesiasticis, nisi certâ formâ servatâ, & aliis quibusvis apostolicis ac in provincialibus & synodalibus conciliis edictis generalibus vel specialibus constitùtionibus, & ordinationibus: necnon quarumvis ecclesiarum & monasteriorum ac aliorum regularium, & piorum locorum, juramento, confirmatione apostolicâ, vel quâvis aliâ firmitate roboratis, fundationibus, statutis & consuetudinibus, illorum tenores pro sufficientèr expressis habentes contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris die xxviii° Junii, 1554; pontificatûs nostri anno quinto.

A Letter of Cardinal Pool's to the Pope; giving an Account of a Conference that he had with Charles the Fifth, concerning the Church-Lands.

Beatissime Pater,

E molto tempo che non havendo cosa d'importanza non ho scritto a V. Santita per non molestarla facendole col mezo del mio agente intendere tutto quello che occurreva; e benche hora

io non habbia da dirle quanto desiderarei, nondimeno mi e parso conveniente scriverle, e darle conto del raggiamento prima havuta con Monsieur d'Arras & poi di quel che ho negotiato con sua majesta. Monsieur d'Arras alli ix che su il giorno istesso che sua majesta torno, essendomi venuto a visitare, trovandosi all hora meco Mons. il nuncio mi disse, che sua majesta havea veduta la lettera che io mandai ultimamente per l'auditor mio, e che ella era benissimo disposta verso questo negocio della religione in Inghilterra come si conveniva, e si poteva credere per la sua pietate, & anche per l'interesse, che ne segueria de quel regno & de questi paesi per la congiunctione che e tra loro. Si che quanto a questa parte di disponer sua majesta non accader far altro. Ma che era ben necessario, che io venissi a particolari, & a trattar de gli impedimenti, e della via di rimoverli: sopra che sua maesta mi udiria molto volentieri, jo risposi che veramente non era da dubitare del buono e pronto animo di sua maesta, e che io ni era stato sempre persuasissimo. Ma che quanto pertineva all' officio mio per esser io stato mandato da V. Santita per far intender l'ottima sua mente verto la salute di quello regno, e la prontezza di porgere tutti quei remedii che dall' autorita sua potesser venire; a me non toccava far altro, che procurar d'haver l'adito: e che ad esse principi, quali sono sul fatto, & hanno il governo in mano, le apparteneva, far intendere gli impedimenti, che fussero in contrario: e tornando pur esso Monsieur d'Arras che bisognava che io descendessi alli particolari, io replicai che in questa causa non conveniva in modo alcuno che si procedesse come si era fatto inquella della pace nella quale ciascuna delle parti stava sopra di se non volendosi scoprire, ma folo cercando di scoprirne, l'altra, per rispetto de gli interesse particolari; percio che questa e una causa commune e nella quale V. Santita e sua maesta Cesarea, & quei principi hanno il medesimo fine, & noi ancora come ministri. Confermo cio esser vero quanto al tratar della pace, con dire in effetto in tratar del negocio della pace io mi armo tutto. Ma pur tuttavia cornava a dire, che io dovessi pensare e raggionar in particolare, con sua maesta di quest impedimenti. E Mons. il nuncio al hora voltatosi a me disse, che in effetto era bisogno venire a questi particolari: e cosi al sine restammo che ogniuno ci pensasse sopra.

Alli xi poi nell' andar da S. maesta Monsieur d'Arras torna a replicarmi il medesimo; nell' audientia di S. maesta nella quale si trovo presente Mons. il nuncio, e Monsieur d'Arras, poiche mi fui ralegrato con sua maesta che havendo liberato questi suoi paesi dalle molestie delle guerre, doppo tanti travagli, e d'animo e di corpo fusse tornato piu gagliarda e meglio disposita che quando si parti, in che si videva che il Signior Iddio haveva preservata & preservava a maggior cose in honor di S. divina maesta a beneficio commune. Sua maesta confermo sentersi assai bene, e disse dele indispositione che haveva havuta in Arras e altre cose in simil proposito: entrai poi a dire della lettera che io haveva scritta a S. maesta della resposta che Monsieur d'Arras mi haveva fatta, che era stata di rimetersi al breve. Retorno di sua maesta qui, e dissi che se havessi a trattar questo negocio con altro principe, della pieta del quale non fussi tanto persuaso, quanto io sono certo di quella di sua maesta, dimostrata da lei con tanto segni, e nella vita sua privata e nell' attioni publiche, cercaci de essortarlo per tante vie quante si potria ad abbracciar e favorir questa cosi sancta causa: ma che non essendo bisogno fare questo con S. maesta, e tanto piu per esser in questa causa con honore d'Iddio, congionto anco il beneficio di S. maesta et del serenissimo re suo figliuolo, solo aspettava da lei ogni ajuto per remover gli impedimenti, che fussero in questo negocio, i quali per quanto io poteva considerere sono di duo sorti: uno pertinente alla doctrina catollica, nella quale non poteva esser in alcun modo indulgente, per esser cosa pertinente alla fide ne poteva sanar altrimente questo male, che con introdure de nuovo la buona doctrina. L'altro impedimento essendo de i beni, gli usurpatori di quali, sapendo la severita delle leggi ecclesiastiche, temevano per questa causa di ritornar all' obedienza della chiesa, desse che in questa parte V. Santita poteva, et era disposta ad usar la sua benignita et indulgenza: e primo quanto alle censure e pene incorse et alla restitutione de frutti percetti, che era di grand' importanza, V. Santita haveva animo nell' una nell' altra di questo due cose d'usar ogni indulgenza, rimittendo liberamente il tutto: ne pensava d'applicar parte alcuna de detti beni a se, ne alla sede apostolica, come multi temevano: benche di raggione lo potesse fare, per le

ingiurie et damni recevuti: ma che voleva convertir il tutto in servitio d'Iddio et a beneficio del regno senza haver pur una minima consideratione del suo privato interesse: et confidandosi nella pieta di quei principi, voleva far loro quest' honore di far per mezo del suo legato, quelle gratie che paressero convenienti secondo la proposta et intercessione delle loro maesta, a quelle persone che esse giudicassero degne d'essere gratificate, et atte ad ajutar la causa della religione. Sua maesta respondendo ringratio prima molto V. Santita mostrando di conoscere la sua bona mente, et con dire, che ella in vero haveva fatto assai: poi disse che per gli impedimenti et occupationi della guerra, non haveva potuto attendere a questo negocio come saria stato il suo desiderio: ma che hora gli attenderia: et che haveva gia scritto e mandato in Inghilterra, per intender meglio in questa parte il stato delle cosa, et aspettava in breve risposta: et che bisognava ben considerare findove si potesse andare nel rimover questo impedimento d'beni; il quali esso per lesperienza che haveva havuto in Germania, conosceva esser il principale. Perchioche quanto alla doctrina, disse, che poco se ne curavano questo tali, non credendo ne all'una ne all' altra via: disse anche che essendo stati questi beni dedicati a Dio, non era da concedere cosi ogni cosa, a quelli che li tenevano: e che se bene a lei io dicessi findove s'estendesse la mia faculta, non pero si haveva da far intendere il tutto ad altri: e che sara bisogno veder il breve della faculta per ampliarle dove fusse necessario: alche io risposi haverlo gia fatto vedere a Monsieur d'Arras, il quale non disse altra: e dubitando io che questa non fusse via di maggior dilatione dissi a S. maesta, che devendosi come io intendeva e come S. maesta doveva saper meglio, fare in breve il parlamento, era d'avertire grandimente, che non si facesse senza conclusione nella causa dell' obedienza della chiesa: che quando altrimente si facesse, sarebbe d'un grandissimo scandalo a tutto il mondo, e danno alla detta causa: e che se bene la regina a fare un cossi grande atto, haveva giudicato haver bisogno della congiuntione del re suo marito, come che non esse 'bonam mulierem esse solam,' se hora che Iddio ha prosperato e condotto al fine questa santa congiuntione, si differisse piu l'essecutione di questo effetto, che deve essar il principio et il fundamento di tutte le loro regie attioni, non restarebbe via di satisfar a Dio, ne a gli huomini: e dicendo S. maesta che bisognava anco haver grand respetto alla mala dispositione de gli interessati e quanto universalmente sia arbborito questo nome d'obedienza della chiesa, e questo cappel rosso, e l'habito ancora de' i religiosi, voltatosi all' hora a Mons. nuncio, e in tel proposito parlando de fratri condotti di Spagnia del re suo figlivolo che fu consegliato far loro mutar l'habito, se bene cio non si feci, ne si conveniva fare: condire anco di quanto importanza fusse il tumulto del popolo, et in tal proposito toccando anche de i mali officii che non cessavano di fare per ogni via i nemici esterni. Io risposi che volendo aspettare che tutti da se si disponessero, e che cessasse ogni impedimento, saria un non venir mai a fine, perchioche, gli interessati massimamente, altro non vorriano se non che si continuasse nel presente stato non tenere et godere esse, tutto quello che hanno. In fine fu concluso che si aspettasse la riposta d'Inghilterra, col ritorno del secretario Eras, che saria fra pochi di, e che in questo mezzo io pensassi e conferissi di quelle cose con Monsieur d'Arras. V. beatitudine puo con la sua prudenza vedere in che stato si trovi questa causa; e come sara necessario, che qui si trattino le difficulta sopra questa beni; e per non tediarla con maggior lunghezza quel di piu che mi occurreria dirle V. Santita si degnira intendere dall' agente mio, alla quale con la debita reverenza bacio i santissimi piedi preguando il Sig. Iddio che la conservi longamente a servitio della sua chiessa. Di Bruxelles, alli 13 *d'October* 1554.

Reginaldus Card. Polus.

A Letter of Cardinal Pool's to Philip the Second, complaining of the Delays that had been made, and desiring a speedy Admittance into England.

Serenissime Rex,

Jam annus est cùm istius regiæ domûs fores pulsare cœpi, nedum quisquam eas mihi aperuit. Tu verò, rex, si quæras, ut solent qui suas fores pulsare audiunt, quisnam pulset? atque ego hoc tantùm respondeam me esse qui ne meo assensu regia ista domus ei clauderetur, quæ tecum simul eam nunc tenet, passus sum me domo & patriâ expelli, & exilium viginti annorum hâc de causâ pertuli. An si hoc dicam non vel uno hoc nomine dignus videar cui & in patriam reditus & ad vos aditus detur? At ego nec meo nomine nec privatam personam gerens pulso, aut quidquam postulo, sed ejus nomine ejusque personam referens, qui summi regis & pastoris hominum in terris vicem gerit. Hic est Petri successor: atque adeo ut non minùs verè dicam, ipse Petrus, cujus authoritas & potestas cùm anteà in isto regno maximè vigeret ac floreret, postquàm non passa est jus regiæ domûs ei adimi, quæ nunc eam possidet, ex eo per summam injuriam est ejecta. Is regias per me fores jampridem pulsat & tamen quæ reliquis omnibus patent ei uni nondum aperiuntur. Quid ita ejus ne pulsantis sonum an vocantis non audierunt, qui intus sunt? Audierunt sanè, & quidem non minore cum admiratione divinæ potentiæ & benignitatis erga ecclesiam, quàm olim Maria illa affecta fuerit, cùm, ut est in "Actis Apostolorum," Rhode ancilla ei nunciasset Petrum quem rex in vincula conjecerat, ut mox necaret, & pro quo ecclesia assiduè precabatur, è carcere liberatum ante ostium pulsantem stare. Ut enim hoc ei cæterisque qui cum illâ erant magnam attulit admirationem, ita nunc qui nôrunt eos qui Petri authoritatem potestatemque in isto regno retinendam esse contendebant, in vincula Herodiano imperio conjectos, & crudelissimè interfectos fuisse, quin etiam successorum Petri nomina è libris omnibus sublata, in quibus precationes ecclesiæ pro eorum incolumitate ac salute continebantur; qui, inquam, hæc nôrunt, facta adomnem memoriam Petri autoritatis à Christo traditæ penitùs ex animis hominum delendam, qui fieri potest ut non maximè admirentur hoc divinæ benignitatis & potentiæ pignus ac testimonium, Petrum nunc quasi iterum è carcere Herodis liberatum, ad regiæ domûs fores unde hæc omnia iniquissima in eum edicta emanârunt, pulsantem stare, & cùm hoc maximè mirandum est, tùm illud non minùs mirum, à Mariâ reginâ domum hanc teneri: sed cur illa tamdiu fores aperire distulit? De ancillâ quidem illud Mariæ scriptum est, eam Petri voce auditâ præ nimio gaudio suæ quasi oblitam, de aperiendo non cogitâsse: rem priùs, ut Mariæ aliisque qui cum eâ erant nunciaret, accurrisse, qui cum primo an ita esset dubitâssent, mox cùm Petrus pulsare pergeret aperierunt, neque illum domo recipere sunt veriti, etsi maximam timendi causam habebant, Herode ipso vivo & regnante. Hic verò quid dicam de Mariâ reginâ, gaudeo ne eam an timore esse prohibitam quò minùs aperuerit; præsertim cùm ipsa Petri vocem audierit, cùm certò sciat eum ad domûs suæ januam jamdiu pulsantem stare: cùm admirabilem Dei in hâc re potentiam agnoscat, qui non per angelum, ut tunc Petrum è carcere Herodis, sed suâ manu eduxit, dejectâ portâ ferreâ quæ viam ad regiam ejus domum intercludebat: scio equidem illam gaudere, scio etiam verò timere; neque enim nisi timeret tamdiù distulisset. Verùm si Petri liberatione gaudet, si rei miraculum agnoscit, quid impedimento fuit quò minùs ei ad januam lætabunda occurrerit, eumque meritas Deo gratias agens introduxerit, Herode præsertim mortuo, omnique ejus imperio ad eam delato? An fortassis Divina Providentia, quæ te dilectum Petri filium & ei virum destinârat, illam timore aliquo tantisper effici permisit, dum venisses, ut utriusque ad rem tam præclaram & salutarem agendam, opera atque officium conjungeretur: equidem sic antea hunc Mariæ reginæ conjugis tuæ timorem, quod etiam ad eam scripsi, sum interpretatus: ac propterea ad te nunc, virum ejus, principem religiosissimum, scribo, & abs te ipsius Petri, Christi vicarii nomine, postulo, ut illi omnes timoris causas prorsùs excutias: habes verò expeditissimam excutiendi rationem, si consideres eique proponas, quàm indignum sit si dum te illa corporis sui sponsum accerserit, cùm non deessent quæ timenda viderentur,

tamen omnem timorem sola vicerit, nunc te tanto principi illi conjuncto, timore prohiberi quò minùs aditum ad se aperiat sponsæ animæ suæ, mecum unà & cum Petro tamdiù ad fores expectanti; qui præsertìm tot & tam miris modis custodem ejus se, defensoremque esse declaraverit. Noli enim, rex, putare, me, aut solum ad vestram regiam domum, aut uno tantùm Petro comitatum venisse; cujus rei hoc quidem tibi certum argumentum esse potest, quod tamdiù persevero pulsans: nam sive ego solus venissem, solus jampridem abiissem, querens & expostulans quæ aliis omnibus pateant, mihi uni occlusas esse fores; sive unà mecum solus Petrus, jampridem is quoque discessisset, meque secum abduxisset, pulvere pedum excusso, quod ei præceptum fuit à Domino ut faceret quotiescunque ejus nomine aliquo accedens non admitteretur. Cùm verò nihil ego, quod ad me quidem attinet conquerens, perseverem, cùm Petrus pulsare non desistat, utrumque scito ab ipso Christo retineri, ut sibi sponso animæ utriusque vestrum aditus ad vos patefiat. Neque enim unquam verebor dicere, Christum in hâc legatione, quâ pro ejus vicario fungor, mecum adesse: quamdiù quidem mihi conscius ero me nihil meum, me non vestra, sed vos ipsos toto animo omnique studio quærere. Tu vero, princeps catholice, cui nunc divinâ Providentiâ & benignitate additum est alterum hoc præclarum Fidei Defensoris cognomen, quo reges Angliæ apostolicâ Petri autoritate sunt aucti atque ornati, tecum nunc considera quàm id tuæ pietati conveniat, cum omnibus omnium principum ad te legatis aditus patuerit, ut tibi de hoc ipso cognomine adepto gratularentur, solum successoris Petri qui hoc dedit, legatum, qui propterea missus est ut te in solio regni divina summi omnium regis quam affert pace & gratiâ, confirmet, non admitti? An si quidquam hic ad timorem proponitur, quò minùs eum admittis non multò magis Christi hâc in re metuenda esset offensio, quòd ejus legatus, qui omnium primus audiri debuit, tamdiù fores expectet, cùm cæteri homines qui multò pòst venerunt, nullâ interpositâ morâ, introducti auditique sint & honorificè dimissi. At hîc conqueri incipio; conqueror quidem, sed idcircò conqueror, ne justam tuæ majestati causam de me conquerendi præbeam, quam sanè præberem, si cùm periculi, quod ex hâc cunctatione admittendi legati à Christo vicario missi, nobis vestroque regno impendet, reginam sæpè admonuerim, nihil de eâ re ad majestatem tuam scriberem; quod officium cùm tibi à me pro eo quo fungor munere maximè debeatur, id me satis persoluturum esse arbitror, si his literis ostendero quantum periculi ei immineat, cui illud verè dici potest, 'distulisti Christum tuum.' Is autem Christum differt, qui legatum missum ab ejus vicario, ad requirendam obedientiam ecclesiæ, ipsi Christo debitam, ex quo nostra omnium pendet salus, non statim admittit. Differs verò, tu princeps, si cùm accersitus fueris ut pro munere regio viam ad hanc divinam obedientiam in tuo isto regno restituendam munias, ipse alia agas.

The Papists' bloody Oath of Secrecy, and Litany of Intercession, for the carrying on of this present Plot. With the Manner of taking the Oath upon the entering into any grand Conspiracy against the Protestants.[1] As it was taken in the Chapel belonging to Barmbow-Hall, the Residence of Sir Thomas Gascoigne; from William Rushton, a Popish Priest; by me Robert Bolron. Together with some further Informations, relating to the Plot, and Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey[2].

Jovis 16*mo Die Decembris*, 1680.

Ordered, That Mr. Robert Bolron have Liberty from this House, 'to print and publish the said Oath of Secrecy and 'Litany. 'William Goldsbrough,
'*Cler. Dom. Com.*'

London, Printed for Randal Taylor, near Stationers-Hall, 1680.

[Folio; containing twenty-four pages.]

AFTER the ancient piety, zeal, and strictness of life, exemplary in the primitive Christians, had in a measure put the dominion of this world, and the keys of the next, into the hands of the clergy; the care of gaining souls became, in a few centuries, obsoleted; the former illustrious times of virtue vanished; and a gloomy night of ignorance soon overspread the universe. The clergy (the authors of this unhappiness), finding their religion and greatness must be maintained by power and policy; and conscious to themselves, that their lives and doctrine held no good correspondence with the purity and poverty of their predecessors; took a course, because they had little left of their own, to trade with the piety of the ages past, and prop up their own ignorance and sloth by that means. To work they go. They make gods of the deceased propagators of Christianity, and inshrine their rotten bones, or those of others, in cases of gold and silver. The next thing was to persuade or compel the people to adore them. In this erecting a new order

[1] [The Popish plot of 1680 is one of those historic riddles which never has been, and probably never will be, unravelled to the satisfaction of all parties. Much has been written on both sides: by some it has been represented as the most villainous and diabolical scheme that ever was formed by man; and by others, as the visionary excogitation of the uncharitable Puritans, &c. Both parties have been enabled to bring to their assistance the most positive and authoritative documents, which yet have been repelled by the disclosure of other facts, of equal authority, and indubitation. After all, we may be just as far from the truth, as these accounts are from one another; and since the most zealous scrutinizers were uniformly baffled in their endeavours to throw light upon this affair, even while it was fresh upon every memory, and reverberating from every tongue, we cannot wonder, that at this distance of time, and with such inferiour sources of information, we should be equally unsuccessful in tracing to its source a transaction of so complicated a nature.]

[2] [Of whom, vide a short account in Vol. V. p. 331.]

of demi-gods, they imitated the pagans in their wickedness, but not in their virtue or valour; and clapped the festivals of these new pagods into the calendar, in the places of the old holidays of Saturn, Minerva, and Bacchus, &c. This project answered expectation; they grew greater, but not better: the miracles, pretendedly wrought at those shrines, and multitude of ceremonies, dazzled the vulgar, supported the reputation, and supplied the defect of the clergy; the glorious lives, wonders, and martyrdoms of the ancients were made into mantles to hide the ignorance, lust, and avarice, of worthless impostors; and laws every-where were made to restrain men from peeping into the ark of the church. And, to strip princes privily of their power, and to draw their subjects to other dependencies, numerous orders and societies are conjured up (as though the laity had not groaned enough under the seculars) to erect a kingdom in every kingdom for the pope; and to supply him, in every corner, with a villain spiritual, to stab or poison what potentates he pleases.

Things thus jogged on till the days of our grandfathers; when, in England, the pope and his clergy were secluded, and it was made death for any Romish priest to enter the realm: yet, since, they have not only come hither, but by help of factors and proselytes, acquired great estates[3] in these kingdoms; and arrived to a height of no less confidence, than of ruling the rost, destroying us all, and introducing popery. This is as clear as noon-day, by many testimonies; among which, this oath following is a most notorious evidence, on which I shall make some remarks.

The Oath of Secrecy, given by William Rushton to me Robert Bolron, the Second of February, 1676-7.

✠ In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

'I ROBERT BOLRON, being in the presence of Almighty God, the blessed Mary ever 'virgin, the blessed Michael the archangel, the blessed St. John Baptist, the holy apos- 'tles St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the saints in heaven, and to you my ghostly father 'do declare, and in my heart believe the pope, Christ's vicar-general, to be the true and 'only head of Christ's church here on earth; and that, by virtue of the keys of binding 'and loosing, (given his Holiness by our Saviour Christ,) he hath power to depose all 'heretical kings and princes, and cause them to be killed. Therefore, to the utmost of 'my power, I will defend this doctrine, and his Holiness's rights, against all usurpers 'whatever; especially against the now pretended king of England, in regard that he hath 'broke his vows with his Holiness's agents beyond seas, and not performed his promises 'in bringing into England the holy Roman-catholic religion. I do renounce and disown 'any allegiance, as due to the said pretended king of England, or obedience to any of his 'inferior officers and magistrates; but do believe the Protestant doctrine to be heretical 'and damnable, and that all are damned, which do not forsake the same; and, to the 'best of my power, will help his Holiness's agents, here in England, to extirpate and 'root out the said Protestant doctrine, and to destroy the said pretended king of England, 'and all such of his subjects as will not adhere to the holy see of Rome, and the religion 'there professed. I further do promise and declare, that I will keep secret and private, 'and not divulge, directly or indirectly, by word, writing, or circumstance, whatever 'shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered to me by you my ghostly father, or 'any other engaged in the promoting of this pious and holy design; and that I will be 'active, and not desist from the carrying of it on; and that no hopes of rewards, threats, 'or punishments shall make me discover the rest concerned in so pious a work; and, if 'discovered, shall never confess any accessaries with myself concerned in this design. All 'which I do swear by the Blessed Trinity, and by the blessed sacrament, which I now

[3] ["The Society of Jesuits in England, are credibly said to have above 60,000*l.* per annum estate in land, managed by trustees." Hist. of the Popish Plot. 1680, 8vo.]

'purpose to receive, to perform, and, on my part, to keep inviolable; and do call all 'the angels and saints in heaven to witness my real intention to keep this oath. In testi- 'mony whereof, I do receive this most holy and blessed sacrament of the Eucharist.'

It is manifest, that the grandees of the Roman church make no more account of religion, than the profit and convenience, it brings along with it, are able to compense: yet they ever begin with a holy *Canticum, In nomine Patris,* by such means inducing the people to swallow their gilded pills (or poisons rather) to the destruction, oftentimes, of body and soul too.

In this wicked thing called an oath, they blasphemously set up the blessed Mary, St. John, St. Michael, St. Peter, St. Paul, and Rushton the priest, in an equal classis with God Almighty; but mention not Christ, till they come to declare the pope to be his vicar, and that thereby the pope hath letters-patents to empower him to do what he shall think fit, in heaven, hell, earth, and in purgatory; to depose and kill heretic kings; yea, and Catholic ones too, when he wants opportunity to advance a harlot, a bastard, or a nephew. In such cases, a Castle, a Clement, a Ravilliack, or a Pickering, are ever ready to transmit whom he pleases, into another world; whilst himself, without such help, but not without money, puts a soul into heaven, or pulls one out of purgatory.

Indeed, this oath is its own herald; it is its own comment; every word of it is rebellion, treason, and murder, styled hypocritically pious and holy designs. It was stamped in the mint of the Jesuits, and is a very notable comment, upon that oath, which blessed Ignatius Loyala imposed upon his spiritual Mamalukes; and may give us to understand, that Romish wickedness is sublimated, since these days, into a much higher spirit of treachery and impiety. The oath, then made to the father-general, is as followeth:

Ego N. *professionem facio, & promitto Omnipotenti Deo, coram ejus virgine matre, & universâ cœlesti curiâ, ac omnibus circumstantibus; & tibi patri reverendo* N. *præposito generali societatis Jesû, locum Dei tenenti, & successoribus tuis, (vel tibi reverendo patri, vice-præposito-generali societatis Jesû, & successoribus tuis, locum Dei tenenti,) perpetuam paupertatem, castitatem, & obedientiam; & secundùm eas, peculiarem curam, circa puerorum eruditionem, juxta formam vivendi in litteris apostolicis societatis Jesû, & in ejus constitutionibus contentam: insuper promitto specialem obedientiam summo pontifici circa missiones, prout in eisdem litteris apostolicis & constitutionibus continetur.*

Which is Englished thus:

'I *N.* make my profession, and promise to the Omnipotent God before his virgin-mo- 'ther, and all the whole court of heaven, and all that here stand by, and to you our 'reverend father, the father-general of the society of Jesus, God's lieutenant; and to 'your successors, (or to you, reverend father, in place of the general of the society of 'Jesus, God's lieutenant, and his successors,) perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience; 'and, accordingly, peculiar care in the erudition of youth, consentaneous to the form of 'living, contained in the apostolic letters of the society of Jesus, and in the constitutions 'thereof. Moreover, I promise special obedience to the pope, concerning missions, as 'contained in the same apostolic letters and constitutions.'

Our new explanation, or exposition, far exceeds the old text, and is a superstructure upon that pristine foundation of villainy, erected since those times. The Blessed Trinity, the holy sacrament, and the whole host of heaven, are made stalking-horses for impious mortals, in the ungodly, uncharitable, anti-christian works of ruining kings, kingdoms, and all mankind besides themselves; only to set up the court of Rome, and a despotic power. These horrid impieties (but that we are promised the gates of hell shall not prevail against them) might make conscientious men, with trembling, presage, and dread,

that the ruin of Christianity is not far off. These men, when they swear their misled proselytes into treasons, murders, felonies, and secrecy, little mind to consider what is taught in Holy Writ concerning an oath, Jerem. iv. 2: 'And thou shalt swear, The Lord 'liveth in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness;' &c. What regard these oaths have to truth, judgment, and righteousness, let the reader take notice, and proceed to observe one unparalleled clause in the oath, *viz.* 'And that no hopes of reward, threats, or pu-'nishments, shall make me discover the rest, concerned in so pious a work; and, if dis-'covered, shall never confess any accessaries with myself concerned in this design.'

Here they lead their proselytes into a labyrinth of wickedness; but then they leave them no way, or means, to disengage themselves, or others out of it, and consequently to be hanged, and damned afterwards. This may learn the most wilful and most obstinate charity, to have a care how it extends itself, in believing the words of the late dying jesuits, and others. *Discite justitiam moniti:* and let it teach all good Protestants the nature of these Romish wolves, who, though they change their hair, will never change their hearts.

Now, having given an account of the oath of secrecy; next, I will render you an account how the jesuits and popish priests insinuate themselves into the hearts of those, that they ensnare to engage in this damnable design; which, particularly being exemplified in myself, may serve as instructions, how others were induced and encouraged to propagate their hellish principles. The relation is as followeth.

About the latter end of January, 1676, Thomas Thwing, a priest, and William Rushton, another popish priest, who was my ghostly father, came to my house at Shippon-hall, in Yorkshire; and there examined me how I was affected to the Romish religion, and, if there were any occasion, "What would I do for the good of that religion?" To whom I replied, "That I was so well affected to the Romish religion, that I would venture my life and estate, in the management of any design whatsoever, for the good of that religion." The priests then said, "That they were glad to hear me in so good a humour, and heartily wished, that all the Catholicks in England were of my mind:" and further told me, "That all England, in a little time, would be Roman-catholicks; for that the duke of York, next heir to the crown, had renounced the Protestant religion: therefore, force was to be used, for the more speedy bringing him to the crown:" but added, "That before I could be any further acquainted with the particulars of this design, I must first take the aforementioned oath of secrecy, which all good Catholicks must take: for if any Catholicks refused it, they could not be admitted to know of their designs and contrivances: for that sir Thomas Gascoigne, Thomas Gascoigne, esq. and other gentlemen, had taken the same, and engaged themselves, and given security for their respective performances."

Then I told the said priests, "That I would not deny to take it, for I would obey my ghostly father in all things." And on Candlemas-day, 1676, I did accordingly go to Barmbow-hall, as was formerly agreed; where I heard mass, and took the oath of secrecy from the hands of my ghostly father, to be private, and keep secret the design of killing his sacred majesty, and the destruction of all such Protestants, as would not be of the Romish religion: which oath of secrecy is before related, and is the true copy of the said oath, as I got it from the said Rushton accidentally, the very same day it was ministered unto me by him.

Before I took the oath of secrecy, I went to confession, where my ghostly father, in my said confession, told me, that I must believe, "That it was a mortal sin, to reveal what was told me by my ghostly father, in my confession; and that I was certainly damned, if ever I discovered the concerns of this design, or taking the said oath of secrecy."

But, after I had taken the said oath of secrecy, and was acquainted with the design; whenever I went to confession, my ghostly father would be sure to examine me, how I had kept my oath: upon which, if my father-confessor did judge that I had not so truly kept

the same as I ought to have done, then must I have taken the same oath over again. Besides, my ghostly father frequently taught me how to make use of equivocations and mental reservations:

First, How to defend myself against the Protestants: if I were asked by a stranger, whether Mr. Rushton was a priest? That then I might lawfully deny it; or, upon oath before a magistrate, I might positively deny my knowledge of Rushton to be a popish priest. But then I must privately to myself make use of this equivocation, that I did not see the said Rushton take his orders beyond sea; therefore could not swear him to be a priest. And then followed the benefit of absolution for this, or any other service done for the good of the Romish religion. And, indeed, my penance in confession was once enjoined me by father Rushton, to lash myself with a cat-of-nine-tails, or discipline; because I did not deny, with asseverations, to one Mr. Burman, that he was no popish priest; although I did not confess the same to Mr. Burman, yet he alledged, that I did it but faintly, and therefore that should be my penance.

Secondly, If reproached by the Protestants, that they of the Romish religion made no conscience to destroy those that were of a contrary opinion to them: then, with imprecations, I might lawfully deny the same: only making use of this reservation to myself, that I must deny any thing which is against the interest of the church; besides, if I should own it to be the doctrine of the Romish church, that then the Protestants would beat out my brains, as was taught me by my ghostly father Rushton.

Thirdly, That, since the discovery of this Popish-plot, if I at any time heard the Protestants discourse, that they of the Romish church taught the murthering of kings and princes, and that the king was to have been murthered by the papists, that then I must vindicate the Romish religion; arguing, that such doctrine the papists held not; with reservation to myself, that I must not own such a design, unless effected; believing, that Protestants being hereticks had no power to examine me, neither was I obliged to answer directly to the question.

The ceremonies, manner, and form used, in the taking of the said Oath of Secrecy, are thus:

At the chapel-door, I sprinkled myself with holy water, and then went into the chapel, where, bowing towards the altar, I made the sign of the cross, and said, 'Sprinkle me 'with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.' Then, kneeling, I made the sign of the cross, and said, 'In the name of the Father, and of the 'Son, and of the Holy-Ghost, Amen.' After that, I said certain prayers used before confession; and, at the conclusion, made again the sign of the cross; which being ended, I went into the vestry, where, kneeling, I asked my ghostly father's blessing, as children usually do their parents. Then, after that, I made again the sign of the cross, and then had the benefit of confession, and absolution from my sins; and then I went into the chapel, and said prayers, before receiving the sacrament.

But when mass was said, I did not communicate with the rest there present, (although the sacrament was consecrated for me,) but after the rest were gone: then William Rushton, my ghostly father, called me to the altar, where, bowing my body and kneeling, I made the sign of the cross; then I kissed the mass-book, and laid my right-hand upon it, and so had the oath of secrecy given me by my ghostly father Rushton, repeating it after him. But at these words, 'In testimony whereof, I do receive this most holy and bless-'ed sacrament of the Eucharist;' Rushton put the sacrament into my mouth, and said this little Latin prayer following: *Corpus Domini nostri Jesú Christi, custodiat animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen.*

Then again I kissed the mass-book, held in the priest's hand; but held my hand on the mass-book all the time I was taking the oath, aforesaid; and after that, rising, bowed my body to the altar, in an humble manner; and so returned to my place again.

Now, after I had taken the said oath of secrecy, Rushton went again into the vestry, to say his prayers on his breviary; but I continued still in the chapel, to say my prayers.

used after the taking of the sacrament. Then, after Rushton my confessor came forth out of the vestry, he went towards his own chamber, whither I followed him: but, sir Thomas Gascoigne hastily calling the said Rushton, he laid down his breviary in his closet, (to which was no door, and is situate near his chamber,) which said breviary I taking up, found therein the said oath of secrecy: of which oath I had a sufficient time to take a true copy, and it is the real copy which is before recited; although, when I took the copy of the said oath, I never intended that any Protestant should have seen it.

The same day, were hallowed for myself two pistols, which were to be made use of, for the destruction of the Protestant party; if the Roman-catholic religion had prevailed in England. There were also swords, guns, and pistols hallowed for Thomas Gascoigne, esq. and others engaged in the Popish-plot. And in the said month of February, I had an indulgence, or pardon, for thirty-thousand years, given me by the said Rushton, my ghostly father, for my encouragement in my proceedings of my being so zealous against his majesty and government; and the penance enjoined me was to say every day a litany, for the intercession, and conversion of England: but, if I twice a day said the said litany, then should I each day redeem a soul out of purgatory. But I have heard my ghostly father say, that some Catholicks had their indulgences for fifty-thousand years; others, a plenary indulgence, to encourage them to be firmer to this design. Such a plenary indulgence I saw in the hands of Mr. Mowbray, about the latter end of January, 1676-7. And the litany of intercession for England is as follows:

The Litany of Intercession for England.

✠

LORD have mercy on us, *Christ hear us.*
Christ have mercy on us, *Christ hear us.*
Lord have mercy on us, *O Christ hear us.*
O Father of mercy, and God of all consolation, *Have mercy on England.*
O Son, Redeemer of the world, and of all things in heaven and earth, the Pacifier, *Have mercy on England.*
O Holy Ghost, Light of those that err, and of the miserable, the only Comfort, *Have mercy on England.*

Holy Mary, mother of God, and mother of mercy,
Holy Mary, who hast destroyed all heresies,
Holy virgin of virgins, famous in England for many miracles,
St. Michael, prince of the church,
St. Gabriel, privy to the mysteries of God,
St. Raphael, faithful guide of travellers,
Holy angel, prince of England,
St. John Baptist, master, and form of penance,
All holy patriarchs, and prophets, friends of God, and preachers of truth,
St. Peter, pastor of sheep, and prince of the Apostles,
St. Paul, doctor of the Gentiles, in faith and verity,
St. Andrew, friend and lover of the cross,
All holy Apostles, and Evangelists, and special increasers of Christianity, faith, and unity,
All holy innocents slain for Christ,
St. Stephen,
St. Lucius, king,
St. Alban,
St. Amphibale,
St. Sophias,
St. George,
St. German,

Pray for England.

St. Coleman,
St. Kylian,
St. Adrian,
St. Ethelred, king,
St. Tancon,
St. Isenger,
St. Edmund, king,
St. Edward, king,
St. Thomas of Canterbury,
All holy martyrs of England, Scotland, and Ireland,
St. Fugatius and Damianus,
St. Gregory, and St. Augustine,
St. Ethelbert, king,
St. Patrick, and St. Columbe,
St. Pethno, and St. Cuthbert,
St. Furseus, and St. Malachi,
St. John, and St. David,
St. Brandon, and St. Fiaker,
St. Archibald, and St. Macarius,
St. Marianus, and St. Alexander,
St. Bennet, St. Boniface, and St. Bede,
St. Dunstan, St. Henry, and St. Robert,
St. Richard, St. Roger, and St. Hugh,
St. Gilbert, St. Lanfranck, and St. Anseline,
All holy bishops, and confessors of England, Scotland, and Ireland,
St. Helen, queen, St. Ursula, and St. Agnes,
St. Bridget, St. Buryen, and St. Tecla,
St. Agatha, St. Mechtil, and St. Maxentia,
St. Christine and St. Winifred,
St. Ethelred, queen, and St. Margaret, queen,
All holy virgins, and martyrs of England, Scotland, and Ireland,
All blessed and holy saints of all places,

Pray for England.

Pray for England.

Be merciful, spare England, good Lord,
Be merciful, hear us, O Lord.

From all imminent perils of sins, and backslidings,
From the spirit of pride and apostasy,
From the spirit of ambition,
From the spirit of rebellion,
From all hardness, and blindness of heart,
From all surfeiting, and drunkenness,
From the desires, and liberty of the flesh,
From hatred, contempt, and neglect of sacred things,
From profaning of churches, and from all sacrilege,
From the tyranny, and cruelty of hereticks, which it now groans under,
From wicked and pernicious councils,

Deliver England O Lord

We sinners, O God of pity, do beseech Thee to hear us.

That thou wouldest direct the pope's holiness, and all prelates, to pacify and govern the church,
That thou wouldest be pleased to bring again into this kingdom the ancient Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith,
That thou wouldest put into the hearts of all Christian kings and princes unity,

O Lord, &c.

peace, and concord; and that their fervent zeal may be stirred up, to put their helping hands, to reduce it to the obedience of the holy see of Rome,
That thou wouldest comfort, and fortify, all such as suffer imprisonment, loss of goods, or other affliction, for the Catholic faith,
That neither by frailty or enticements, or any torments, thou permit any of us to fall from thee,
That thou wouldest give us perfect patience in our afflictions, and to make ghostly profit of all our miseries,
That thou wouldest mercifully hasten the conversion of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the infection of heresy and infidelity,
That thou wouldest deliver and keep, in these times of persecution, the pastors of our souls, from the hands of their enemies,
That thou wouldest daily augment in them the fire of thy love, and the zeal of gaining souls,
That thou wouldest preserve all the Catholicks of this land in holiness of life, and from all manner of sin and scandal,
That thou wouldest so adorn us with holiness of life and conversation, that our enemies, 'seeing our good works, may glorify Thee, our Heavenly Father,'
That thou wouldest reduce from error, and heresy, our parents, friends, and benefactors, whom thou hast so dearly bought with thy precious blood,
That thou wouldest illuminate the hearts of all schismaticks, which live out of the church, to see the grievous danger of their estate,
That thou wouldest mercifully look down from heaven, upon the blood of so many martyrs, as have given their lives to convert us unto Thee,

O Lord, we beseech Thee to hear us.

Jesus Christ, Son of God, and of the virgin Mary, *We beseech Thee to hear us.*
Jesus Christ, Saviour and Redeemer of the world, *We beseech Thee to hear us.*
Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, *Spare us, O Lord.*
Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, *Hear us, O Lord.*
Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, *Have mercy on us.*

Lord have mercy, *Pater noster*, &c.
Christ have mercy, *Et nè nos inducas*, &c.
Lord have mercy, *Sed libera nos à malo.*

Amen.

About the latter end of October, or the beginning of November, 1678, my occasions called me to Leeds-market, within four miles of my habitation, and a market that I frequently used. After my particular business was done, my curiosity led me, as usually it did, to a coffee-house; where amongst other news and reports, I heard that one sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a justice of peace, at London, was missing; and that it was suspected and feared, that he was murdered, or made away by the papists.

At my return home, I repaired to sir Thomas Gascoigne's house at Barmbow, one quarter of a mile from my house, and there meeting his son, Thomas Gascoigne, esq. I acquainted him with the news I heard at Leeds.

Who, thereupon, took a letter out of his pocket, directed to himself, which he shewed me; which letter was subscribed I. Corker, wherein he acquainted the esquire in words to this effect: 'That sir Edmundbury Godfrey had been a very busy man, and a great 'enemy to the Catholicks; therefore, they had procured him to be destroyed.'

And, some few days after, we had the same thing confirmed in print, *viz.* 'That he 'was murthered.' Upon which, my ghostly father, William Rushton, sent for me, to come to mass, at sir Thomas Gascoigne's house; and, at confession, did charge me to give out, 'That I heard that sir Edmundbury Godfrey was a melancholy gentleman, and, 'in a discontent, went into the fields, and there murdered himself with his own sword.'

Which accordingly I did, as occasion offered, in all companies I happened into; but

was contradicted by many; and by some, that it could not be, for that his neck was broke, which he could not do after he had murdered himself, nor be capable to do it, if his neck was broke before. And, being thus run down in my assertions, I acquainted my said ghostly father (William Rushton) therewith; who told me, he had received new instructions, which he shewed me in writing, and were to this effect:

That sir Edmundbury Godfrey was a gentleman who had often attempted to destroy himself; that he did really hang himself in his own silk-girdle, in his chamber, at the bed's feet; which being discovered, two of his servants acquainted his brothers therewith; who, coming thither, contrived his taking down, and the carrying him to the place where he was found, where they run his corpse through, on purpose to throw it on the papists; thereby to save the estate to themselves, and from being forfeited to the king: and that the two servants had fifty pounds a-piece given them to keep it private. He also said, that one of them, which was a maid-servant, offered to discover this contrivance to his majesty and council, but that she was by them rejected. Nevertheless, for all this, at the same time, Rushton owned to me, that he was murdered by the papists, but by what hands he knew not; and further, he seemed much concerned that it was done; wishing it had never been done, because it would make the murder of the king the more difficult to be performed.

ROBERT BOLRON.

A farther Information by Robert Bolron, Gentleman.

I BEING sent down by an order of council, bearing date the seventeenth day of October, 1679, to search several papists' houses in Yorkshire, Lancashire, bishoprick of Durham, and Northumberland; among other houses, searching the mansion-house of Richard Sherborn of Stony-hurst, in the county of Lancashire, esq.; in the chamber of Edward Cottam, a jesuit, or popish priest, I found the paper hereunto annexed.

This same Cottam, upon the death of Henry Long, mentioned in the said paper, was by the said Mr. Sherborn entertained as his domestic priest, in the stead and place of the other, who, as the papists gave out, drowned himself; but was rather made away by the Romish party, as being one that was discontented in his mind, and of whom they had a suspicion, that he would discover this damnable Popish plot, carried on by the papists; who therefore, as I have heard from several understanding papists, engaged in the plot, procured his death.

The original copy being in Latin, it was thought convenient to print it in that language:

——— *Celebrare quis astringetur.*

Postremò, Ut evidentèr testetur, quòd omnes ad hoc opus pium assentiantur, has constitutiones propriâ manu subsignabant.

——'Every one shall be bound to celebrate.'

'Lastly, That it may be evidently testified, that all do unanimously assent to this pious 'work, they did underwrite these constitutions with their own hands.'

Ricardus Moorus.	*Petrus Goodenus.*
Petrus Giffardus.	*Henricus Holden.*
Henricus Long.	*Georgius Catterell.*
Jacobus Markland.	*Johannes Mollyns.*
Ricardus Sallins.	*Johannes Holden.*
Marmaduke Dalton.	*Gulielmus Gerard.*
Rogerus Anderton.	*Edvardus Blackburn.*
Thurston Anderton.	*P. Winder.*
Edvardus Anderton.	*Johannes Urmeston.*
Ricardus Barton.	*Thomas Hugonis.*
Edvardus Mollineux.	*Georgius Brown.*
Thomas Eccleston.	*Georgius Rich, ai: d: s: onus*

Quando omnes unanimitèr consentierant his constitutionibus, die 28° Februarii, 1675, hi designabantur superiores.

'When all had consented to these constitutions, the twenty-eighth of February, 1675, 'these were designed superiors:'

Reverendissimus Dominus.

Ricardus Moorus,
D. Johannes Holdenus, } *Thesaurarii.*
D. Johannes Mollyns,

D. Petrus Giffardus, secretarius.

D. Rogerus Anderton, collector pro sex hundredis pro Derbiensi, 'collector for six hundreds in Derbyshire.'

D. Ricardus Bartonius, for Layland.

D. Tho. Hugonis, for Amounderness.

D. Ed. Blackburn, for Loynsdale.

D. Petrus Goodenus,
D. Henricus Long, } for Blackburn hundreds in Lancashire.

HAVING thus given the reader an account of this paper, how I came by it, and in whose custody I found it, I shall leave it to the consideration of any person of impartial judgment, what should be the design of so many priests and jesuits to make such orders and constitutions among themselves? And for what reason those orders must be confirmed by so many manual subscriptions? Certainly the orders of their society needed no such confirmations. This must be then some eccentric business, for so many priests and jesuits to meet and cabal in the remote parts of the nation; and there also to appoint treasurers and collectors, not ordinary persons neither, but such as could not be named without the title of 'Most reverend lord;' which imports them not the treasurers of alms, but of contributions. Now, contributions signify sums; and sums, it cannot be imagined, should be collected in those parts for the jesuits to build colleges in England.

It remains then, that these collectors were appointed for the collection of considerable sums (the largesses of blind zeal and deluded piety, or the price of indulgences for fifty-thousand years, and exemptions from purgatory) to carry on the great work of their damnable plot; which, it is apparent, was hatching in the year 1675, and long before.

And this, I hope, may, in a large measure, serve to prove and make good that part of my information already given; wherein I have declared, that in the counties of York, Lancaster, Northumberland, and bishoprick of Durham, there have been no less than thirty-thousand pounds collected by the jesuits and priests; which were, no question, the effects of such orders and constitution as these above-named, for the more speedy bringing to pass the destruction of his most sacred majesty, and the Protestant religion.

As for Long, Dalton, Thurston, Anderton, Tho. Eccleston, and Urmeston, I know them to be all jesuits; therefore it is probable to believe the rest are of the same stamp.

London, December the 6th, 1680. ROBERT BOLRON.

The Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and *Jure Divino*, disproved; and Obedience to the present Government proved, from Scripture, Law, and Reason. Written for the Satisfaction of all who are dissatisfied at the present Government. By a Lay-Man of the Church of England.

London, Printed for Randal Taylor, near Stationers-Hall, 1689.

[Folio; containing two pages.]

GOD by no word binds any people to this, or that form of government, till they by their own act bind themselves.

None ought to advance the greatness of his sovereign, with the public detriment.

The end of magistracy is the good of the whole body, head and members conjunctly; but, if we speak *divisim*, then the good of the society is the ultimate end; and, next to that, as conducent to that, the governor's greatness and prerogative.

The measure of our government is acknowledged to be by law; and therefore the king cannot confer authority to any beyond law; so that those agents, deriving no authority from him, are mere instruments of his will, unauthorized persons, in their assaults, robbers. King Charles the First's declaration at Newmarket, 1641, says, that 'the law is the 'measure of his power.' There is no absolute authority, where there is no absolute subjection due; and there can be no absolute subjection due, where there is no absolute authority: no man wants authority to defend his life against him, who has no authority to take it away; but no man whatsoever has any just authority, that is, any authority at all, to take it away contrary to law.

He that resists the usurpations of men, does not resist the ordinance of God, which alone is forbidden to be resisted: but acts of arbitrary and illegal violence are the usurpations of men, therefore may be resisted. We are bound not to part with our lives, but to defend them; unless, when the laws of God, or our country, require us to lay them down.

Voluntary slavery is a sin against the law of nature, which no man, in his right mind, can be guilty of. Self-defence never did any mischief in this world, and it is impossible, that one man's righting himself can do another man wrong: the mischief that happens in that case, is wholly to be charged upon those, that invade men's lives and liberties, and thereby put them upon a necessity of defending them. Every man has the right of self-preservation as entire under civil government, as he had in a state of nature. Under what government soever I live, I may still kill another man, when I have no other way to preserve my life from unjust violence, by private hands: now the hands of subordinate magistrates, employed in acts of illegal violence, are private hands, and armed with no manner of authority at all; of which this is a most convincing proof, that they may be hanged by law, for such acts, which no man can or ought to suffer, for what he does by authority; for illegal violence is no part of their office.

What can be more contrary to reason, and the government of the world, (yea, to the goodness and wisdom of Almighty God,) than that some thousands, or millions of people, should be so subjected to the power of one man, of the same infirmities with themselves; and, in case he should command all their throats to be cut, they are obliged under the pain of no less than damnation, by a thing called 'passive obedience,' to submit their

necks tamely to the blow! Kings were made to govern and protect the people, not to destroy them; but I never heard that the people were made for kings.

Ah, but some do object, the corporation oath binds us to be passive, the design whereof I shall here inquire into, *viz.* This oath was made quickly after the restoration of king Charles the Second, from an unnatural rebellion; and a popish king was not then thought of, king Charles the Second being as likely or likelier to live, than the late king James: and can it be thought this oath was made with any other design, than to prevent the like rebellion, for the future; that, as soon as we were delivered from one unreasonable tyranny and oppression, we should run ourselves wilfully into another? Which is in effect, if this oath is to be taken in the strictest sense; or, at least, standing to the mercy of the prince, whether he will be so or no. Can any man be so ridiculous as to think, the legislators designed, by this oath, to bind themselves and the community to be so passive, that if the king endeavoured to cut our throats, or overthrow the laws, rights, and privileges of the subject, and endeavoured to bring in popery and slavery; we should stand still, and let him? Let all the world judge, whether it can with any reason be thought.

If an absolute monarch should degenerate into so monstrous unnatural a tyranny, as apparently to seek the destruction of the whole community; then such community may negatively resist such subversion, and (if constrained to it) positively resist such endeavours, and defend themselves by force, against any instruments whatsoever, for the effecting thereof.

David did so, when pursued by Saul, he made negative resistance by flight; and doubtless, if negative would not have served the turn, he intended to make positive resistance; else why did he strengthen himself by forces, but by that force of arms to defend himself? If then he might do it for his particular safety; much rather may it be done for the public, especially in a limited monarchy.

Resistance ought not to be made against all illegal proceedings, but such which are subversive and unsufferable; as when there is an invasion actually made, or eminently feared, by a foreign power; or when, by an intestine faction, the laws and frame of government are secretly undermined or openly assaulted. In both these cases, the being of the government being endangered, the people's safety and trust bind them, as well to assist the king in securing, as to secure it by themselves, the king refusing.

A monarch acting according to his power, not exceeding the authority which God and the laws have conferred on him, is no way to be opposed either by all or any of his subjects; but, in conscience to God's ordinance, obeyed. This is granted on all sides.

The prince is bound to the laws, on the authority whereof his authority depends; and to the laws he ought to submit. The end of a king is the general good of his people; which he not performing, he is but the counterfeit of a king.

The obligation of an oath is dissolved by the cessation of the matter of it, or by any remarkable change about the principal cause of the oath; the obligation of a nation's al legiance to their prince can be nothing else, but his being in actual capacity to command and protect them: whensoever, therefore, this actual capacity is changed, then the obligation to obedience must be changed also.

The reciprocal obligation, there is between the king and the people, binds the one to protection and just government, and the other to tribute and obedience; and those duties of protection and obedience appear to be correlative: so the law has appointed reciprocal oaths to be taken, for the better enforcing the performance of these respective duties; that is, the coronation-oath on the king's part, and the oath of allegiance on the subjects', which is an agreement or covenant between king and people. All agreements are covenants, but much more that, which hath the obligation of an oath to bind it.

I ask, whether it is not as reasonable, a king conspiring the ruin and destruction of his people, by breaking his oath or contract, and destroying the very foundation of government, and in lieu thereof bringing in popery and slavery, (as the late king James did,) he should forfeit and lose the right of governing, as that the people conspiring against him should suffer death?

I ask, whether the authority which is inherent in our kings be boundless and absolute, or limited and determined? So that the acts which they do, or command to be done, without that compass and bounds, be not only sinful in themselves, but invalid, and not authoritative to others.

The word *loyal* comes from the French word *la loi*, which is to be legal, or true to the laws of the land; and, on the contrary, he that obeys the commands of his prince, contrary to the laws of the land, is so far from being loyal, that he is an illegal person, and a betrayer of the known laws of his country.

Passive obedience is popery established by law, whenever the prince shall please, and by consequence slavery; whereas the subjects of England never were slaves in any particular, nor ever would be in the darkest times of popery.

I ask, where was the doctrine of passive obedience, when queen Elizabeth assisted the Hollanders against their lawful sovereign the king of Spain; and when she assisted the Protestants of France at a vast charge, in the reigns of Charles the Ninth, and Henry the Third: and in king Charles the First's reign, the expedition of Rochel was carried on by king and parliament, and cordially agreed to by the fathers of our church; and yet the Protestants of France could never pretend to any such privileges as England can justly claim?

The late king James's life has been but one continued and formed conspiracy against our religion, laws, rights, and privileges: and what can be expected from such a prince, who is a Romanist, and has violated his oath before God and man; and endeavours to re-establish himself with the sword, by the assistance of one of the greatest tyrants that ever the world produced?

It cannot be proved that monarchy was originally instituted by God Almighty, or that we are commanded to obey kings, exclusively to all other government.

I ask, where was there such a thing as a king for the first sixteen-hundred years and upwards, which is to the Deluge; or for several hundred years after it? The first king (at least the first mentioned in Holy Writ) is Nimrod, of the posterity of Cham, who began his kingdom in the second century after the Flood; whose kingdom was founded by force and violence: so that the very foundation of monarchy seems to be laid from this person, which makes but little for *jure divino*. If kings are by Divine appointment; is it not rational to believe that God would have commanded all the world to have been governed by kings, or at least the Christian world, and have given them a particular law to govern by?

If monarchy be *jure divino*, then all other government is sinful.

Allegiance is due to him from whom we receive protection: this is allowed on by all the world; else why do men, after having sworn allegiance to their native prince, and going into another country, swear allegiance to the prince thereof.

Allegiance is due to a king in possession, who is called a king *de facto*, and treason may be committed against him, as well as against a king by regular descent; and yet, by the law, treason cannot be committed against the rightful heir, who is called a king *de jure*, who is out of possession of the crown; and all judicial and political acts, done by a king *de facto*, are as valid and obligatory, as if they had been done by a rightful king, in actual possession of the throne: whereas, on the contrary, all such acts done by a king *de jure*, who is not in possession of the crown, are totally void. In like manner, the law prefers the peace and order of the polity, before the particular rights of the king himself; and the great end of the regal authority, and of the law itself, is the quiet and prosperity of the commonwealth.

It is an acknowledged aphorism, That the safety of the people is the supreme law; and therefore to be preferred before titles to succession.

The succession of the crown of England is not by Divine right, but by political institution; and all the prerogatives and authorities of the crown belong to the successor *de facto*, and not to the heir *de jure*, or *ex ordine*, being out of possession; and that allegiance is due in such case to the former, and not to the latter.

All the proofs that are brought out of the Gospel, for obedience to princes, do confirm this maxim of our law: for neither our Saviour, or his Apostles, bid Christians enquire into the right and title of the Roman emperors, but obey them, under what government, it was their lot to fall; for few of them could pretend a legal title to the crown.

I challenge all the passive-obedience and *jure-divino* men in England, nay, in the whole world, to answer these assertions and propositions; and prove the doctrine of passive obedience and *jure divino*, by Scripture, law, or reason. When these are proved, I dare be bold to affirm the nation will send for the late king James, and submit to his yoke, and lay down their necks upon the block, and stand to the mercy of the French and Irish dragoons, to cut their throats.

I conjure all the dissatisfied persons, in their majesties' dominions, to be satisfied with these assertions and propositions, or to answer them; and shew sound reason for their dissent from the present government: for a wilful schism in the state is a sin; and he that endeavours to sow dissensions amongst the people, and to draw their majesties' subjects from their true allegiance, is guilty of a double sin.

And because it may be objected, in answering these propositions, they must be forced to write against the government; I do promise, if they send a short, but direct answer, to Mr. Randal Taylor's, to print it, with a reply annexed to it.

Licensed May 7, 1689. J. FRASER.

A Relation of the true Funerals of the great Lord Marquis of Montrose,[1] his Majesty's Lord-High-Commissioner, and Captain-General of his Forces in Scotland; with that of the renowned Knight, Sir William Hay of Delgity.

Printed in the Year 1661.

[Quarto; containing twenty-four pages.]

GOD Almighty's justice, and revenge of murder, is so frequently recorded by many famous historians, that nothing shall be said here on that theme in general; lest I should grate on some, who, though subtle, have been surprized in their subtlety, while they divested themselves of Christian maxims, to raise themselves, through human policy, by the ruin of the most eminent: and yet that their promised stability hath been overturned, and their cut-out ways damped and overclouded with abysses and darkness. The briquals and returns of Providence of this nature, discovered in our late unnatural civil war, are testimonies sufficient to convince and confound the most peremptory atheist of the Eternal and Immortal Deity; that will suffer no wickedness, under what specious pretences soever of reformation, or good cause, to pass unpunished. I shall not mention those ambitious spirits, who grounded their proper advancement by overthrowing religion and law; how, I say, some of those vagabonds are exposed to shame and deserved obloquy. But the Divine Providence teacheth us to make this difference, that when virtue and loyalty have groaned and suffered under tyranny and oppression, in the end they have been

[1] [James Graham, of whom some account has already been given in Vol. V. p. 336. See also Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, p. 485.]

crowned with fame and admiration; as our dread sovereign and noble parliament would have it witnessed in the celebration of the great Marquis of Montrose's funerals, in the highest and most magnificent grandeur, to counterbalance the height of malicious invention exercised on him to the full. The particulars of the honourable ceremonies will, in true and exquisite heraldry, display the several dignities he had, either as a peer of the land, or charged with his majesty's service; so, in a proportionable manner, we shall shew the honour done to the memory of that renowned colonel, sir William Hay of Delgity, who, suffering martyrdom with him in the same cause, ambitioned his funeral under the same infamous gibbet; prophetically, certainly, that he might participate with him the same honour at his first bodily resurrection. This his request was easily assented to by these monstrous leeches, whose greatest glory was to be drunk, and riot in the blood of the most faithful subjects: nay, even some of those, whose profession should have preached mercy, belched out, 'That the good work went bonnily on, when the scaffold, or rather 'shambles, at the cross of Edinburgh, for the space of six weeks, was daily smoaking with 'the blood of the most valiant and loyal subjects.'

But we proceed to the funeral pomp; hoping that these glorious martyrs are praising and glorifying God, while we are amusing ourselves in this scantling transitory following description: From the abbey-church of Holy-Rood House, to that of St. Giles in the high-town, the funeral pomp was as followeth:

Two conductors in mourning, with black staves.

Twenty-five poor in gowns and hoods; the first of which went alone next to the conductors, carrying a gumpheon; the other twenty-four following two and two, carrying the arms of the house on long staves.

An open trumpet, clothed in a rich livery of the Marquis's colours, carrying his arms on his banner.

Sir Harry Grahame, in complete armour on horseback, carrying on the point of a lance the colours of the house: this noble gentleman accompanied his Excellency in all his good and bad fortunes, both at home and abroad.

Servants of friends in mourning, two and two.

The great pincel, with his arms, carried by John Grahame of Douchrie; a renowned Highland Hector, and one who stuck peremptorily to the present marquis of Montrose, in the last expedition under his Grace the lord-commissioner; he is best known by the title of Tetrarch of Aberfoyl.

The great standard in colours, with his arms, carried by Thomas Grahame of Potento; a hopeful cadet, of the ancient family of Clarrisse.

An horse of war, with a great saddle and pistols, led by two lacqueys in livery.

The defunct's servants, two and two, in mourning.

An horse in state, with a rich foot-mantle, two lacqueys in rich livery, and his parliament-badges.

Four close trumpets in mourning, carrying the defunct's arms on their banners.

The great gumpheon of black taffety, carried on the point of a lance, by William Grahame the younger, of Duntrum; another sprightful cadet of the house of Clarrisse.

The great pincel of mourning, carried by George Grahame the younger, of Cairnie; who, from his first entry to manhood, accompanied his chief in the wars.

The defunct's friends, two and two, in mourning.

The great mourning-banner, carried by George Grahame, of Inchbraky, the younger; whose youth-head only excused him from running the risks of his father.

The spurs, carried on the point of a lance, by Walter Grahame the elder, of Duntrum; a most honest royalist, and highly commended for his hospitality.

The gauntlets, carried by George Grahame, of Drums, on the point of a lance; a worthy person, well becoming his name.

The head-piece, by Mungo Grahame of Gorthy, on the point of a lance; whose father

had some time the honour to carry his majesty's standard under his Excellency. His great sufferings and forfeiture are enough to speak his actions and honesty.

The corslet, by George Grahame of Monzy, on the point of a lance; a brave young gentleman, whose father fell in his majesty's service under the defunct.

A banner all in mourning, by John Grahame of Balgown, who likewise hazarded both life and fortune with his chief.

The lord-provost, bailiffs, and burgesses of Edinburgh, two and two, all in deep mourning.

The burgesses, members of parliament, in mourning, two and two.

The barons, members of parliament, two and two, in mourning.

The nobles in mourning, two and two.

Next followed the eight branches first of the mother's side.

Halyburton, lord Dirleton, carried by William Halyburton of Bittergask.

Douglas, earl of Angus, by sir Robert Douglas of Blackerstoun; a most worthy person, and great sufferer for his constant adherence to his majesty's interest.

Stuart, lord Methuen, by Stuart, sheriff of Bute.---It is to no purpose to commend their loyalty, for there can be no doubt of it, when the relation of their predecessors to his majesty's progenitors is considered.

Ruthven of Gowrie, by William Ruthven, baron of Gairnes; a gentleman of clear repute and honesty, suitable to his noble and valiant cousin the earl of Forth and Brandford.

Next, on the father's side.

Keith earl of Marshal, by colonel George Keith, brother to the said earl; a noble gentleman, whose behaviour in his majesty's service discovered him a worthy inheritor of his illustrious progenitors.

Fleming earl of Wigtoun, by sir Robert Fleming, son to the said earl; a gallant soul, carved out for his king and country's service, as are all his family; witness his noble uncle sir William Fleming.

Drummond earl of Perth, by sir James Drummond of Machiny; one whose fidelity to his king and country was never brought in question.

Grahame, marquis of Montrose, by James Grahame, baron of Orchel; whose life and fortune never caused him to scruple to advance the royal interest.

The arms of the defunct in mourning, by James Grahame of Bucklevy, son to the baron of Fentry; a gentleman which nothing could ever startle from his majesty's service; and that he was a favourite of the deceased, and accompanied his son in the late Highland war, is sufficient to speak his praises.

An horse in close mourning, led by two lacqueys in mourning.

Four close trumpets in mourning, with the defunct's arms on their banners.

Six pursuivants in mourning, with their coats displayed, two and two.

Six heralds with their coats, as followeth:

The first carrying an antick shield with the defunct's arms on it.

The second carrying his crest.

The third, his sword.

The fourth, the target.

The fifth, the scroll and motto.

The sixth, his helmet.

Two secretaries, Mr. William Ord and Mr. Thomas Saintserf.

Then Dr. Middleton and his chaplain.

His parliament-robes carried by James Grahame of Killern; a gentleman whose merit, as well as his birth, procured this noble employment.

The generals-batton, by Robert Grahame elder of Cairnie; a brave and bold gentleman, who, from the beginning of his chief's enterprises, never abandoned him, and one whose fortune endureth all the mischiefs of fire and devastation.

The order of the Garter, by Patrick Grahame, baron of Inchbraiky, elder; a person most eminent for his services upon all occasions, and the only companion of the defunct when he went first to Athole, and published his majesty's commission.

The Marquis's crown, carried by sir Robert Grahame of Morphy, younger; a noble person, no less renowned for his affection to royalty than for his kindness and hospitality amongst his neighbour gentry.

The purse, carried by David Grahame, baron of Fentry. This noble gentleman's predecessor was the son of the lord Grahame, then head of the house of Montrose, who, upon a second marriage of king James the First's sister, begot the first baron of Fentry, which in a male line hath continued to this baron: and as their births were high, so their qualifications have, in every respect, been great; for, in all ages, since their rise, nothing unbecoming loyal subjects or persons of honour could be laid to their charge; and he who possesseth it now, can claim as large a share as any of his ancestors.

Next before the corpse went sir Alexander Durham, lion king of arms, with his majesty's coat displayed, carrying in his hand the defunct's coat of honour.

The corpse was carried by fourteen earls, *viz.* The earls of Mar, Morton, Eglington, Caithnes, Winton, Linlithgow, Hume, Tullibardine, Roxburgh, Seaforth, Kallender, Annandale, Dundee, and Aboyne.

The pale above the corpse was likewise sustained by twelve noblemen, *viz.* The viscount of Stormont, Arburthnot, Kingstone, the lords Stranaver, Kilmaurs, Montgomery, Coldinghame, Fleming, Gask, Drumlanerick, Sinclair, and Macdonald.

Gentlemen appointed for relieving of those who carried the coffin under the pale: Earls' sons; sir John Keith, knight-marshal; Robert Gordon, Alexander Livingston; sir David Ogilvie, the barons of Pitcur, Powrie, Fotheringhame, Cromlis, Abercairny, Ludwharne, Denholm, Mackintosh, Balmedie, Glorat, Cahoun, Braco, Craigie, Morphy, Bandoch elder and younger, and the ingenious baron of Minorgan; and John Grahame of Creeky, who likewise accompanied the lord Marquis in his travels in France and Italy.

Next to the corpse went the Marquis of Montrose and his brother, as chief-mourners, in hoods and long robes, carried up by two pages, with a gentleman bare-headed on every side.

Next to him followed nine of the nearest in blood, three and three, in hoods and long robes, carried up by pages, *viz.* The marquis of Douglas, the earls of Marshal, Wigtoun, Southask, lords of Drummond, Matherti, Naper, Rollo, and baron of Luz, nephew to the defunct.

Next to the deep-mourners went my lord-commissioner, his grace, in an open coach and six horses, all in deep mourning, six gentlemen of quality on every side of the coach, in deep mourning, bare-headed.

The corpse of Sir William Hay of Delgity followed in this order.

Captain George Hay, son to sir John Hay, late clerk-register, carried the standard of honour.

William Ferguson of Badyfarrow, the gumpheon.

Mr. John Hay, the pinsel of honour.

Alexander Hay, the spurs and sword of honour.

Mr. Henry Hay, the croslet.

Mr. Andrew Hay, the gauntlets.

Next followed his four branches:

Hay, house of Arrol, carried by Alexander Hay.

Lesly, house of Balquhine, by George Lesly of Chapleton.

Forbes, of the house of Forbes, by Forbes of Lesly.

Hay of Delgity, by Robert Hay of Park.

Two close trumpets in mourning.

Then the corpse, garnished with escutcheons and epitaphs, attended by the earl of Arrol, lord-high-constable of Scotland; the earls of Buchan, Tweedale, Dumfrees, Kinghorn; the viscount of Frendraught; the lords Ray, Fraser, Foster; Mr. Robert Hay of Dronlaw;

George Hay of Kinninmouth; with a multitude of the name of Hay, and other relations.

As the good town of Edinburgh was never wanting to the celebration of loyal solemnities, so they appeared highly magnificent in this; for their trained bands, in gallant order, ranged both sides of the streets betwixt the two churches; and, as the corpse of the great Montrose was a laying in the grave of his grandfather, who was viceroy, they did nothing but fire excellent volleys of shot, which were answered with thundering of cannon from the castle: the same was done to the Baron of Delgity, as he was interring by his General's side. There were two things remarkable: the one, that before the beginning of the solemnity, there was nothing but stormy rains; but the corpse was no sooner come out, but fair weather, with the countenance of the sun, appeared, and continued till all was finished; and then the clouds returned to their frowns, and the storm began a-fresh. The other, it was observed, that the friends of both the deceased had wedding-countenances; and their enemies were howling in dark corners, like owls. Some say, that there was then a kind of collective body, or sort of spiritual judicatory in town, that would not be present at the funeral, lest the bones of both should bleed.

Never funeral pomp was celebrated with so great jollity; neither was it any wonder, since we now enjoy a king, laws, liberty, and religion, which was the only cause that the deceased did so bravely fight for; and who would not be good subjects, since there is so great honour paid to their memories, when we see traitors, for their villainy, have their carcasses raised and hung upon gibbets, as was the late Cromwel and others? All that belonged to the body of this great hero was carefully re-collected, only his heart; which, two days after the murder, in spite of the traitors, was (by the conveyance of some adventurous spirits appointed by that noble and honourable lady the lady Napier) taken out and embalmed in the most costly manner, by that skilful surgeon and apothecary Mr. James Callender; then put in a rich box of gold, and sent by the same noble lady to the now lord-marquis, who was then in Flanders.

The solemnities being ended, the lord-commissioner, with the nobility and barons, had a most sumptuous supper and banquet at the marquis of Montrose's house, with concerts of all sorts of musick.

Nothing here was wanting for completing the solemnities, but the good old custom of a sermon, which (in regard of the true and excellent character of the great Montrose, given by that learned and ever loyal Dr. George Wishart, in his book '*De Rebus Montis-ros.*' &c.) was the more easily dispensed with; and indeed it is a sufficient monument to perpetuate his memory to eternity. However, because the book is in the language of the Beast, which perhaps some will scruple at, and many not understand; for their satisfaction, I have glanced at the characters of these two noble and crowned martyrs.

And, first, it is known, that he is head and chief of that most ancient and famous family of Grahame, called, in our old Scots language, 'the great Græm.' The rise of the race is from that Græm so famous in history, father-in-law to Fergus the Second, king of Scotland, from whom he received lands for his signal service, in demolishing the *Vallum Severi*; which, to this day, is known by the name of 'Græm's Dike,' and is still in possession of the noble Marquis of Montrose. If the heroic actions of this late martyr could be more splendid by these of his ancestors, we could mention the valiant Grahame, who so often baffled the Danes, then masters of England; and sir John the Grahame, who gave so much trouble to Edward king of England, who took occasion of the difference betwixt Bruce and Baliol, to invade our country's liberties. But these, and many other of that ancient race, I pass, to hasten to our martyr: only this, his grandfather's memory is yet fresh for his great services to king and country, both as lord-high-chancellor of Scotland, and viceroy of this kingdom; his father likewise, for his singular eminencies, both of body and mind, inferior to none; who, after he had acquitted himself most honourably of several royal ambassages, was (to the great loss of his country) taken away by untimely death.

But, to pass much which might be said of the fame of his progenitors, I shall acquaint you with what I know myself (having followed him several years in his expeditions), and what I have learned from others of good name and credit. He was of a middle stature, and most exquisitely proportioned limbs; his hair of a light chesnut, his complexion betwixt pale and ruddy, his eye most penetrating, though inclining to grey; his nose rather acquiline than otherwise. As he was strong of body and limbs, so was he most agile, which made him excel most others in these exercises where these two are required. In riding the great horse, and making use of his arms, he came short of none. I never heard much of his delight in dancing; though his countenance, and other his bodily endowments, were equally fitting the court as the camp. In his younger days he travelled France and Italy, where he made it his work to pick up the best of their qualities necessary for a person of honour; having rendered himself perfect in the academies. His next delight was to improve his intellectuals, which he did, by allotting a proportionable time to reading, and conversing with learned men; yet still so, that he used his exercise as he might not forget it. He studied as much of the mathematicks as is required for a soldier; but his great study was to read men, and the actions of great men: thus he spent three years in France and Italy, and had surveyed the rarities of the East, if his domestic affairs had not obliged his return home, which chanced at the time the late rebellion began to peep out. The conspirators, knowing his great abilities, and the great esteem he had amongst the people, sought by all means to ensnare him with themselves; and so wrought in him a discontent, that, notwithstanding his grandfather's, his father's eminent services, together with his own merit so highly deserving, yet he had not the honour of being a counsellor. Besides, they knowing how good a patriot he was, they left not that string untouched, by persuading that his majesty intended to provinciate us, and to introduce popery; with which, and the like cunning forgeries borne in upon him by some setting *et-ceteras* kept on purpose for that use, they got him to associate in the cabal: but his generous soul, soon after his engagement, smoaked out their hypocrisies and rotten enterprises, and from that time (which was in the latter end of the year 1639,) he abandoned them, and faced about to his allegiance; resolving to sacrifice all that was precious to him in his majesty's service: and accordingly discovered all the engines of the plot, the many circumstances of which must be left to the historians of the time.

In the end of the year 1643, when a great party of our nation had been involved against the king of England, he, with the help of a thousand Irish, gave opportunity to the royal party to bestir themselves and join with him; with whom he established an army, more consisting in the valour, than number of the persons; as was seen in the year's space, in which he clearly gained six battles, where there fell 20,000 of the rebels. In the management of this service, though he had never been bred a soldier, yet he shewed admirable knowledge in the art of war; and though he never confined himself to the practice of other nations, yet he never did any thing but with strong reason, his stratagems seldom missing of being successful: his vigilance and toil were so wonderful, that the enemy knew not where he was, till he was on them; and he again never ignorant of their place, strength, and condition. His fight was still on the plains, though the hills were advantageous to him; his cavalry not being the fourth part of the enemies, but all of gentlemen, particularly of the noble families of Gordon and Ogilvy. He shewed greatest cheerfulness in his greatest extremities. If his infantry at any time scrupled the wading of little rivers, he was the first who dismounted to shew others the way; and this banished all repining. He accustomed himself to coarse feeding, and constant drinking of water; he knew they were still to be found, so that the want of delicacies should be no temptation to him to be weary of the service. He had many opportunities of large sums of money, but shunned the making use of them, knowing he could never enjoy both their hearts and purses; ever intimating to them that his majesty demanded nothing but the performance of their duty in point of allegiance. Indeed, the propagators of the good cause had a religious way to enrich themselves, by flaying to the very skin the royal party, whom they termed Egyptians. It was wonderful with what dexterity he kept his

army entire, without pay or plunder; which behaviour of his did strangely undeceive the people, that neither his majesty nor his followers were such heathens, as they were held out to them by their black-mouthed juries. Nay, he was most happy in restoring fanatical enemies to their wits, either by convincing them of their erroneous course, or persuading them to join with him; and this was according to one of his own principles, *viz.* 'That a 'person in public employment should rather court the people for his prince's interest, 'than his prince for his own.' If this rule were exactly followed by all favourites, it would smother all dangerous heart-burnings, and contribute highly to secure the people's affections to their king. His vast knowledge in military and state affairs was admirable. He was pleasant and witty in conversation, with an affability in private becoming a comrade: scandalous and obscene wit durst not appear before him. In this sort he made war in Scotland against his majesty's enemies, for the space of eighteen months; bearing the trophies of six battles, with the defeat of six armies: and, no doubt, he had continued victorious, if the art of trepanning had not been prevalent. However, the slur he received at Philipshaugh was not the cut-throat of his majesty's army: for, through his enemy, he made way to his friends in the North, though far off; where his presence gave life to drooping spirits, and in a short time made up so considerable forces, as could give check to the insulting enemy. But his majesty, coming to Newcastle, put a period to that war.

Here our hero was as conspicuous for his passive obedience, as either he or his noble ancestors were for their most deserving actions. His army he had so endeared to him, that they would have followed him upon any account: but, according to the commands received from his majesty, he capitulated nobly for these gentlemen who had accompanied him in the service; which capitulation was most sacredly and inviolably kept by that noble person who treated with him. The Marquis, in obedience to his majesty's orders, went to attend the queen's commands at Paris, where he stayed for some time; casting about and designing in several nations, what was conducible for his majesty's recovery. At length, weary of delays, and impatient of action, he came to be surprized; as he was enterprizing to come to his ancient friends, whose gallant behaviour in the former war had made both him and them so famous. I shall not speak of his barbarous usage, whilst he was prisoner, because they were countrymen, and pretended to be Christians; but, as to himself, never martyr for the cause of Christ went with greater cheerfulness to the fire, than he did embrace all the indignities put on him, and all without vanity or pageantry, as many are used to do on such occasions. His composedness and gravity can scarce be mentioned without hyperboles. When he was reviled, and the lye put upon him (by him whom Caledonius called 'the Athenian Hocus') he returned no answer, than 'that 'he had heard him speak to better purpose at other times.' He was frequent in his devotions and heavenly meditations; and having reconciled himself with a true contrition to his gracious God, he advanced to finish his course with a courageous gravity, and pious modesty; as his glorious martyred master had done before: which carriage turned the hearts of his enemies, who came to insult at the butchery, and generally the barbarity of his usage was condemned by all: and truly it is to be regretted to think how some on the scaffold (especially a little Levite) laboured to discompose his soul by their horrid upbraidings and reproaches; but his unspeakable christian and mild behaviour shew, how firmly it was fixed in the state of grace. I shall say little more of this great martyr, than what was said of the reverend archbishop of Canterbury (martyred on the same account), when a worthy knight was, in a contemptible, jeering way, demanded, "What his epitaph should be?" He answered, "That so long as St. Paul's church stood, and his book was preserved, he could neither want monument nor epitaph." So I say, so long as his history is in being, and the heaps of stones which covered his enemies' carcasses in Tipper-moor, Aberdeen, Ennerlochy, Aldern, Alford, and Kilsyth, are lasting, he can neither want the one nor the other; and that is, so long as there is a Summer to succeed the Spring, and the celestial bodies to terminate their usual course.

A word now to the noble Cavalier that accompanied him in the same fortunes, and

with the same genius, though in a lesser sphere. He is descended of that ancient and noble family of the Earls of Arrol, chief of the name of Hay, lord-high-constable of Scotland hereditably. The establishment of this family is most famous in our old records and histories; their honours and estate were conferred by king Kenneth the Third, on this occasion. The Danes, at a battle, had put to a disorderly retreat the Scots army; which one named Hay, with his three sons, being (as the story goes) at the plough, perceiving; stopped them at a narrow pass, and, what with threats, and what with other persuasive notions, animated them to rally, and to turn face; they going on with the foremost, with such arms as their plough, with its accoutrements, did furnish them; where they shewed such eminence of valour, in a most furious charge, that immediately victory attended them, with the total overthrow of the enemy. For which great action, the king gave to them a falcon's flight of the choicest lands; ennobling them, and giving for their arms, in a field argent, three bloody shields, a falcon in crest, and two savages for supporters; the motto, *Servo jugum.* This noble rise, being eight-hundred years ago, may well place them amongst the most honourable families in Europe; and thus for his extraction. Being the first cadet of this family, his youth-hood he spent in Germany, under the command of his uncle, the renowned count Lesly, great-chamberlain to the emperor: but, hearing that his majesty was in war with his rebels, he shook off all expectations of preferment there, and came home with the tender of his service to his majesty; where first with the great Marquis of Montrose, and the valiant lord Ogilvy, he gave many and singular proofs of his prowess in his majesty's service in England, till the affairs of Scotland drew him thither; in which service with his General, how eminent he was, his sufferings shew. He never disputed the command put on, though carrying never so many difficulties and dangers, which he always judiciously and hardily put in execution. His stature was much of the Marquis of Montrose's, but more square; of great bones, his limbs equally proportioned, of a very flaxen and bushy hair, his complexion rarely delicate, red and white well mixed, such as a lady would have, who would vie for beauty; of disposition affable, a stock of courage and liberality, becoming both a soldier and gentleman. His constancy at his death, shews well he repented nothing he did, in order to his allegiance, and his majesty's service; to the great shame of those who threatened him with their apocryphal excommunications, to which he gave no more place, than our Saviour to the devil's temptations. He was murdered the next day after his General, the lord Marquis.

Many other noble gentlemen's murders, in the same nature, I will not name at this time: yet I cannot pass that of John Spotswood, grandchild to the archbishop of St. Andrews, who died in exile, and nephew to the great sir Robert Spotswood, butchered in the like manner. This young gentleman, on his knees, ready to lay his head on the block, had these self-same following words; "O Lord! who hast been graciously pleased to bring me through the wilderness of this world, I trust at this time, thou wilt waft me over the sea of blood to thy heavenly Canaan." To which heavenly ejaculation, a minister, standing by, replied, "Take tent, take tent, sir; that you drown not by the gate:" an expression sufficient to have distracted an ordinary soul, but our Christian Martyr answered, "He hoped he was no Egyptian;" which he delivered with such christian modesty, that the lout stole away in the crowd, being confounded. His uncle, sir Robert, was no otherwise dealt with by another of the brethren, being on the scaffold at St. Andrews, for the same just cause. In his speech to the people, (while he was recommending to them their duty and obedience to the king, especially so good a king,) one interrupted him, and forbade the people to believe him, being the son of a false prophet; meaning that great light in the church, his father, the archbishop of the place. Hence may the people learn, if they ought to trust the doctrine of their allegiance to such ones, who drench themselves in the blood of the best subjects; whose fame and acts shall serve as examples of future loyalty, gallantry, and piety. And it is hoped that none will be so mad again, as to worship meteors, when God Almighty hath provided a shining sun, our lawful and dread sovereign; whom God long preserve! Amen, Amen.

Immortali veræ Nobilitatis, inæquandæ Magnanimitatis, incontaminati Honoris, & intemeratæ Fidelitatis, Magni Grami memoriæ sacrum.

Si quis hîc jacet quæris, viator; magnus hic est ille Montis-rosarum Marchio, generosi genii suæ familiæ generosus hæres; qui virescentibus adhuc (licèt annosis) majorum suorum palmis, tot victrices contexuit lauros, ut si omnes. Illi huic uni an unus hic illis omnibus plus gloriæ contulerit scire sit nefas. Hic est nobilis ille Montis-rosarum Marchio; qui si prosapiâ an virtute illustrior, consilio an dexterâ promptior, aulæ an castris charior, principibus suis an exteris gratior, perduellionis malleus durior, an monarchiæ assertor acrior, famâ an fortunâ clarior, in vitâ denique insignior, an in morte constantior exstiterit, dictu difficile. Hic est, viator, magnus ille Dux, ducum sui sæculi facilè princeps: Dux, qui cum peditum manipulâ (ne dicam excercitulo) penè inermi, victus & amictus inopè, causæ æquitati, ducis magnanimitati, & gladiis confiso suis, ingentes hostium acies armatas duodecim mensium (plùs minùs) spatio septies Vidit, Vicit, Delevit. Majora hæc Cæsaris oculatâ victoriâ. Sed proh instabilem lubrici fati rotam! Qui arma, castra, oppida, turres, propugnacula, qui frigus, famem, sitim, inaccessa montium juga, immo omnia superare consueverat, tandem maligno fortunæ errore victus, nequissimè hostibus traditus, quid non passus! Protomartyris regis sui martyr pedissequus, plùs quàm barbaro inimicorum furori (nisi tam generoso sanguine implacabili) & effrænæ præstigiatorum Druidum insolentiæ victima oblatus, invictam malis exspiravit animam. Sic concidit nobile illud diadematis fulcrum, sic occidit resplendens ille Caledoniæ phosphorus, sic occubuit magnus ille Martis alumnus, & cum illo mascula quæque superfœtantis virtutis soboles, per obstetrices indigenas, ipsis Ægyptiis crudeliores, trucidata. Post undecennium ossa effodi, membra recolligi, & per proceres & regni comitia à cœnobio regio S. Crucis per metropolim summo cum splendore ad ædes D. Ægidio sacris comitata, impensis suis regiis sub hoc monumento magnifico cum avo suo nobili quondam Scotiæ prorege sepeliri mandavit augustissimus regum Carolus II. imperio suo divinitùs restitutus. Vale, viator; & quisquis es, immensam serenissimi principis erga suos pietatem, & posthumum hunc magni Grami pristinæ suæ gloriæ redivivi cole Triumphum.

J. E. Miles Philo-Gramus Po.

At the Funerals of the Lord Marquis of Montrose, 1661.

HERE re-interr'd Montrose lies, though not all;
As if too narrow were one funeral.
So Orpheus' corpse, discerp'd by wicked fury,
His friends Apollo and the Muses bury.
That head, his enemies' trophy, and their shame,
Which oft had been a Gorgon unto them;
The badge of their foul perfidy and pride,
When to their sovereign's view they own'd the dead;
Had scarce been three months mounted, whenas all
Like Cæsar under Pompey's statue fall:
Brought down by their own Alcis, and that sin,
Which like the sin of Nebat's son had been.
Ten years the land's debauch, religion's mock,
Drew on for ten years more a foreign yoke;
Till, by the revolution of heaven's face,
Montrose gets glory, and the land gets grace.
When after-ages shall recount his worth,
And read his victories on Dee, Tay, Forth;
Atchievements noble of a loyal band
Upon a brain-sick faction of the land:
His conduct, his submission to the crown,
T'advance arm'd or unarm'd, and lay arms down:
His scorn of lucre, care of keeping faith,
His matchless constancy in meeting death.
They'll doubt what epithets, great, generous,
Suit best; or loyal, or magnanimous.
Whether more splendour to his name do bring,
His actings, or his suff'rings for his king.

W. D.

COME here and read varieties,
A man of contrarieties;

Most loyal to his king, although
A traitor to the kingdom: so
His country-men he still oppress'd;
Yet still his prince's wrongs redress'd.
He did invade his native land,
Yet wanted ne'er his king's command:
His country-men he fought, he kill'd,
Yet ne'er but traitors' blood he spill'd,
He scourg'd the land, did tyrannize,
Yet only rebels did chastise.
He caus'd the subjects' liberties,
Advanc'd the king's prerogatives;
Our edicts he did still neglect,
The ancient laws he did respect;
An apostate he branded was,
Yet still maintain'd the good old cause:
He lik'd not well our church's form,
Yet to the Scriptures did conform.
He's excommunicate, and why?
He sinn'd too much in loyalty.
He dies a rebel to the crown;
Yet for the king his life lays down.
He's punish'd as a murtherer;
Yet's hang'd a valiant martyr.
His courage here was sole Roman,
His imitation's Christian.
Our wits consult him how to shame,
And yet our wits procure his fame:
Alive and dead thus he doth prove
The equal *but* of hate and love.
Expect not here, in things complext,
That mid-mouthed distinction 'twixt
True and false: and such like moe,
'Twixt really and deemed so;
To reconcile thy doubts. Attend
Till our posterity shall lend
Their sense upon the matter; so
The mother then shall let thee know
The daughter, polish'd fair and clear
From errors. Then perhaps you'll hear
Them say, 'His life's his country's fame,
'His usage and his death their shame.'

Hunc {*fur*, *am*} *or immanis reg-* {*ni jugula*, *is sepeli*} *vit apertè.*

Huic {*fur*, *am*} *or immanis reg-* {*ni*, *is*} *dat* {*Golgotha furcam.*, *Funera tumbam.*}

Φιλώρανθος.

In vain thou look'st that I should show
Whose ashes here doth sleep below:
For, if thou wouldst acquainted be
With his great parts and virtues high,
Consult with after-times; they'll tell
What we delight not to reveal.
Our offspring will the truth discover,
Where we took pains the truth to smother.
Advise with times-recorder: come,
He'll give you reasons why we're dumb;
My prince bids me but only say,
Montrose's bones we here did lay;
The pious dust forbids me breath
Aught of his usage or his death,
Lest sober infidels should spy
Our church's weakness, and deny
The Gospel for our sakes, and cry,
'His death's his country's obloquy.'

On the great Montrose.

Seraphic soul, what heavenly powers combine
To re-inter these sacred bones of thine?
Thy glorious relicts, by malice' bonds detain'd
In silent grave, will no more be restrain'd,
But must appear in triumph; glad to see
The blessed year of Briton's jubilee.
Should there a phœnix from thy ashes rise,
Would not all nations it idolatrize?
Thy noble stem and high extraction
Was beautified with such perfection,
As makes thee still to be thy nation's glory,
Europe's great wonder, stately theme of story.
Thy valorous actings far transcend the praise
Of tongues or pens, or these my rural lays;
Therefore I must so high a subject leave,
And what I cannot speak, or write, conceive.

Mr. John Chalmers.

A Reflexion on the first and second Funerals of the great Montrose.

Amazed with these glorious shows, I find
A crowd of fancies struggling in my mind;
Staggering me in a doubt, which will be chief,
A grievous joy or a rejoicing grief.
While I behold the trophies of thy worth,
With all this joy and splendour now set forth;
And hear thy name (perfumed by the state)
With titles of so loyal and so great;
And see pure honour in so lofty strains,
Hov'ring above thy late disdain'd remains:
Thy parboil'd parched head, and thy dry bones,
Courted by Mars and Pallas both at once:
Thy conquering palm with loading higher rise,
And, in the treasury of thy growing praise,
Each cast his mite: and here thy en'mies cry
'Hosanna' now, for their late 'Crucify.'
To see thy friends their honour yet retain,
Rearing thy trophies with triumphant train:
This over treason adds a victory more,
A seventh conquest to the six before.
To see thy torments travelling with thy praise,
And thy hearse crowned with thy conquering bays:
To see thy pains, thy infamy, thy death,
Give life to loyalty, to honour breath;
That after thee these virtues may revive,
And in thy glorious issue ever live.
These do commence our joys, these expiate
Our former crimes, although they came too late.
And yet our griefs from that same fountain spring;
He's dead, for whom our jovial echoes ring!
He's dead, the shame of all our British story!
He's dead, the grace of all our Scottish glory!
Valour's great Mimon, the true antidote
Of all disgrace that e'er defam'd a Scot.
The flower and phœnix of a loyal stem,
In Charles's crown the most illustrious gem.
And yet this gem is broke, this phœnix dead,
This glory buried, Mimon murdered.
A sight would made, had he been there to see't,
Argus with all his eyes turn Heraclit:
Would metamorphos'd Mars to Niobe,
And turn'd the world all but to one great eye,
To have delug'd that ghastly rueful place
Where Albion's faith, and honour, buried was:
A place which ever wise posterity
Shall style, hereafter, second Calvary.
It was not dint of steel, nor force of arms,
Nor traitors' plots that did procure his harms.
To' encounter and to conquer, all did see,
Was one to him: at his nativity,
He had Mars in th' ascendant, whose bright flame
Made mighty nations tremble at his name:
Valour with valour, force with force controul
He then, he only could: but's loyal soul
To be a willing victim thought it meet,
While monarchy lay bleeding at his feet:
For, seeing Charles first run that sad disaster,
In that same cup he pledg'd his royal master.
And now, and not till now, that loyal spirit
Hath got the honour due unto his merit.
But since a schedule will not quit the score,
Fit for great volumes; here I'll give it o'er.
Too mean a tribute of a slow-pac'd verse
Is the affectory to so great a hearse:
Or he or Heav'n must make the epitaph,
That will be fit for such a noble grave.
He did: and, after the solemnity,
Ev'n Heav'n itself did weep his elegy.

Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori.

In patriam, regem, legis ceu perfidus hostis,
Pro patriâ, rege, & legibus occubui;
Legibus antiquis patriæ regique fidelis,
A patriâ, rege, & legibus intumulor.

Go, passenger, persuade the world to trust
Thou saw intomb'd the great Montrose's dust:
But tell not that he dy'd; nor how, nor why?
Dissuade them in the truth of this to pry:
Befriend us more, and let them ne'er proclaim
Our nobles' weakness, and our country's shame.
The noble ashes here shall only tell
That they were buried, not how they fell;
For faithful patriots should ne'er proclaim
Such acts, as do procure their country's shame.
Let it content thee, passenger, that I
Can tell thee—here intomb'd my bones do lie.
Do not enquire if e'er I died, or why?
Speak nought of cruel rage, hate, or envy;
Learn only this, 'tis malice to reveal
Our country's shame, but duty to conceal.

A Letter to a Friend[1], concerning a French Invasion, to restore the late King James to his Throne: and what may be expected from him, should he be successful in it.

London: Printed, and are to be sold by Randal Taylor, near Amen-Corner, 1692.

[Quarto; containing thirty-two pages.]

SIR,

IN your last you seem much concerned about the French invasion, and desirous to know what I think may probably be expected from the late king, should he prove so successful, as to recover his throne? And what English subjects are bound in conscience to do; should he land in England, and demand his right?

The last is a material question; but I wonder how you came to ask the first; as if it could be any question, 'What the late king will do, if he were restored by power to his 'crown?' For I think it past all doubt, that he will do as he did before; only, in all probability, a great deal worse. And you remember how that was: for arbitrary power and popery are of too great concernment, and have left too frightful an impression behind them, to be so soon forgot; and this will go a great way towards an answer to your second question; unless you think we are bound to take king James, and a French government, and a French popery with him: which I shall not easily be persuaded to; and, I believe, there are not many English Protestants will.

But to answer your questions distinctly. As to the first; When we see what the late king James has done; what reason have we to expect, that, should he return with power, he would ever do otherwise? Is he more obliged now by his Protestant subjects, than he was before? Can he make fairer promises, than he did before? Is he less zealous for popery; or grown more out of conceit with arbitrary power? Or will he be less able to make himself arbitrary, and set up popery, when he returns a conqueror? For I take it for granted, he must conquer first; because king William will not abdicate nor steal away, and the power that conquers, will give laws and religion to the conquered.

I know there are two things pretended; as a foundation for better hopes. First, That the late king is now sensible that the English nation will never bear popery, nor arbitrary power; and that he has suffered so much by these attempts already, that he will never venture the like again. Secondly, The great merits of the non-swearing clergy and gentry, which will atone for the Church of England, and make him their sure and fast friend, patron, and defender; especially if those, who have been too forward in complying with the late revolution, shall expiate that crime by an early repentance, and a vigorous assistance to restore him to his throne.

First; As for the first, there are too many answers to be given to it, to hinder it from being the least probable ground of hope; though hope itself is *rei incertæ nomen*, so very uncertain; especially when we guess only at the inclinations of princes; that lives, and fortunes, and liberties, and religion, are not to be ventured on it, against former experience.

But, to let that pass, pray consider what the true import of this argument is; for it amounts to this: that all men will learn by experience, that men will not venture on those things a second time, which have proved fatal to them once; that princes will certainly

[1] Vide Oldys's Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library, No. 261.

for ever after dislike such counsels and measures, as have already shaken their thrones, and made their crowns fall from their heads.

Now we may flatter ourselves with such hopes as these, which may, upon some account, be called reasonable hopes; because there is great reason it should be so: but yet they so often fail, that there is no reason to rely upon them. The repentance of dying sinners, and of undone prodigals, (who return to their old sins again, if they recover their health, or find new treasures to waste,) confutes such expectations. Sufferings rarely cure a vehement love and fond passion for any thing, which is the case of old habitual sinners; and no man can be fonder of any vice, than some princes are of unlimited and arbitrary power. And when this is joined with a resolved and inflexible temper, which scorns to yield, and had rather be undone a thousand times, than own, retract, or amend a fault: such misfortunes do but whet revenge, and make them swell, as a river does when its current is stopped, which flows with a more rapid and foaming stream, when it has once forced its way. Especially when superstition is the prevailing ingredient; which fires the spirits, and raises imaginary scenes of glory out of the loss of crowns and kingdoms. And what will such a prince, if he ever recover his throne and power, forfeit the glory of losing his kingdoms again, by deserting the cause for which he lost them before? No man can certainly tell, how superstition will act, nor how it will reason: especially, when the consciences of princes are under such directors, as will venture their crowns for them over and over, to carry on their own designs; and know how to expound Providence to flatter superstition. And then the recovery of his throne may be made a better argument, and a stronger obligation to revive and prosecute his old designs, than the fear of losing it again can be to make him desist.

And, to make this yet more demonstrative, with reference to the late king; we ought to consider, that this is not the first trial he has had, and that this consideration has done him no good. He saw before, what his father king Charles the First suffered; only for some attempts towards arbitrary power, and for mere jealousies and suspicions of his favouring popery. He lost his kingdoms and his life; and his sons suffered a long and hard exile. Charles the Second, indeed, took warning by this; and, though possibly he might be big with the same designs, yet would he not venture too far, nor discover himself too openly, 'for fear of travelling again,' as he used to speak. But king James had not patience to conceal his inclinations, till he came to the crown; and that had like to have cost him his crown before he had it: and yet, this was not sufficient to caution him against those violent methods he afterwards used to advance popery; which were so seasonably defeated by the happy arrival of our present sovereign, whom God long preserve! And those who are so desirous to try him again in England, as they have lately done in Ireland, to their full satisfaction; if they could try only for themselves, should have my free consent to make the experiment. Have not the poor Irish Protestants made it to their cost, (even since this very revolution,) from whence, and from the wisdom he must needs have learned by it, this miraculous change in him is now expected? And did they find any such change in him, unless for the worse? And yet, if ever, then he was upon his good behaviour; when he wanted their assistance to secure his possession of that kingdom, and to recover his other dominions: and when, in reason, it might have been expected, that whatever resentments he had, he would have thought it his interest to have treated Protestants with greater tenderness and respect. But, if the necessity of his own affairs could not obtain this from him, what must Protestants expect, if he return with power? And though some Protestants here in England seem not to be at all affected with this experiment, yet it hath made such an impression upon the Protestants in Ireland, that they are for ever cured of their fondness, and have not the least curiosity left to make any further trials.

It is pretended, indeed, in excuse of this, that he was then under the government of French ministers and counsels, and under the power of Irish priests and papists, and so was not at liberty to follow his own inclinations. I should be very glad of a good argument to prove, that he had better inclinations. But however, what comfort is this to Pro-

testants, that he has better inclinations, but is not his own master? For, if he must never shew any kindness to Protestants, it is no matter what his inclinations are. And can any man imagine, that if the French king, by force and power, place him on the throne, he will be less under his government than he was in Ireland? The French king, among many other wise maxims, has this, I am sure, for one, 'Never to make a king, without making 'him his own vassal:' and the power, that can make a king, can make him his slave. So that it is to no purpose to enquire what king James will do; but what king Lewis will do, if king James returns?

Secondly; As for the great merits of the non-swearing clergy and laity, I greatly suspect, that neither the late king James, nor king Lewis, will think them so great as they themselves do. Their merit must consist either in their principles, or in their practices. And we will briefly consider both.

Their meritorious principle is this, That the rights of princes, especially of hereditary princes, to their thrones, are so sacred and inviolable, that as they cannot forfeit them to their own subjects by any mal-administration; so neither can they, by any provocations, or by any success of war, forfeit them to any other princes: that, while such a prince, or any legal heir is living, no other prince can have any right to his throne; nor must his subjects own and submit to any other prince, as their sovereign lord.

Now, as much as this principle seems to flatter princes, and to make their thrones eternal; I am apt to suspect, that no prince who considers the just consequence of things, can think it so very meritorious: for it is a very dangerous principle to weak and unfortunate princes, and an intolerable restraint upon the aspiring and ambitious. It is dangerous to the unfortunate, because it lays a necessity upon the conqueror to take away his life, if he can, as well as his throne; since he cannot lose his throne without losing his life; though most princes would rather chuse to have them parted, than lose both together. And how do they think king Lewis will like this principle, which stands in the way of his glory, and preaches restitution to him of all those dominions, whose legal heirs are living; which teaches the subjects of other princes to deny him fealty and obedience, and to conspire with their legal princes against him? I doubt not but he likes the principle as little as he would like the practice, and that our non-swearers would quickly understand, were they the subjects of his new conquests; which God grant England may never be!

Indeed, how great a compliment soever this principle may be thought to princes, it can have no merit; because, though it may in some junctures do them hurt, it never did, and never can do them any service. It never yet hindered a revolution, and never can make one: and the reason is plain; because no princes, and very few subjects, do believe it and practise upon it. If a prince have a just cause of war against another prince, he makes no scruple, if he conquers, to take his crown; and the subjects of such a conquered prince make no scruple of conscience to submit to the conqueror: though sometimes a personal kindness for a just and indulgent prince, and a concernment for their own liberties and fortunes, may make them uneasy under it, and glad of the first opportunity to do themselves and their prince right.

The truth is, Princes have no reason to like this principle: for, were it true, they could have no remedies against the injuries of neighbour-princes: they might, indeed, fight and conquer; but they had better let it alone, if they must not take the throne, which their sword has won. For it is only the fear of conquest, and losing their crowns when they are conquered, that can keep princes in awe, and bring them to just and equal terms: and if no prince must lose his crown, because no prince must take it, it will be impossible to beat an injurious and obstinate prince into good terms; and, I believe, princes will as soon be persuaded, that it is as unlawful to make war, as that it is unlawful to seize a conquered crown; and will think one as meritorious a principle as the other.

And it is certain, subjects have less reason to like this principle, because it makes them sacrifices, even to the misfortunes of their prince. A prince, when he is conquered, or sees that he must be conquered, may escape by flight, but a whole nation cannot run

away; and, if they could, have no reason to leave their country and their fortunes behind them. And yet, according to this principle, they must not submit, nor swear allegiance to the conqueror, while the prince who has forsaken them lives; though they cannot secure their lives and fortunes without it. But nature and common sense are too powerful for the sophistry of such principles; and those, who cannot reason, can feel what they are to do in such cases. The loyallest subjects, when no personal obligations, or secret interests determine them otherwise, will save themselves by submission, when they cannot defend their prince by their arms; and do not think they do ill in it: and I suppose princes do not think so neither, because they expect the same from the subjects of other princes, in the like circumstances; and such an universal consent, both of princes and subjects, when there is no law of God or nature against it, makes it a standing law in all revolutions, which both princes and subjects must submit to. So that this principle, were it never so true, can do no service, and therefore can have no merit in this world; because there are so few that believe it, that they are not hands enough, either to keep a prince on his throne, or to restore him to it. All our non-swearers could not hinder the late revolution, nor can they make another. They are enough to make a noise, especially if the loud and zealous ladies of that side be reckoned in: but other hands and other pretences must do their work, if ever they hope to see it done; and then no thanks to their principles for it. Whatever reward their future services may deserve, princes themselves will not think, that their principles deserve any.

Let us then now consider the merit of their actions, and what opinion the late king is like to have of *that*, if he should return.

I suppose they will be contented he should forget their merits towards him, while he was on the throne, especially about reading his declaration; as likewise their Tower and their Westminster-hall merits; which were indeed great, and did deserve, and would have had a better reward from a better hand, had they not rendered themselves incapable of it. But sure, they do not expect the late king should reward them for such services. He knew, that this raised that general discontent, which occasioned that general revolt, which cost him three crowns. And if all their merits can expiate this guilt, they come off well; and they had need be very extraordinary merits, which have first so great a guilt to expiate, before they can pretend to merit. Could their non-swearing restore him to his throne again, it would but just undo what they had done; which is no more than their duty, and therefore cannot merit, no, not so much as a pardon, though it may make them capable of it, if they fall into merciful hands. But still there are four years exile and the loss of three crowns, and the expence of so much blood and treasure; the dishonour of so many defeats, and the ruin of Ireland to be accounted for. And how can they make restitution for all this? Which yet they must do, before they can lay claim to merit.

Let all this then be forgot, for it is their interest it should: but they are very sanguine men, if they hope it will. Whence, then, will they date their merits?

When it was certainly known, that the Prince of Orange (now our gracious sovereign) was ready to land; they seemed as well pleased with it, as other men, and refused, when they were pressed to it by the late king, to declare their abhorrence of it; but, instead of that, took upon them to give him advice, and to publish it when they had done. In which advice they recommended almost every particular of the prince's declaration, complained of the same abuses, and advised the calling of a parliament to redress them; as if the prince's declaration and their advice had been drawn by the same pen, and the advice had been published on purpose to second the declaration. This, I suppose, they will not reckon among their merits neither; and if they can excuse what was so hastily done at Guildhall, before the late king was gone out of the land, they may very well be contented no more should be said of that.

The only merit, then, they have to pretend, is their refusing the oath of allegiance to king William and queen Mary; and forfeiting their ecclesiastical, civil, or military preferments for it. But what is this to the late king? Is this done out of kindness to him, or his government? Would they not have been contented to have lived peaceably and

quietly, (as they themselves professed,) could they have kept their preferments, and have been excused from the new oaths? And how do they merit of him, by refusing the oaths with the loss of their preferments, if they did it not for his sake, but for another and better reason; for fear of being damned? God may reward this, but king James is not beholden to them. Will they be better subjects hereafter? Will they read his declaration, when he returns? Will they make his will their law? Will they submit to his next ecclesiastical commission, and give up their colleges and churches to priests and jesuits? Will they be content to take him the very same man that he went away, and to serve him in his own way? Will they no more fill the nation with the noise and fears of popery and arbitrary power? Will they turn papists themselves? Or stand by patiently, and give leave to his priests to pervert Protestants as fast as they can? Will they promise to demean themselves with more respect towards the king's religion, and to leave off their old sauciness of printing and preaching against popery? This, indeed, would bid fair for merit; but, if they oppose his methods of government, and his glorious designs, as much as they do king William's right; if it be only a title they boggle at, if this be all that makes them uneasy at the change, their not swearing does him no service. He could have kept his kingdoms upon these terms before, but he scorned it; and so he will those, who to save their consciences, or their honours, and to recover their preferments, would have him upon these terms again.

As much as some men glory in their steadiness to principles, (which is certainly a very honourable thing, and an excellent degree of virtue, when the principles are plain and certain;) yet few princes (to be sure, not the late king) like such a steadiness to principles, as opposes their designs. A stubborn, inflexible conscience is a very unruly thing, and kings do not like such subjects as dare oppose a king upon the throne, whatever the cause be: so that, I suspect, their very boldness and resolution, in opposing their present majesties, upon a mere point of law, will be thought no virtue fit to be rewarded by a prince, who would make his will superior to all laws.

And if the merit of the non-swearers is likely to vanish into nothing, (especially when there is no occasion any longer to court and flatter them, and priests and jesuits have free liberty to comment on their merits;) what merit will those men have to plead, who were forward and zealous in the revolution; have sworn allegiance to their present majesties; have served them in their armies and navies, at home and abroad? There is no doubt, but they shall have fair promises and good words at present; and shall be remembered hereafter, when there is occasion.

But, suppose the merits of the non-swearing, or for-swearing clergy and laity, who will help forwards another revolution, should be acknowledged to be very great; what probability is there, that the Church of England should fare ever the better for it, when popery and arbitrary power stand in the way: past experience gives no great encouragement to hope this. King Lewis was as much obliged to his Protestant subjects of France, as it is possible for any king to be; for they set the crown upon his head: and how he has rewarded them, all the world rings of it. The late king was not much less beholden to the Church of England, when they so vigorously opposed the bill of Exclusion; and how he also rewarded them, we all lately saw and felt. And shall Protestants, after this, think of obliging such princes by their merits? They understand better, that *merit* is no Protestant doctrine, and that there can be none out of the church of Rome: and why should any body expect that which cannot be? Nay, should the late king return again, and be as much at the devotion of his non-swearing friends, as they promise themselves he will be; I very much doubt what the Church of England will gain by this. If we may guess at the spirit of the party by the bitter zeal which inspires all their writings, I can expect nothing from them, but as fierce a persecution of the Church of England, as ever it suffered from papists or fanaticks; excepting Smithfield-fires, which possibly may be exchanged for Tyburn. All who live in the communion of the Church of England, as now established, are, in their account and constant language, no better than hereticks

and schismaticks, and perjured apostates: much greater crimes than the Traditores were guilty of, which was the only pretence for the Donatist schism and persecution. They seem to comfort themselves, under their present sufferings, more with the sweet hopes of revenge, than any great expectations of future rewards; that they shall live to see the swearing bishops and priests the contempt of princes and people[2]: for if the archbishop of York, who is particularly named, cannot escape them, I doubt they will make but very few exceptions. And is not this a great encouragement to any, who have complied with the present government, to help these men to power again? Must not the nobility and gentry expect their share of vengeance, as well as the clergy? And is not the Church of England, then, in a hopeful state? Which must be purged and reformed into Jacobite principles, and by a Jacobite spirit.

These are all very sensible proofs (as far as we can reason about such matters) how little good is to be expected from the return of the late king with a French power. He must return the same man he went, and then popery and arbitrary power must return with him; nay, he must return much worse than he went, because he must return more a vassal to France; which, I suppose, will not mend the condition of English subjects, during his reign.

These things ought to be well considered: for, if his government was so uneasy before, and gave us such a frightful prospect, as made the nation very willing to part with him, when he thought fit to leave them; it would seem very strange to by-standers, should they now grow fond of his return, when it is certain, if he does return, and returns by the methods now intended, popery and arbitrary power must be more triumphant than ever.

He wanted nothing but power to make himself absolute, and to make us all papists or martyrs, or refugees; and that he will now have. For, if a French power can conquer us, it will make him as absolute as the French king will let him be; or, to speak properly, it will make him, though not an absolute prince, yet an absolute viceroy, and minister of France. He will administer an absolute power and government, under the influence and direction of French counsels; and then we know not what will become of the liberties and religion of England. And have we so long disdained the thoughts of subjection to France? Has a French league been thought such a national grievance? Has the pretence of a war with France been found such an excellent expedient to get money of English parliaments? Has the expectation of it fired English spirits, and, upon occasion, filled our armies and navies, without need of pressing, or beat of drum? Have we so detested the French cruelties to Protestants? And shall we now so willingly stoop to the yoke, and think it a great favour that they will vouchsafe to conquer us? Let us never complain hereafter, that our chains pinch and gall us; when we ourselves are ready with so much joy and thankfulness to put them on. And, whatever some fancy, they will find it a very easy and natural thing for the late king, if he return by force and power, to make himself absolute by law. Princes always gain new powers by the ineffectual opposition of subjects. If they lose their crowns, and recover them again; they receive them with an addition of some brighter jewels, and turn disputed prerogatives into legal and undoubted rights. Thus we know it was when king Charles the Second returned from a long exile; all the new acts and declarations were made in favour of the crown, and subjects bound to their good behaviour, as fast as laws could bind them: for in all such revolutions, those who suffered, with or for their prince, return with zeal and resentment; and take care, in the first place, to establish all such prerogatives of the crown, as were disputed before, and to grant such new powers as they think are wanting. And others there are, always forward to make their fortunes by complimenting the returning prince; and to expiate their former crimes by a forward and flaming loyalty; and the rest are over-awed and frighted into a compliance: and thus it is commonly seen, that between

[2] Apol. for the new Separat.

zeal and flattery and fear, the king increases in power, and the people forfeit their liberties; and we must not expect that it should be otherwise now, should the late king return.

The first compliment that must be made to him is a Jacobite parliament; and God knows what such a parliament will do! Will they deny him a toleration for papists, the repeal of the Test, the forfeitures, or surrenders of charters, and a new regulation of corporations? Will they dispute, nay, will they not declare his dispensing power, and approve his ecclesiastical commissions? Will they make any scruple to declare the legitimacy of the prince of Wales; or to leave the manner of his education to those who will certainly bred him up in popery? Will they not take care for new Jacobite tests, to renounce and abhor all the several hypotheses and principles of government, which have been urged to justify our submission and allegiance to their present majesties? And when they have done this, how easy will it be for a downright popish parliament, which will be the next step that will be made, to do all the rest?

It is very evident what advantages the priests and jesuits will have, in such a juncture, to make proselytes; while the people are in a fright, and grown giddy with such frequent revolutions; and those, who, in the late reign, were the great advocates of the Protestant cause, are disgraced at court, threatened into silence, their authority weakened, and their persons reproached both by papists and Jacobites. Numbers of converts was their great want before, and the press and the pulpit their great hindrance; but Jacobites will, by natural instinct, learn more loyalty, and others will be taught it, as Gideon once taught the men of Succoth, with briars and thorns. And there never was such an opportunity since the Reformation for a plentiful harvest of converts, as this would be like to prove. And who can bear the thoughts of this, who has any compassion for the souls of men, any zeal for the Church of England, or any concern to preserve and propagate the true faith and worship of Christ to posterity?

All this is, upon a supposition of the late king's return; which I declare to you I am not afraid of, though it is fit to mind those men who are so fond of it, what they may reasonably expect, if he should return: which possibly may abate their zeal in this cause, and that may prevent the mischiefs of an attempt; for, without a hopeful conspiracy in England, the French king is too wary to make such an attempt.

But if they have any love to their country, any pity left in them for the lives and fortunes of English Protestants; I beseech them to consider, what the calamities and desolations of civil war will be: for that it must end in, if there be an invasion from abroad, strengthened with a powerful conspiracy at home. King William, as I said before, will not desert or abdicate; for I never heard of a prince who had ventured so much to rescue a kingdom out of so great a danger, that would so easily expose it again to the same, or a greater danger. And surely the late king does not expect he should, for he knows him too well. So that, if they look for such another revolution, to turn king William out, as brought him in; they will, in all probability, be mistaken. There are too many persons of honour and fortune engaged in this cause, who know the late king too well to take his word; and were it possible to wheedle men of fortune and sense, the genius and spirit of the nation is against them: and that, which could make the late revolution, will probably be able to prevent this.

It must then come to blows, if an attempt be made; and the fortune of one battle may not decide it: and those who are too young to remember the desolations which the late civil wars in England made, let them look into Ireland, and see to what a heap of rubbish a flourishing and fruitful country is reduced by being the scene of a three-years war.

It is made a popular pretence to raise discontents, and to make people disaffected to the present government, that the taxes for maintaining this war are grown so intolerable, and there is no prospect of an end of them. Now, I must confess, that the taxes fall very heavy upon some; and am sorry that the present posture of our affairs does require it; and that there can be no easier ways found to supply the plain and pressing necessities of

the state. But we ought to consider, that still all this is infinitely easier than popery and French slavery, if we regard only our estates. The annual exactions of the church of Rome (besides all the cheating ways their priests had to get money), while popery was the religion of England, used to be complained of as a national grievance, and a heavier tax upon the subject, than all the king's revenues. And if those who complain of our taxes, were but one month in France, to see the poverty and misery which the French government has brought upon them; they would come home very well contented to pay taxes, and to fight against the French too. We are free subjects, not slaves; we are taxed by our own representatives, who tax themselves as well as us; and this not by the arbitrary will of the prince. We pay for our own defence and preservation as all people ought to do; and, while we do not pay near so much as our religion, and lives, and liberties are worth, and have left wherewithal to maintain ourselves, we have no such great reason to complain.

But how heavy soever taxes are; are they like a civil war? like the dread and terrors of an enemy's army, or of our own? Are they like having our houses filled with soldiers; or, which is worse, burnt or plundered? Are they like losing our friends, our fathers, husbands, or children, by whose kindness or labours we subsisted? In a word, are they like the spoils of harvest, or the desolation of a whole country?

And can we be contented to see England again the seat of war? It is certain, in our present circumstances, it cannot be made so, unless we ourselves please. France has too many enemies, to think of conquering England without factions at home; and, were it not for them, we need not fear its united force; and I hope considering men, of what persuasion soever they be, will not think it worth the while to ruin their country by a civil war, to purchase a French slavery and popery; two very dear things, could we purchase them never so cheap.

What I have said, hitherto, concerns only England; but it becomes us to look a little abroad, and consider what a fatal influence a French conquest of England will have upon the affairs of all Europe. That it is not mere justice and honour that makes the French king espouse the cause of the late king James, his incroachments and usurpations on his neighbours will witness. He has no scruples of conscience about the rights of other princes; all he can get is his own. But England was formerly a friend and confederate; at least, not an enemy: and now the power of England (which the French have never had reason to despise) is in the hands of a king who owes the French king a good turn, and will not, I hope, die in his debt. This checks his ambitious designs; gives life and spirit to the confederacy; threatens to make him restore what he has taken, and what he keeps by mere force and violence, and to reduce him within his ancient bounds, and to the ancient constitution of the French government: and he knows, while king William possesses the English throne, and keeps up the confederacy, he must not expect to get much more, and may be in constant danger of losing what he has gotten.

This makes the French king so concerned to restore the late king James to the throne of England; to get rid of a formidable enemy, and to strengthen himself with the alliance of a powerful friend: for England will probably turn the scales, on which side soever it happens to be. And there is no doubt, but the arms of England must be devoted to the service of France, if a French power should place the late king in his throne again; and let any English Protestant, who can think coolly of things, consider what a malignant aspect this would have upon the liberties of Europe, and on the whole Protestant interest.

The arms, or the money of France, has, hitherto, been an equal match, at least, for all the confederates; while he has found other employment for the imperial and English forces: but (thanks be to God!) the king of England, and the English forces, are now at leisure to attend his motions; those forces which beat him at the Boyne, at Athlone, at Agrim, at Limerick; in a word, which beat him out of Ireland, and have now got a habit of beating the French. And it is no wonder that he is not fond of such company in Flanders, but endeavours to find some new work for them at home. And if he can but

send them home again, and embroil us in a civil war, that is one great point gained; but if he proves successful in his attempt, he makes England his own, and will turn their arms upon the confederates: and what can then stand in his way? What should hinder him from being the sole and absolute monarch of the West? And then it is easy to read the fate of Protestants.

Thus, Sir, I have freely told you, what I apprehend will be the necessary and unavoidable effects of a French conquest. I pretend not to prophecy, nor to demonstration in such cases: but what I have said, has all the appearances of probability, all the degrees of moral certainty, that any thing of this nature can have; and that is the only rule in these matters by which wise men are to judge and act.

And this has prepared a plain and easy answer to your second question, 'What English 'subjects are bound in conscience to do, in case the late king should land in England with 'French forces to demand his crown?'

Now there are two sorts of persons concerned in this question: 1. Those who have not sworn allegiance to king William and queen Mary, but account the late king James as much their king, as he was when he sat upon the throne; and that their obligations to him are the same now that ever they were. 2. Those who have sworn allegiance to king William and queen Mary. And there are two parts of this question; 1. Whether they are bound in conscience to assist the late king, if he return? 2. Whether it be lawful for them to oppose him, and fight against him?

As for the first part of this question, and as far as it concerns the non-swearers; I shall ask them two or three questions, and leave them to answer them themselves.

1. The first question is, Whether they can think themselves bound in conscience, upon any pretence whatever, to fight for popery against the Protestant faith and worship; that is, (as they must confess, if they are Protestants,) to fight for heresy and idolatry against the true faith and worship of Christ; or to fight for antichrist, and against Christ? Can any consideration make this lawful? If nothing can, (as I will venture to take it for granted, that nothing can;) then whatever duty they may fancy they still owe to their abdicated prince, it cannot be their duty to fight for him, when they cannot fight for him, without fighting against Christ and his religion. Though they must not fight against their prince for Christ, because Christ in such cases requires his disciples to suffer, not to fight for him; yet it does not follow, that they must fight for their prince against Christ, to bring a persecution upon his faithful disciples, and to contribute what they can to extirpate the name and the religion of Protestants out of Europe.

Do they think themselves bound in conscience to fight for their prince, against the laws and liberties of their country, as well as against the faith and worship of Christ? Let the rights of princes be never so sacred; have the rest of mankind no rights, but only princes? Is there no such thing as justice due to ourselves, nor to our fellow-subjects? Have the free-born subjects of England no natural, no legal rights? And is there any law of God or man, to fight for our prince, against the laws and liberties of our country, which are the measures and boundaries of that duty which we owe to princes? that is, to fight for our prince, against the rule of our duty and obedience to princes: when our prince, and the laws and liberties of our country, are on contrary sides, though we should grant them (according to their own principles) that we must not fight against our prince for our laws and liberties; yet no more must we fight for our prince against our laws and liberties. It is abundantly enough to be passive in such cases: but a nation, which fights against its own laws and liberties, is *felo de se*, guilty of the worst kind of self-murder. Can any Englishman, whatever opinion he has of the late king's right, think himself bound in conscience to maintain his right, by giving up his country to France? To make him king, and all his subjects French slaves? For can any prince have more right to be king of England, than the kingdom of England has to be England?

Is it not an unaccountable tenderness and scrupulosity of conscience, to be so concerned for any one prince's right, as to sacrifice the rights and liberties of all the princes in

Europe, to his? To set him upon the throne, to drive all other princes from theirs? We are citizens of the world, as well as subjects of England, and have our obligations to mankind, and to other princes, as well as to our own: and though our obligation to no one other prince is great, as to our own; yet the public good of mankind, or of a great part of the world, is a more sacred obligation, than the particular interest of our own prince or country; much less then can the right of any particular prince, be it what it will, stand in competition with the rights and liberties of our own country, and of all Europe besides.

It is to no more purpose to dispute with men who do not feel the force of this argument at the first hearing, than to reason with blind men about colours; they have no sense left, nothing but a stupid and slavish loyalty: all things, though never so sacred, must give place to this; the care of religion, the love of their country, their justice and charity to all mankind, must vail to their senseless mistake of the true meaning of this word *loyalty:* by which they will needs understand an absolute obedience, without limitation or reserve; when, most certainly, it signifies no more than obedience according to law.

2. I would ask, what they would think themselves bound to do in such cases, were the late king upon the throne again? Unless they have changed their minds, (and then they are not so steady to principles, as they pretend to be,) we may very reasonably guess, what they would do, by what they did while he was upon the throne. It is certain, they so much disliked his open designs of popery and arbitrary power, that they opposed him as far as they durst, and would not fight for him, to keep him on the throne; nay, by their examples and counsels, they had so influenced the army, that they would not fight for him neither; and so possessed the country, that the nobility and gentry took arms, and declared for the Prince of Orange, which they thought they might very well do, when the bishops would not declare against him. This was then thought consistent enough with the High-Tory loyalty: and yet, if they were not then bound to fight for him to keep him on his throne, I am at a great loss to know, how it comes to be their duty now to fight for him, to restore him to it. He was certainly their king then, and yet they would not fight for him; no, not to defend his person, crown, and dignity. And, though they call him 'their king' still, it is certain he is not king of England, whatever right they may think he has to be so; and, therefore, to fight for him now, is not to fight for the king, but to fight to make him king again. But, to let that pass, suppose him to be their king, since they will have him so; how do they come to be more obliged to fight for him now he is out of the throne, than they were to fight for him while he was in it? If they think it their duty to fight for their king, against the religion, the laws, and the liberties of their country, it was their duty to have fought for him then: if they do not think this, it cannot be their duty to fight for him now.

But they did not expect what followed: they desired to have their laws and liberties secured, but not that he should lose his crown. I believe very few did then expect what followed, no more than they do now consider what will follow. But, since he would leave his crown, who could help it? For nobody took it from him.

3. Let me then ask them another question: Whether they would think themselves bound in conscience to fight for him, did they verily believe, that, if he recovered his throne, he would as zealously promote popery and arbitrary power, as he did before? If they say they would not; they have been at their *non putaram* once already: a second oversight, in the same kind, would be worse than the first. If they say they would; I give them over, as professed enemies to the true religion, and the liberties of mankind.

This, I hope, may satisfy the non-swearers, if they will coolly and seriously consider it, that they are not bound in conscience to fight for the late king; nay, that they are as much bound in conscience not to fight for him, as they are bound not to fight against the Protestant religion, and civil liberties, not only of England, but of all Europe.

2. As for those who have sworn allegiance to king William and queen Mary; besides all the former considerations, they are under the obligations of an oath, not to fight against their present majesties, whose sworn subjects and liegemen they are. For let them

expound faith and true allegiance, to as low a sense as possibly they can; the least, that they ever could make of it, is to live quietly and peaceably under their government; not to attempt any thing against their persons, or crowns; not to hold any correspondence with, nor to give any assistance to their enemies: and, therefore, to countenance a French invasion, or to assist the late king in recovering the throne, which their majesties so well fill, and which they have sworn not to dispossess them of, must be downright perjury. If they be sure that their oaths to the late king still oblige them; that, indeed, would make void the obligation of this second oath; but then they must be guilty of perjury in taking it, and by the breaking of it will declare to all the world, that they deliberately and wilfully perjured themselves when they took it: and let them remember this, when they take arms against their majesties, and let them expect that recompence which they deserve.

Those who took this, only as a temporary oath, which obliged them no longer than till the late king should return into England again to demand his crown, are guilty of perjury, if they keep it no longer than till they have a promising opportunity to break it: for this is to mock God, and to deceive the government by their oaths. For no man can think that the meaning of the oath was no more but this, 'I do promise and swear to 'bear faith and true allegiance to king William and queen Mary; till I have power and 'opportunity, by the return of king James with a French army, to join his forces, and to 'assist him to recover his throne.' Those, who will take and keep oaths at this rate, we must leave to God. But nothing is more plain and certain, than that the new oath of allegiance obliges all, who have taken it, under the guilt of perjury, at least not to fight for the late king, against king William and queen Mary.

And here I may very fairly conclude; without entering into a longer dispute about the lawfulness of fighting against a foreign army, though the late king were at the head of it: for were those, who scruple this, satisfied that they ought not to fight for him, their present majesties have friends enough, who are very well satisfied to fight against him; especially bringing along with him the greatest enemies both to the Protestant religion, and to the civil liberties, not only of the English nation, but of all the kingdoms and states of Europe, France itself not excepted.

However, this letter is large enough already; and if I find you desire farther satisfaction in this matter, (especially about the late king James's Declaration, which is lately come to my hands,) you may expect a speedy account of it in a second letter, from,

Sir, yours.

A true Relation of the bloody Execution, lately performed by the Commandment of the Emperor's Majesty, upon the Persons of some chief Statesmen, and others, in Prague, the chief City of the Kingdom of Bohemia; the 11th of June, 1621. With the Manner and Proceedings therein observed. Faithfully translated out of the Dutch Copy.

Printed the 21st of July, 1621.

[Quarto; containing twenty-four pages.]

THERE is no doubt, but that many will be very desirous to understand and be fully informed of the last most bloody and cruel execution, with the criminal proceedings concerning the same, against the noble persons of some statesmen, directors, and other excellent and well-qualified personages in the famous kingdom of Bohemia: and therefore we have thought good to set in writing, and to cause openly to be printed, the true discourse thereof; to the end it may come to the knowledge of those that desire to be certified of the true ground and manner thereof; and this execution, with the circumstances concerning the same, was done and accomplished in such manner as followeth.

After that the majesty of the Roman emperor, and king of Hungary and Bohemia, had ordained and given commission to his excellency the prince of Lichtenstein (having to his assistance some other personages) concerning the prisoners in the kingdom of Bohemia; his majesty gave commandment, that the execution of them should be done and accomplished upon Monday, being the eleventh after the ancient, and the twenty-first day of June after the new computation; which, according to the imperial commandment, is performed upon the same day, in the following manner.

On Thursday before, (namely, the seventeenth of the said month of June,) there came seven companies of horse, under the command of his highness the duke of Saxony, into the city of Prague; whereof five companies were ordained to lodge in the old city, and two companies in the new city. They kept their watches and centinels, from that day, here and there in the several streets of the old city; but in the great market-place, before the town-house of the old city, there watched every night continually a whole company of the said horsemen.

On Friday following, being the eighteenth of June, the *theatrum*, or scaffold of timber, which was to be erected, and whereupon the following execution of the prisoners, for the most part, was to be performed, was made ready and dispatched in the common carpenters-yard of the old city; and the same was the next day erected and set up in the great market-place of the said city, close and joining to the town-house; so that they might, out of the same town-house, go conveniently upon the scaffold, through a door purposely made to that end: the scaffold being four ells high, twenty-two paces broad, and twenty-two paces long, in a square form, all of good substantial strong timber, and rails made round about.

On Saturday, the nineteenth of June, very early in the morning, there were thirteen of the prisoners out of the old city, and ten out of the new city, by the coaches and horses belonging to the senators of the said city, brought upwards in the court to the castle, conveyed with a strong guard of horse, and some companies of musqueteers, where the

others, as well lords as knights, who were of the number of the directors, had been kept prisoners.

Whereupon, they proceeded to the arraignment and condemnation of the prisoners: which business was took in hand and effected in the king's court-chamber, right over the Chancery, where a royal throne, or seat, of russet-velvet was erected; and thereupon his excellency the prince of Lichtenstein, and the other lords and commissioners were sitting by and about him.

Then the prisoners were one after another sent for, and brought before the imperial court and lords-commissioners; when the emperor's attorney came forth, and indicted every particular prisoner, one after another, in the German and Bohemian speech, for matters enormous and criminal, as he alledged; requesting the lords-commissioners, in his master's behalf, to decree and pronounce their final judgment against them.

Whereupon, Dr. Melander made answer, in High-Dutch, that the judgment was decreed already, and should not be executed, but in such sort as might be according to right and justice, and to the laws of the kingdom; and, besides, as may stretch to the reputation and authority of the emperor's majesty.

After him, Dr. Kapper made a speech, in the Bohemian tongue, being the same in effect: thereupon is the arraignment and judgment pronounced by the imperial judge of the lower part in the High-Dutch, and presently after him by another in the Bohemian language. And thus were the forty-three hereafter named persons, by the judge's sentence, in manner as followeth, adjudged and condemned to several punishments.

First of all, some were condemned to imprisonment of their persons, and others to corporal punishment.

1. The lord William Poppel, of Lockowitz, &c. high-steward of the kingdom, who was brought forth first of all. His judgment was, that grace should be offered unto him; but yet, upon the good-liking and ratification of the emperor's majesty, he was to remain in perpetual prison.
2. Paul Rinschan.
3. Hans Wastrowetz.
4. Felix Wentzel Pietibeski.
5. D. Matthias Borbonius.

These are condemned, in like manner, upon his majesty's liking, to perpetual imprisonment.

6. Lucas Karabon is condemned to be executed with the sword; but grace being shewed him, his judgment is, That he shall be sent to Raab, and there remain in perpetual prison.
7. Wolfgang Haslawer is to be sent to Raab, and there to be shut up in iron chains.
8. Melchior Dubrecht is to be banished out of the land for ever; but grace being shewed him, he is to be sent to Raab, and there to wear the iron chains for a year.
9. George Sabiota is also condemned to be banished for ever; but out of grace, and upon the emperor's pleasure, execution was suspended.
10. Paul Petzko shall remain in prison, for a year.
11. Caspar Uszler is condemned to be hanged out of the window of the new city's council-house: but, by grace, till farther order, the execution is stayed; and he, in the mean time, to remain in prison.
12. Nicholas Diebis, officer to the burgo-masters of the old city, is condemned to have his tongue cut out of his throat, and it fastened to the gallows, and after that, to be sent to Raab, there to be shut up in irons: but by grace offered him, he is to stand with his tongue nailed on the post of the gallows, for the space of an hour; and then to be sent to Raab aforesaid, to perpetual imprisonment.
13. Wentzel Orsatzky.
14. Joseph Kubin.
15. Hans Sirele.

Amongst these, are two Bohemian procurators; all three are condemned to be whipped with rods out of the city, and banished the land.

16. John Kammerit is to be banished, for one year.

These persons following were condemned to death.

First, men of noble houses.

1. The lord Joachim Andreas Schlick, &c. chief-minister of justice, in the land of Bohemia, one of the privy-council, director, and head-governor in Upper Lusatia, &c. whom the elector of Saxony sent prisoner to Prague; he had this heavy sentence of condemnation, pronounced against him; That first, his right-hand should be chopped off, then to be quartered alive, and the quarters to be hanged upon the high-ways; his head and hand to be fastened on a pole, upon the bridge-tower. But grace being offered unto him, he is to have his head, and then his right-hand cut off; and both to be nailed on the top of a pole, and set upon the bridge-tower.

2. The lord Wentzel of Budowitz, senior, president of the appellations and director, is condemned to the same penalty, as the earl of Schlick. Nevertheless, mercy being shewed him, his judgment is mitigated, and he is to be executed after the same manner, as the said earl of Schlick.

3. The lord Christopher of Harrant, president of the Bohemian chamber, and director; out of grace, is adjudged to be executed with the sword.

These following were knights, and of the gentry.

4. Bohuszlaw of Michalowitz, &c. burgh-grave of Conig, Gratzer, Craitz, and director, &c. shall be executed with the sword, and is to have his right-hand chopped off; and both to be set and nailed fast upon the bridge-tower.

5. Gasper Kaplitz, lord high-secretary of the kingdom of Bohemia, and director, is condemned to have his head cut off, then to be parted in four quarters, and the quarters to be hanged upon the high-ways. But out of grace, mercy being shewed unto him, in consideration of his great age, of fourscore years, this judgment is mitigated; and he is to be executed with the sword, and his head to be fastened with the others, upon the bridge-tower.

6. Hinrick Otto of Losz, &c. under-burghgrave of Carlestein, also under-chamberlain of Bohemia, and director; is condemned to be cut alive in four quarters, and the pieces to be hanged, and set up, as of the former. But by grace, this judgment is mitigated, and he is condemned to die, in such manner, as the aforesaid Kaplitz.

7. Procopius Dworsetzky, under-chamberlain of Bohemia; and,

8. Friderick van Bilaw, captain of the Dutch Leen, or Feofe, both directors; and both had such heavy sentence, as the aforesaid Kaplitz. But yet, out of grace, their judgment is altered and mitigated, as of the aforesaid Kaplitz; and they are to be executed with the sword, their heads set up, and fastened as aforesaid,

9. Willem Koneg of Klumboky, director; and,

10. Dionysius Tscherin, captain of the castle of Prague; by grace shewed them, they are both sentenced to have their heads cut off with the sword.

These following are of the burgesses, and of the best citizens.

11. Valentine Kochan.

12. Tobias Stefgeck.

13. Christopher Cober, senior.

14. John Theodorus the Sixth.

The three first directors, but all four condemned to be executed with the sword, and their heads on poles, on the bridge-tower.

15. John Schulthetsz, burgomaster at Kuttenburgh; and,

16. Maximilian Heostelig, Primus at Satz; both these are condemned to have their heads struck off, with the sword; and the head of the first is to be carried to Kuttenburgh, and of the other to Satz; and each to be nailed on poles, and made fast upon the gallows of their several places.

17. D. Johannes Jessenius, a doctor in physick, a famous learned man, and one of the

eloquentest orators, that Bohemia ever brought forth; a professor in the College Carolini, in the old city of Prague; is sentenced to this grievous and heavy judgment: to have his tongue plucked out of his throat, and then to be quartered alive. But, by special mercy offered him, he is condemned to have his tongue cut off, as aforesaid, and thereupon to be executed with the sword, and then to be quartered in four pieces; which quarters are to be hanged by the gallows-tower, upon the high streets, there to remain; but his head to be poled, and set upon the bridge-tower.

18. Wentzel Maschirofftzky,
19. Hinrick Bock,
20. Elias Rossin, senior,
21. Elias Kotzaw,
22. George Stzetziscky,
23. Michel Widman,
24. Simon Wockatschtz.

These seven received all grace, and are to be executed with the sword.

25. John Kuttenaw, chief captain of the citizens in the old city; and,

26. Simon Sussitzszky, commissary of the council, and of the stewer-ampt; and also, in former times, commissary of the jesuits college. Both are condemned to be hanged out of the window of the town-house in the old city, on a beam or piece of timber, to that end, stretched out of the same window.

27. Nathaniel Wodnianszky is condemned to be hanged and strangled on the gallows, in the market-place in the old city.

Immediately after this judgment and sentence of condemnation, it is likewise decreed, and pronounced to all in general, and to every prisoner in particular, as well to those that were left alive, as to them that were afterwards executed, that they had forfeited their bodies, lives, estates, honours, dignities, goods, and blood; and that their goods should be seized upon, as already, in some sort, it was effected: but only that some of their bed-consorts, and wives, should have free their jointure that they brought with them, at their marriage.

This bloody and tragical act of condemnation being ended, and brought to that perio l, the emperor's attorney, in his majesty's name, gave hearty thanks to the lords-commissioners, both in the Dutch and Bohemian language; and, thereupon, the said lords-commissioners, returned again to their houses: but the condemned persons were conveyed again to the place of their imprisonment, and there they obtained leave, that every one, that knew any of them, might freely come to visit them, to speak and confer with them, and to comfort them, in this their extremity. But as soon as from their arraignment they were returned into their prisons, there resorted unto them great companies of jesuits, all two and two, who did their uttermost endeavour, with exceeding great persuasions, to turn them to their opinion, and to convert them, if any wise it were possible, to their idolatry and popish religion; they all being of the Augustan confession, and with great constancy professing the Lutheran religion, (except Wentzel Badowitz, being of the Reformed religion, and Dionysius Tschkerin, a Roman-catholick;) but they got as much of the one, as of the other; and, in sum, effected nothing at all. And because they disputed more than an hour with Dr. Jessenius, in the presence of Mr. David Lippach, minister and preacher of the Augustan confession; at last, he gave them this for his final answer and expedition, that all that, in his baptism, he had promised to Jesus Christ, his Lord and Saviour, he was resolved to live and die thereby, and was most willing to ratify and seal the same with his blood.

They likewise were suffered, either in general or particular, to have with them as well Dutch as Bohemian preachers, both of the confession of Ausburgh, as of the Hussites, to their last end; who did their best endeavour, and took great pains with comforting them, and gave them many good admonitions to die constantly in the true knowledge of God, and their Redeemer Jesus Christ, to their great strengthening in this their last conflict.

On the aforesaid Saturday, in the night-time, besides the forty-three, whereof twenty-seven were condemned to die; there were two prisoners more adjudged to death in the manner as followeth, namely:

1. Leander Ruppell, being of the secret council of the elector-palatine of Heidelburgh, and also counsellor and agent for some other princes; and,

2. George Hawenschildt, advocate and counsellor of the appellations and commissary; they were both sentenced to have their heads and hands cut off, and then (the said their heads and hands) to be nailed on poles, and set upon the bridge-tower, and all their goods to be confiscated. But, because that these two were not with the other prisoners conveyed to the castle, their sentence was not then pronounced unto them, as to the others; and therefore their condemnation was sent to them in writing. And thus the execution, which was to be done upon their persons, was denounced unto them in the same night.

On Sunday following, being June the 20th, very early in the morning, there came many of the condemned persons' sorrowful wives, children, and friends, to his excellency the prince of Litchtenstein; out of the very bottom of their hearts, crying most pitifully for mercy, and interceding for their condemned lords, husbands, fathers, and kinsmen; at least, that their punishment might be mitigated, and their judgment limited. But they had a sober answer, to the small comfort of their sorrows in this their misery.

Upon the same Sunday, the said Dutch Lutheran preacher, Mr. Lippach, in his sermon, did, from the pulpit, most earnestly exhort the people, being there present in great multitudes, to join their instant and serious Christian prayers with him, to God Almighty, for the condemned persons, that it would please his Divine Majesty to vouchsafe them a most happy, constant, and Christian end, to receive their souls in the eternal glory; which was done accordingly: and thereupon the most part of them, that in great numbers were in the church, did weep and lament most bitterly. All which, as likewise the grievous and pitiful lamenting, both before and after that, of women and children, and of other persons of all sorts, struck with great compassion at such a lamentable spectacle, all bewailing and howling; the most part of the inhabitants of Prague doing nothing else but weeping and crying out incessantly, pitying their unfortunate and distressed state; all which, I say, it were not possible otherwise, but it would move any stony heart, yea, the stones themselves to commiseration. But, in the mean time, the condemned persons themselves were ever joyful within their souls, shewing a cheerful countenance: they resolved all together to die courageously in the Christian faith, and were full of comfort to their very last ends.

In the afternoon, Dr. Jessenius, Leander Ruppell, and George Hawenschildt, caused in the sermon, again christianly and fervently to be prayed for them; desiring that it might be denounced from the pulpit, to all the people there present, that if they had in any wise offended any of them, out of Christian charity, they would be pleased to pardon them.

Towards night, the theatre or scaffold was over and over, and round-about, as well at the sides, as towards the town-house, over-covered some ells high with black cloth; and, as soon as, after the Bohemian manner, the clock had struck twenty-four hours, all the condemned persons were, in eight coaches, brought from the castle, down into the old city, being conveyed thither with two companies of horse, and a company of footmen; and, immediately after that, the like is done with the other prisoners that were in the new city. And, in this night, all the companies of horse and foot held their watches in several places of the city of Prague: but, in the mean time, the condemned prisoners passed and brought over all this night with continual prayers, and singing of psalms, till the next following Monday early in the morning, when the execution should be done.

On Monday, the 21st of June, in the morning betimes, when the clock, after the Dutch manner, was not five, there were seen in the element two fair rainbows, standing cross-

wise, one over another: what that signified, God knoweth only, for thereof it is diversly discoursed and judged. And at the same time, as also the whole night before, and as long as the then following execution did continue, two companies of horse, and three companies of foot, were placed in the great market-place before the town-house. And, the clock striking five, after the Dutch manner, a piece of cannon was discharged in the castle, for a sign and warning token; whereupon, presently all the gates of the city, and that of the bridge-tower, were shut, and the port-cullis let fall down, and then they went forward with the execution.

Upon a lesser stage, which also was made purposely joining to the great erected theatre or scaffold, was sitting the imperial judge, and with him the council of the old city: but the three judges of Prague gave attendance to the condemned prisoners, to bring and convey them, one after another, to the place of execution. Upon the said scaffold, in the same place, where they should receive the mortal stroke, a crucifix was set by an unknown, disguised man; one, as it was thought, of the city's officers; whereby every one of them, that were condemned, did kneel down upon a black cloth, and there with great patience, received the corporal punishment that he was to endure.

But, in the mean time, during the execution, near to the place thereof, some companies of footmen, who, with some other companies of horsemen, stood there ranged in order of battle in the great market-place round about the scaffold, excluding all other spectators from thence, as far as they could, were charged to make a noise with their drums; which was done accordingly, so that thereby it was impossible for any to hear his own words, much less such things, as by every patient in particular might have been related for the last time, and in the end of their lives; many being much desirous to hear what should be by them uttered for their last confession.

First of all was brought forth the said lord, the earl of Schlick, in a black silk gown, having a little book of prayers in his hand. He was of a joyful countenance, and well animated; looking up to heaven, and, without intermission, pouring out his fervent prayers to God Almighty. He came to the scaffold, in every manner, free and loose; as likewise did all the others that were executed in that place. There one of his servants pulled off his upper garment and doublet, and he himself, with the help of his said servant, uncovered and made naked the upper part of his body: then the earl kneeled down upon the black cloth, which purposely was laid there, and with great patience, calling upon the blessed Name of the Lord, he stretched forth his neck, holding up his head, which the executioner struck off with great dexterity and nimbleness; which being done, the said servant took his master's right-hand, and laid it upon a little block, which the executioner chopped off likewise, with his sword. The said servant took presently his said master's head and hand in his custody; but the body was wrapped in the black cloth whereupon he was executed, and then was as soon carried away from the scaffold by six men, who were all disguised, and clothed in black mourning gowns, wearing black hats upon their heads, and their faces covered with some kind of black cyphers, to the end they might not be known; but were some officers of the magistrates and city of Prague, as is thought; so that the executioner touched not, nor laid hand on any place of the body of the said earl, nor on his garments. The like was performed about all the others; being, in all, to the number of twenty-four, that there were executed with the sword, Dr. Jessenius only excepted. And as soon as the one was dispatched, then there was brought another black cloth to the scaffold for him that should be the next, and it was laid down in the place of the former, to be used for the same end.

The said earl being dispatched, as is above related, the lord Budowitz, being of the Reformed religion, came forth to the scaffold, led by two of the judges, no priest nor preacher with him. He, likewise, offered his fervent prayers to God Almighty; and, presently after, suffered the corporal punishment decreed against him, as is before-mentioned.

In like manner, the other twenty-two, who were yet remaining, were brought one after

another to the scaffold; and there their judgment, in such manner as it was pronounced against their persons, was fully done and accomplished. And furthermore, as often as one was dispatched, the body of him, that was beheaded, was in an instant carried away from the scaffold by the abovesaid six disguised men, wrapped in the said black cloth; and, instead thereof, other two men, disguised after the said manner, came in, and brought another new black cloth, laying it down open for him that should be the next.

And thus all the aforesaid condemned men being every one for his particular, and all in general, full resolute, and of good comfort, with pouring out their devout prayers continually to God, trusting to be saved through the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, lost their heads, and died like good Christians; persevering constantly in the Evangelical religion, according to the confession of Ausburgh, coming forth to the scaffold with evangelical ministers: only excepted the said Dionysius Tscherin, who died a Roman-catholick, having with him a popish canon and a jesuit; and the abovesaid lord Budowitz, being of the Reformed religion, who was not permitted to have a minister of his religion, and refused to have others with him.

Dr. Jessenius coming to the scaffold last of all, the executioner took him presently, and tied his hands upon his back, and then sitting down upon his knees, a black cloth being laid open under him, he still calling upon the Name of God, where the executioner, with a little pair of pincers, pulled out his tongue, and cut it off with a knife; and thereupon, presently after, he cut off his head with his sword; which his decreed judgment and corporal punishment he suffered with great patience and constancy, having first offered his prayers with great devotion to the Almighty God, as is before said.

Thus the executioner of the city of Prague hath brought to death, in manner as is before related, the aforenamed twenty-four persons; all which was performed with four swords. With the first were executed eleven, with the second five, and, with the other two, eight had their heads cut off; and all with great dexterity, not missing one stroke; as if the wind had blown their heads from their shoulders.

After this, he took the three other men who were condemned to be hanged, and, in the great market-place before the town-house, he tied their hands upon their backs, whereof the two first were hanged upon a piece of timber, that was struck out purposely of the window of the town-house; but the third was hanged on the ordinary gallows; so that, within the space of less than four hours and a half, by the executioner's own hands, twenty-seven men were put to death, and thus miserably lost their lives.

This bloody and cruel execution was nothing else but a fearful and most lamentable spectacle, which many of the spectators did behold with the highest commiseration and Christian compassion; so that many hundred men, women, and children, were then seen and heard, in the city of Prague, most bitterly to weep, lament, and bewail; wringing their hands, with many heavy and woeful exclamations, which might have moved any heart, were it never so hard, to compassion.

Which execution was the more pitiful to behold, because that those that were condemned, (no regard being had, that many of them were of noble blood, and of eminent dignities, of the best houses of the realm, and some of them being very old men, whereof the most part had fair grey hairs upon their grave heads, and snow-white beards; amongst them ten, their years being accounted together, made up the number of seven-hundred years of age); that those grave and ancient men, I say, were forced to lose their dear lives in such a miserable manner, and were brought to this infamous and shameful end. But they all, one with another, went to their death most christianly and willingly, with the greatest joy and patience that may be related; remaining always constant in their professed religion, and in the service of God, to their last breath; so that many stood thereat amazed, and wondered at their great constancy. Whereof, to the

number of twenty-five, have most happily ended their lives in the profession of the Evangelical Lutheran religion: no doubt but their souls enjoy, at this time, the glory and felicity of eternal life.

Elias Russin the elder, and John Theodorus the Sixth, were likewise, as is before mentioned, sentenced, and should have suffered the heavy punishment whereunto they were condemned; but thus far is interceded for them, that the execution is stayed, till his imperial majesty himself cometh to Prague, then to do as it shall please him.

And the executioner laid no hand on any of them that were put to death (Dr. Jessenius only excepted, with the three that were executed with the rope), but they themselves, with the help of every one of his servants, stripped off their garments, till the upper part of their bodies was made naked, and thus they yielded themselves willingly to die.

As soon as the head of any of them was struck off, as likewise any of the hands being separated from the arm, at the same instant one of the servants took the head and hand of his master, and carried it away, being, in the mean time, left in his keeping. And twelve of these heads were placed and fastened upon the bridge-tower, six on the one side, and six on the other; and some of the hands were nailed to their heads. But the hand of Leander Ruppell was nailed and made fast on the pillory, standing before the town-house of the old city.

After this, the dead carcase of Dr. Jessenius was quartered by the gallows-tower, and the four quarters were set upon poles in the high streets, there to remain.

The dead bodies of the others were delivered into the possession of their widows (whereof some already were dead for very grief), of their children, and their friends. And, although the head of Leander Ruppell should have been set upon the bridge-tower, (which also they went about to do accordingly,) yet it is delivered to the friends to be buried with the dead body.

The lord Budowitz's hand was chopped off: but the hand of the earl of Schlick, his head being fastened upon the pole, then his hand that was chopped off was nailed upon his mouth. Thus there were, in all, twelve heads and four hands set upon the bridge-tower; that of the earl of Schlick, that of the lord Budowitz, that of Michalowitz, of Kaplitz, of Dworsetzky, of Losse, of Bilaw, of Kochan, of Steffetschtz, of Kober, of Jessenius, and of Hawenschildt. And the said earl Schlick, Michalowitz, Ruppell, and Hawenschildt, their hands were also set upon the bridge-tower, being nailed on their heads.

On Tuesday then next following, the 22d of June, the aforesaid Nicholas Diebis, according to his judgment, stood for the time of an hour nailed with his tongue on the post of the gallows, and after that was carried again into prison; he was condemned, this penalty performed, to be locked up in iron chains, and to be sent to Raab in perpetual imprisonment; but, through the unspeakable great pain and torment which he suffered thus standing, he died the next day after. On the same Tuesday were likewise both the old city's attorneys aforesaid, with another officer of the said city, with rods whipped through and out of the city, and for ever banished out of the kingdom of Bohemia.

On Wednesday the 23d of June, in the night-time, one of the heads, that were set on poles upon the bridge-tower, fell down at the one side thereof, so that nobody doth know how it came down; neither is it, or, at least, it will not be known whose head of them that were executed it was; only, very timely in the morning, it was carried up again, and set in the place where it stood before.

And thus ended this bloody tragedy.

On Thursday next, the 24th of June, the said Mr. Lippach made an excellent and most godly sermon in the Dutch church in the High-German language. There, with a hearty thanksgiving to the Almighty God, he related, that God, through his divine mercy and goodness, had heard the earnest prayers, as well of them that were prisoners, and now

departed out of this miserable world, as of others upright and true Christians; shewing such extraordinary great grace and clemency to those that were condemned, in their last going out of this mortal life, that thereby they were strengthened with great patience, to persevere in the constant profession of their Christian faith, in an assured hope of their resurrection to eternal salvation, in their Christian and fraternal charity, and in continual prayers and supplications to God, and his Son Jesus Christ, their Saviour and Redeemer, to the very last end of their lives; yea, in the death itself: and that, accordingly, as most blessed and happy Christians, no doubt but God Almighty had already received their souls into his eternal glory, there to rejoice with him for ever. And that they, as a hart thirsteth after fresh waters, so they have longed for their temporal death and separation out of this miserable life; and, contrary to all men's expectation, not without great amazement of many, they apprehended and accepted most willingly the happy last moment of their departure out of this vale of misery.

Dr. Luke, Dr. George Frederick, and other prisoners more of quality, will be likewise executed within few days hereafter, according as the sentence of their arraignment shall be.

The common speech goeth, that the next week after the execution above rehearsed, some other notable men, being apprehended, are likewise to be arraigned, and to suffer death in the lesser part of the city of Prague; so that every day there are yet more and more arrested and committed to prison: and, as men say, there is already a great number of persons, of all conditions and qualities, noted and inrolled in the black register-book.

The emperor's majesty will be here himself within these three weeks, when there shall be proceeded further in this business: what order shall be then given at his arrival, time will shew. In the mean time, God grant in his mercy, that now all troubles and sorrows may be once ended; and that the fair sun-shining light of God's love towards us miserable offenders may shine once again in this kingdom To his godly and continual protection I commend herewithal the benevolent reader.

The Brewers' Plea: Or, A Vindication of Strong-Beer and Ale. Wherein is declared the wonderful Bounty and Patience of God, the wicked and monstrous Unthankfulness of Man, the unregarded Injuries done to these Creatures; groaning, as it were, to be delivered from the Abuses proceeding from disdainful Aspersions of ignorant, and from the Intemperance of sinful Man.

1 Cor. xii. 19, 20, 21.

'*If they were all one member; where would the body be?*
'*But now are they many members, yet but one body.*
'*The eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor, again, the head to the feet, I have no need of thee.*'

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.——*Juven. Sat.*

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[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

Lectori candido & benevolo, S. P. D.

Courteous and judicious reader, to thy view chiefly do I expose these my ensuing lines, being urged thereunto by the loud cry of two horrible wrath-provoking sins, now reigning amongst us, *viz.* unthankfulness towards God, and uncharitableness towards man: these two like inseparable companions always go together, both dishonouring the Creator; some unthankfully vilifying, and others intemperately abusing the creature. To reform which, lies only in the magistrate; yet blame and aspersions are cast upon those who suffer most (by such lewd and prodigal offenders), I mean the distressed Company of Brewers,[1] whose sad condition groans for speedy relief: a company very needful, and also profitable to this city and suburbs, yet looked upon with an unkind aspect, but occasioned by those who may be well affected, but, being mistaken in their judgment, can give no true and solid reason for it. But, according to that of the poet,

Non amo te, Volusi, nec possum dicere, quare;
Hoc tantùm possum dicere, non amo te.

WHAT, a vineyard in England? Hath God been pleased to warm this Western climate with a temporal blessing of so excellent a nature for the sustaining, yea, for the reviving of the poor wearied labouring men; and not only so, but also for the cheering up of the drooping spirits, and the gladding of the hearts of the sorrowful and afflicted? This is no small favour, which hath so long been bestowed upon us in this Occidental part of the world; but it is a wonder, that, for so great a blessing, we should return so little thanks unto the Almighty: yea, many amongst us take not so much notice of it,

[1] [The Brewers of London make a company, incorporated by Henry VI. in 1438, consisting of a master, three wardens, twenty-eight assistants, and one hundred and eight liverymen.]

as to account it for a blessing; and others, more ungrateful, little knowing what the want thereof would produce, seem to loath it in their thoughts, by their disdainful expressions and aspersions cast upon those creatures, without which this kingdom (especially near London) were in a sad condition; as I shall shew more plainly hereafter. And here is manifestly seen, not only the great bounty of God, but also his exceeding wonderful patience; that, notwithstanding such murmurings, he hath yet continued this blessing amongst us, though he sometimes threatened a dearth thereof. Thus God dealt with his Israel in the wilderness: although some murmured at Manna, yet he withdrew not that favour from them. But our disdainers will say, it is their zeal against drunkenness. I may as well say, O sinful zeal! staggering and wavering no less through ignorance, than the drunkard through his intemperance. Because some do abuse the good creature of God by that detestable sin of drunkenness; shall others therefore (such as would be thought to be religious) expose it to disdain? nay, cry it down as a thing to be extinguished? Let such ingenuously confess which they hold to be the greater sin, to abuse or to extinguish any of God's creatures: the abuse, by punishment duly inflicted, may be reformed; but to extinguish, or diminish the virtue of any of the creatures, is to deprive not only the offenders, but also the innocent, of the full fruition of those creatures, which God hath appointed for the comfort of mankind.

After Noah had offended, and suffered reproach by his cursed son; did he, to manifest his detestation against that sin, give order to destroy that vineyard which he had so painfully planted? Had not this error been greater than the former? For he, that will serve God aright, must neither turn to the right-hand nor to the left, but must walk before him in a straight path with an upright heart: to diminish or detract from the excellency of the creature, is to dishonour the creature. And it is a punishment from God upon a people, when a people degenerateth from its natural virtue, or is deprived of its proper excellency; as appeareth by the expression of the prophet, bewailing the sad condition of Israel: saith he, 'Your silver is become dross, your wine is mixed with water;' Isa. i. 22. And our Saviour, who came to repair our ruins, and to purchase for us a better Paradise than that which Adam lost, made it his first miracle to make water wine, and that of the best; (John ii. 9.) whilst some of us would turn our native wine into water; I mean our strong-beer into beer of the least nourishment, and meanest condition. For brevity's sake, let these two witnesses suffice; although the holy Scriptures are full of expressions tending to the commendations of those creatures most (I speak concerning temporal blessings) which are most cherishing to the vital spirits, and most preservative to the health and well-being of weak mankind. The same Holy Spirit, that pronounceth woes against gluttons and drunkards, commendeth Canaan, because it flowed with milk and honey, and corn, and wine, and oil; (Deut. xi. 9, 14.) And, although England hath not naturally the wine of the vine, yet it enjoyeth the plentiful fruition thereof; yea, in such an abundant manner, that many English prodigals, though vast estates have been left to divers of them, yet have complained more of the want of money than of the want of wine. But grant that these foreign plantations should fail us, or that we should be disappointed, yea, almost destitute of wine, by some unexpected means proceeding from Providence, either divine or human; or that those ships that ventured, or those commodities transported for wine, should be otherwise employed, or improved to the enriching of the kingdom, that wine thereby should be scarce amongst us, yet hath England whereat to rejoice within itself. For of hops and malt, our native commodities, (and therefore the more agreeable to the constitutions of our native inhabitants,) may be made such strong beer, (being well boiled and hopped, and kept its full time,) as that it may serve instead of sack, if authority shall think fit; whereby they also may know experimentally the virtue of those creatures, at their full height: which beer being well brewed, of a low, pure amber colour, clear and sparkling, noblemen and the gentry may be pleased to have English sack in their wine-cellars, and taverns also to sell to those who are not willing, or cannot conveniently lay it in their own houses; which may be a means greatly to increase and improve the tillage of England, and also the profitable plantations of hop-

grounds; thereby enabling the industrious farmers to pay their rents, and also to improve the revenues of the nobility and gentry. And so much the more may they be pleased to add some of those places, which, as yet, are receptacles for wild beasts (parks and forests), in which may be erected fair and profitable farms; and so become comfortable habitations, for laborious and painful husbandmen; with no small profit to the owners thereof, and also to the general good of the whole nation: should part of those commodities, transported for wine, be more advantageously disposed of, and our vineyard at home be better husbanded and manured, and at lesser rates such good strong-beer as shall be most cherishing to poor labouring people, without which they cannot well subsist; their food being, for the most part, of such things as afford little or bad nourishment, nay, sometimes dangerous; and would infect them with many sicknesses and diseases, were they not preserved (as with an antidote) with good beer, whose virtues and effectual operations, by help of the hop well boiled in it, are more powerful to expel poisonous infections than is yet publicly known, or taken notice of.[2]

And should the Almighty, being provoked by our sins, afflict these parts with the infection of the plague; in what a deplorable condition would the poor of this city and suburbs be, if they should be deprived of the comfortable fruition of good strong-beer and ale? For the providing whereof, the licensed well-governed victualler is to be encouraged by suppressing of unlicensed ale-houses, which are the only receptacles of drunkards; and by severe punishing those lewd livers, who frequent those disordered houses, which only dare harbour them; because, having no licences, they are in no danger of the loss thereof, and being accustomed to their evil courses, both they that keep such houses, and they that frequent them, (regardless of their reputation, by reason of continual impunity,) grow impudent and fearless either of God or the magistrate; which causes scandalous aspersions to be cast on those which offend not. But the licensed victuallers, keeping good houses and good orders, paying taxes according to their degrees, are no less necessary for the poor neighbouring inhabitants, and also for strangers, as occasion may require, than any other retailing trade; for, as the brewer is the poor-man's treasurer, so the victualler is the yeoman of the poor-man's wine-cellar; providing and preparing, for present use, such sound well-ripened beer, as the poor cannot provide for themselves; neither without it can they go on in their labour, unless beef, pork, and bacon, and such hearty meat could be afforded them at a cheaper rate. But, although such meats should prove more scarce and dear; yet, if it please God, in mercy, to send plenty of corn for bread and beer, we shall not hear the cry of the poor complaining of want, so long as, for a small matter, they can send for so much good bread and beer, as will suffice their whole families; which is not only a sustenance against hunger, but a preservative against sickness. But grains, if they be taken hot, and put into a vessel fit for that purpose, they are an excellent bath for itching limbs; also they are good food for the cattle of this city and suburbs; without which, hay and other provisions would be at a far dearer rate than usually they are. Thus we see that, among the many temporal blessings, which the Lord hath bestowed upon us, this is none of the meanest; the Lord in mercy grant us thankful hearts! But, *nescio quis teneros oculis mihi fascinat agnos:* behold a foul monster called Ingratitude, with two prodigious heads and scorching eyes, hath cast such looks upon this our vineyard, as if (like Balak and Balaam) they were conspiring together to bring a curse thereon; though of differing dispositions, yet both dangerously provoking the Almighty to displeasure. The one of these heads is of that sort of people, who out of a fervent zeal to the glory of God the Creator, forget to honour him in a right taking notice of him, in his mercy and bounty towards us in his creatures; but,

[2] [Tacitus, in speaking of the ancient Germans, as also Dioscorides, Galen, &c. condemn beer, as prejudicial to the head, nerves, and membraneous parts, as occasioning a more lasting and more uneasy drunkenness than wine, and as promoting several diseases.

Messrs. Perrault, Rainssant, and others, defend the modern beer; urging, that the hops used with us, and which the ancients were strangers to, having a faculty of purifying the blood, and removing obstructions, serve as a corrective, and free our drink from the inconveniencies objected to that of the ancients.]

with an austere countenance and supercilious eye, and speeches agreeable thereunto, slight and despise the creature, and those that deal therein, because abused by intemperate persons.

Thus the creature is made the patient of evil, groaning as it were to be delivered therefrom, and yet is burdened with hard censure, a double injury: zeal without discretion is like heat without moisture, every way destructive: let such consider, if at any time afflictions befall them, would they be contented therefore to be evil thought of, because they fare so ill; nay will not the calamity be the more heavy unto them, when they shall see that it lays them open to uncharitable censure? This is all one, as if we should afflict the innocent, because they are abused, and let the guilty escape and prosper; according to that saying; *Fœlix ac prosperum scelus virtus vocatur; optimi corruptio pessima;* is a destiny equally fatal to every good creature, and the better the creature is, it being corrupted or abused, is so much the more dangerous and hurtful: the sweetest ointment, being putrefied, becomes most noisome; and man himself, by creation the most honoured of all the creatures, being degenerated into a condition tending to cruelty and violence, is more insatiable and unavoidably dangerous than any beast. Nay religion itself, which is *illa aurea catena*, 'that golden chain,' whereby God and man (with reverence be it spoken) are so nearly linked together; (John xvii. 11, 21.) I say, religion which is that *scala milliarium*, by which we are directed the right way to ascend the heavenly throne of glory, is not free, (*quis talia fando temperet à lachrymis?*) from the foul abuses of audaciously wicked mankind. The profane person maketh a mock of it, the hypocrite maketh it his cloke for every occasion; but it will prove a mourning-one at the last, full of lamentations and woes. But this is not a subject now to treat of; wherefore I cease; but I shall not cease to mourn, although in silence, *curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent. Igne quid utilius?* What more needful than fire? Yet many fair buildings have been destroyed thereby; shall it therefore be forbidden? Then let not those, whose better fare maketh them so insensible of poor men's wants, deny them that good beer, which is so needful to their meaner food, because that some abuse it. But, alas! who complaineth of that foul sin of gluttony? Which, as a grave insatiable, hath swallowed up many of those good creatures, which are appointed for our nourishment and comfort; but, by the excessive abuse thereof, many of excellent parts have been much disabled both in body and mind from the free and happy use of those good gifts, which God bestowed upon them to be improved, and also employed to his glory; and that in their latter days most, which is that age of man which should be most adorned with wisdom by reason of long experience; yet let not any cry out against or lay any blame upon Eastcheap, plentiful Cheapside or Leaden-hall, or either Fish-street, or any other of those fair and plenteous markets in about this city, wherein God's bounty is manifested and extended towards us in so large a manner; but rather, in a detestation of our own unworthiness, and unthankfulness, let us all cry out and say, *nos, nos inquam, desumus Iapeti genus qui præsumus:* Prometheus the son of Japhet, (for the heathen look no higher but somewhat darkly concerning Noah, who was their two-faced Janus, who saw the end of the old world, and the beginning of the new) having, as poets feigned, stolen fire from heaven, and brought it amongst the sons of men, it occasioned many new and dangerous diseases: even such is that zeal, which is not guided by true knowledge, and limited within the bounds of charity; it fills the mind with many strange and dangerous errors, corrupting the judgment, which are the diseases of the soul; but doubtless those, that are truly religious, will qualify and cool (I do not mean, extinguish) the hot fervency of their zeal, with the sweet dew of discreet and pious charity; knowing that God is a severe judge against those, who, passing by themselves, presume to censure others; which is one of those crying sins, which the land now mourns. The other head of that wrath-provoking monster, Ingratitude, (*Si ingratum dixeris, omnia dixeris,*) is that wretched sort of people, who falling (an infirmity proper to the drunkard) into the error of the left-hand; are so besotted with the love of the creature, as altogether to neglect their duty towards the Creator; who is blessed for ever! Amen.

This brutish sin, drunkenness, may be called a sin of sins, the fruitful mother of a numerous brood, hateful even among the heathen. The Turks, amongst whom our English beer is of more esteem than any other sort of drink, are severe punishers of drunkenness: in Cairo, a fair city in Turkey, it is punished with death: among the Indians, in some parts, it was so severely punished with death, that they spared not the magistrate, but gave rewards to them, that slew him in the time of his being drunk; such was their cruel zeal, or heathenish severity, permitting no time for repentance, as being ignorant what belonged thereunto, nor to set their houses in order for the good of their posterity. But the indulgent lenity of our magistracy (to the endangering of many souls) hath so provoked the Almighty to take the matter into his own hands, that sometimes he hath also, for a warning to others, punished this sin by death: witness those untimely ends; some having died immediately in the sin, yea in the very house, where they have so offended; others have broke their necks off their horses, and others, going a ship-board, have fallen between the ship and the boat, and so have been drowned; a manifest token of God's displeasure against that sin. Neither hath he spared the glutton, though a sin less scandalous, because not so easily discerned; yet no less detestable in the sight of the all-seeing Almighty; witness that rod of many twigs, I mean the many diseases, and divers weaknesses, pains, and infirmities, inflicted upon their bodies; and also the unfitness of their intellectual parts to any thing that is good. But now, in this time of reformation, better things are not only hoped for, but also expected; that the magistrate may be pleased, for the glory of God (whose substitute he is), and for the good of the commonwealth (whose welfare is committed to his care), to do his endeavour, according to the power and trust committed unto him, to punish, according to the laws of this kingdom, those that wilfully offend and continue in those gross sins; the foulness whereof is expressed, Deut. xxi. 20, 21; Prov. xxiii. 21; Rom. xiii. 13; Ephes. v. 18. 'Those which 'are drunken, are drunken in the night,' saith the Apostle, 1 Thess. v. 7. If such modesty was amongst those, who, as yet, were not converted to the faith, or perhaps, as yet, had no knowledge of the truth; how great a shame is it, for such a nation as this, where the sound of the Gospel hath been so long heard, to harbour such offenders; yea, to let them pass unpunished? The consideration of which, doubtless, will move the hearts of the pious magistracy of these times, to have a more vigilant eye over those irregular unlicensed private houses, which hitherto have been the more secure, because so little suspected, that not only the drunkards, but also the places of drunkenness, may be punished; whereby the good creatures may be delivered from those servile uses, or rather freed from those base abuses, which they are exposed unto, by unworthy intemperate persons. And also, whereby those, who deal in those creatures, may the more cheerfully go on in their lawful callings, and the more assuredly expect a blessing from the Almighty, upon their careful endeavours; that so the Company of Brewers may be looked upon as supporters and relievers of a great part of the poor of this city and suburbs, and be had in such respect, and enjoy such privileges, as a brother-company and members of this city of London; according to that admonition of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xii. 14; 'The body is not one 'member, but many;' &c.: and, verse 18, 'God hath set the members every one of them 'in the body, as it hath pleased him;' &c. Which holy advice, let every one so observe and follow, that evil-speaking may be put away, that envyings and emulations may cease; that we may, all according to our degree, like stars in their order, fight against Satan, that common enemy to all mankind, who would deprive us of our spiritual Canaan; as the stars, in their order, fought against Sisera, who would have deprived Israel of their temporal Canaan: that the Lord may be pleased to shine upon these three kingdoms, with the blessings of truth and peace; that the affrighting voice of the oppressor may cease, and the cry of the oppressed may be no more heard; that all men may receive their due respect, not according to the greatness of their estates, but according to the manner of their getting those estates; that the ensuing year may be as it were a jubilee, wherein every true Israelite may return to his own proper inheritance; that the winter-storms of wars, and rumours of wars, may cease, and truth may spring forth like a vine,

with her clusters of plenty, and the peaceable voice of the turtle may be heard in our land. In the mean while, let every true-hearted Christian send forth such sighs and prayers to the Almighty, that he may be pleased to frame such hearts, in all the three nations, that with speed he may bring people from captivity, that Jacob may rejoice, and Israel may be glad; which the Lord grant, for his mercies' sake!

Bibliotheca Militum: Or, The Soldiers' publick Library, lately erected for the Benefit of all that love the good old Cause, at Wallingford-House; and already furnished with divers excellent Treatises, herein mentioned.

London, printed in the Year 1659.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

1. 'THE City-Compliance, for Gain without Conscience;' written by Robert Tychborn.

2. 'The Cares of the World satisfied: Or, a Rest from Labour.' Wherein is proved a rest for such souls, as could find no rest, under the old government; written by Henry Donne, executioner.

3. 'Religion in Bonds: Or, the Saints' Captivity and Persecution experienced.' By John Barkstead, lieutenant of the Tower.

4. 'A new Way to make Lords; Or, new Lords already made.' Whereunto is added, 'The other House, their Authority and Institution:' also are included their noble acts and atchievements, with their fortunes inabling them, for their services; written by William Prynne, esq.

5. 'Perjury (in Folio) proved to be *Jure Divino*;' by his late Highness, deceased.

6. 'A Commonwealth expounded to be the safe Way through this World, and the most 'certain to that which is to come:' whereunto is added, that 'Gain is great Godliness;' by Sir Arthur Haslerig.

7. '*Verbum Doloris*: Or, England in Mourning.' Prophetically foretelling the destruction of Protectors, as likewise of the succession of their families; by Richard Cromwell, esq.

8. 'Patience *per* Force; Or, a Medicine for a mad-Dog.' Treating of the infallible virtue of Necessity; by the aforesaid Author.

9. 'The World in Amaze, or, wise Men run mad.' Also is added hereunto, 'an Exhortation, that those who have worn out Religion's Cloke would get new ones, or turn 'the old:' written by Hugh Peters, master of arts.

10. '*Divide & impera*: the Art of Supplanting or Compassing one's Ends;' being a subtle piece, dedicated to the lord Lambert, and written by Peter Talbot, *Soc. Jesú*.

11. 'The Art of Preaching and Praying, with the right Use of Religion.' By that incomparable artist, Sir Henry Vane, knight.

12. '*Pucana de Scoto*: Or, Scots Directory for all such, as Fortune shall hereafter make 'Secretaries of State; shewing their necessity of being conversant in the secrets of 'both Sexes;' most politicly handled, and written by Thomas Scott, secretary.

13. 'Hey-te Tyte: Or, To-morrow Morning, I found an Horse-shoe:' being an excellent discourse concerning government; with some sober and practical expedients, modestly proposed, and written by James Harrington.

14. '*Defamatio Regum:* Or, the History of Ingratitude, *Il Burdachio experto*;' an Italian translation; every thing, and nothing, or the complete complier: by the lord Fines.

15. '*Apuleius in Laudem Asini:* Or, a Panegyrick, in Commendation of his late Highness's singular Virtues, and Valour;' by Pagan Fisher.

16. 'Well-flown Buzzard: Or, a holy Rapture of the Court-Confessor:' wherein he made a new and incredible discovery of his late Highness, since his decease, at the right-hand of God: by Peter Sterry.

17. 'Superstition Demolished; Or, the old Dagon pulled down, and removed from Westminster:' by the Committee of Safety.

18. 'A new Gag for an old Goose: Or, a Reply to James Harrington's Oceana;' by Mr. Wren.

19. '*Asinus ad Lyram:* Or, a new Way of Improving the Gold-finders' Office:' proposed to the Privy-Council, for the ease of the City, by a person of a good report, and one who petitions to be duke of the dunghill, because he has much insight into a business of this nature; the first letters of whose name, is Alderman Atkins.

20. 'The Rebels' Catechism;' translated out of the Scottish Directory, by Colonel Hewson.

21. '*Berecynthius Heros:*' Wherein it is demonstrated, that Mr. Rowe is the fittest orator for his auditors' extended ears, his voice being as low as his rhetorick, and both as lean as his person.

22. 'An Owl in an Ivy-Bush: Or, Gilbert Millington in the Chair: together with the excellent Improvement of scandalous Ministers.'

23. 'A Curry-comb for a Cox-comb: Or, Invisible John discovered;' by Colonel Overton.

These are the gift of Charles lord Fleetwood, for the better encouragement of future benefactors.

A true and plaine Report of the furious Outrages of Fraunce, and the horrible and shamefull Slaughter of Chastillion the Admirall, and divers other noble and excellent Men; and of the wicked and straunge Murther of godlie Persons, committed in many Cities of Fraunce; without any Respect of Sorte, Kinde, Age, or Degree. By Ernest Varamund of Freseland.

Printed at Striveling in Scotland, 1573.[1]

[Octavo; containing one-hundred and forty-three pages.]

YOU must cease to marvel, my good countrymen of Scotland, that I have caused this book (printed in our country of Scotland) to be published altogether in the English phrase and orthography. For the language is well enough known to our countrymen: and the chief cause of my translating it, was for our good neighbours the Englishmen, to whom we are so highly bound, and upon whose good queen, at this present, in policy dependeth the chief stay of God's church in Christendom. I know not what respects have stayed the learned of that land from setting out this history: therefore, supposing the causes to be such as I conceive them, I have been bold to set it forth in their language in our country. And you, good countrymen, that have received so honourable succours from England, and from whence all Christendom hopeth for charitable assistance, must be content to yield, that this is framed to serve their understanding. Ye Englishmen, our good neighbours, friends, brethren, and patrons, I pray you to construe rightly of my labour, that my purpose is not here to offend any amity, nor violate any honour, nor prejudice any truth; but to set before you a story, as I found it, referring the confirmation thereof to truth and proof, as in all historical cases is lawfully used. How many histories written in Latin, Italian, and French, by Jovius, Paradine, Belleforest and others, are printed in Italy, France, and Flanders, and published and freely had and read in your land; although they contain matter expressly to the slander of your state and princes? Matters of that nature are published; the burthen of proving resteth upon the author; the judgment pertaineth to the reader; there is no prejudice to any part, books are extant on both parts. The very treatises of divinity are not all warranted that be printed: you must take it as it is, only for matter of report on the one part, so far to bind credit as it carrieth evidence to furnish your understandings, as other books do, that make rehearsals of the acts and states of princes, commonwealths, and peoples. But, howsoever it be, good Englishmen, thank God that you have such a sovereign, under whom you suffer no such things; and by the noble and sincere aid that your good queen hath given us in Scotland, I pray you gather a comfortable confidence, that, in respect of such honourable charity to his church in Scotland, God will not suffer you at your need to be succourless in England; as by daily miracles in preserving your queen he hath plainly shewed. And the rather ye may trust hereof, if ye be thankful and faithful to God and her, and that ye pray heartily to God, either by mediate operation of your queen's justice, or by his own immediate hand-working, to deliver his church and people from the common peril to both these realms, and to

[1] Vide Oldys's Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library, No. 176. [The same book, translated into Latin, was printed with this title—"De furoribus Gallicis, horrendâ & indignâ Admiralis Castilionei, nobilum atque illustrium virorum cæde sceleratâ, ac inauditâ piorum strage, passim editâ per complures Galliæ civitates, &c. Vera & simplex Narratio, ab Ernesto Varamundo Frisio, Auctore. Edinburgi, anno salutis humanæ 1573." 4to. Brit. Mus. An edition of this was printed at London, in 8vo. the same year.]

the state of all true religion in Christendom. Farewell, and God long preserve both your good and our hopeful sovereign to his glory. *Amen.*

IT were to be wished, that the memory of the fresh slaughters, and of that butcherly murdering, that hath lately been committed, in a manner, in all the towns of France, were utterly put out of the minds of men: for so great dishonour, and so great infamy, hath thereby stained the whole French nation, that the most part of them are now ashamed of their own country, defiled with two most filthy spots, falsehood and cruelty; of the which, whether hath been the greater, it is hard to say. But, forasmuch as there flee every-where abroad pamphlets, written by flatterers of the court, and men corruptly hired for reward, which do most shamefully set out things feigned and falsely imagined, instead of truth; I thought myself bound to do this service to posterity, to put the matter in writing, as it was truly done in deed; being well enabled to have knowledge thereof, both by my own calamity, and by those that, with their own eyes, beheld a great part of the same slaughters.

In the year of our Lord 1561, when there seemed to be some peril of troubles to arise, by reason of the multitude of such as embraced the religion which they call Reformed, (for, before that time, the usual manner of punishing such, as durst profess that religion, was, besides the loss and forfeiture of all their goods to the king's use, to burn their bodies,) at the request of the great lords, there was held an assembly of the estates in the king's house, at St. Germains en Laye, near to the town of Paris; at which assembly, in the presence, and with the royal assent of king Charles the Ninth, who now reigneth, it was decreed, 'That, from thenceforth, it should not be prejudicial to any man to profess the 'said religion; and that it should be lawful for them to have public meetings and preach-'ings, for the exercise thereof; but in the suburbs of towns only.'

At this assembly, Francis duke of Guise, being descended of the house of Lorrain, and at that time grand-master of the king's household, was not present; but, when he was informed of this decree, he boiled with incredible sorrow and anger, and within a few days after, at a little town in Champaigne, called Vassey, while the professors of the said religion were there at a sermon, he, accompanied with a band of soldiers, set upon them, and slew men and women, to the number of two-hundred.

There was among these of the Religion (for so hereafter, according to the usual phrase of the French tongue, we intend to call them) Lewis of Bourbon, of the blood-royal, commonly called Prince of Condé (after the name of a certain town), a man of great power, by reason of his kindred to the king; therefore, when the duke of Guise most vehemently strove against that law, and as much as in him lay, did utterly overthrow it, and troubled the common quiet thereby established, Gaspar de Coligni, admiral of France, and Francis d'Andelot his brother, captain of the infantry, and other princes, noblemen, and gentlemen of the same religion, come daily by heaps to the prince of Condé, to complain of the outrageous boldness, and intemperate violence of the duke of Guise.

At that time, Catharine de Medicis, pope Clement's brother's daughter, and mother of king Charles, born in Florence, a city of Italy, had the governance of the realm in the king's minority: for, though, by the law of France, neither the inheritance, nor the administration of the realm, is granted to women; yet, through the cowardly negligence of Anthony king of Navarre, the said Catharine de Medicis, the king's mother, against the custom of the realm, was joined with him in that office of protectorship. She, fearing the presumption and fierce pride of the Guisians, wrote to the prince of Condé, with her own hand; (which letters are yet remaining, and, at the assembly of the princes of Germany at Francfort, held under Ferdinand the emperor, were produced and openly read about ten years past;) wherein she earnestly besought him, in so great hardness and distress, not to forsake her, but to account both the mother and the children, (that is, both herself and

the king, and the king's brethren,) committed to his faith and natural kindness, and that he should with all speed provide for their common safety: assuring him, that she would so imprint in the king's mind his pains taken in that behalf, that he should never be a loser by it.

Within a few days after, the duke of Guise, well knowing how great authority the name of the king would carry in France, and to the intent that he would not seem to attempt any thing rather of his own head, than by the privity of the king, and having attained fit partners to join with him in these enterprises, he got the king into his power. Which thing being known abroad, and many hard incumbrances thereupon suddenly rising, and a great part of the nobility of France marvellously troubled with it; the prince of Condé, by advice of his friends, thought it best for him to take certain towns, and furnish them with garrisons; which was the beginning of the first civil-war. For the prince of Condé alleged the cause of his taking armour to be the defence of the king's edict, wherein consisted the safety of the commonwealth; and that it could not be repealed without most assured undoing of the nation of France, and destruction of the nobility; by reason of the exceeding great multitude of those that daily joined themselves to that religion; of which number such, as, being of noble birth, were in power, dignity, wealth, and credit above the rest, thought it not meet for them to suffer the punishments and cruelties accustomed to be exercised upon the professors thereof. Besides that, they held them discontented, that the duke of Guise, a new-comer, a stranger translated from the forests of Lorrain into France, did take upon him, in France, so great courage, and so high dominion and power. Thereto was added the queen-mother's singular care (as was reported) for conservation of peace; and repressing the rage of the Guisians. Upon which opinion, it is certain, that above twenty-thousand men, having regard only to the queen's inclination, joined themselves to the side of those of the Religion, and to the defence of their profession; which at that time had besieged the force of the king's power.

After certain battles, and many losses on both parties, and the duke of Guise slain; within a year peace was made, with this condition, 'That they of the Religion should have 'free liberty thereof, and should have assemblies and preachings for the exercise of the 'same in certain places.'

This peace continued in force, but not in all places, during five years: for, in the most towns and jurisdictions, the officers that were affectionate to the Romish side, whom they commonly call Catholicks, did all the displeasure they could to those of the Religion. Therefore, when Ferdinando Alvarez de Toledo, commonly called Duke of Alva, was leading an army not far from the frontiers of France, against those of the Low-Countries, which embraced the Reformed religion: against the will of the king of Spain, the queen-mother caused to be levied, and brought into France, six-thousand Switzers for a defence, as she caused it to be bruited; but (as the success hath proved) for this intent, that the prince of Condé, the admiral, and other noblemen of the Religion, if they escaped the treasons prepared for them, and listed to defend themselves by force and try it by battle, might be suddenly oppressed before they were provided. For the courtiers, which then had the managing of these matters, did not, at that time, well trust the soldiers of France. Many things pertaining to the course of that time, and the renewing of the war, must here, for haste to our present purpose, be necessarily omitted.

When the war had endured about six months, peace was made with the same condition that we have above rehearsed; 'That all men should have free liberty to follow and pro-'fess the Reformed religion.' For this was ever one and the last condition upon all the wars. But within few days or months after, it was plainly understood, that the same peace was full of guile and treason: and, finally, that it was no peace, but most cruel war, cloaked under the name of peace. For, forthwith, all those towns, which they of the Religion had yielded up, were possessed and strengthened with garrisons of soldiers on the contrary side; saving only one town on the sea-coasts in the parts of Xantoigne, com-

monly called Rochelle. For the men of that town, about two-hundred years past, had yielded themselves to the king's power and allegiance, with this condition; 'That they 'should never be constrained, against their will, to receive any garrison-soldiers.'

Also the prince of Condé, and the admiral, were advertised, that there was treason again prepared to intrap them, by Tavaignes, a man given to murther and mischief, who had lately been made marshal of France; and that, if they did not speedily avoid the same, it should shortly come to pass, that they should be deceived and taken by him, and delivered up to the cruelty of their adversaries.

Upon the receipt of these advertisements, they immediately make haste to Rochelle, carrying with them their wives and young children; which was the beginning of the third civil-war, the most sharp and miserable of all the rest.

There was at that time in the court, Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, brother to the duke of Guise, who, as is abovesaid, was slain in the first war; one accounted most subtle and crafty of all the rest, but of a terrible, cruel, and troublesome disposition, so that he was thought intolerable even at Rome itself. This man they of the Reformed religion reported to be the most sharp and hateful enemy of their profession; and him they abhorred above all others, for the cruelty of his nature, and named him the firebrand of all civil flames. He, at the beginning of the third civil-war, persuaded the king to publish an edict, 'That 'no man profess any religion but the Romish or Popish; and that whosoever would em-'brace any other, should be counted as traitors.' In that same edict, printed at Paris, this sentence was expressly contained: and, for the strangeness of the matter, and for that it stained the king's name with the most dishonourable spot of perjury and breach of faith; it was, in other impressions afterwards, omitted. And it was further then declared, that 'albeit the king had, in many edicts before that time, permitted the freedom of religion; 'yet his meaning ever was to retain, and cause to be retained of all men, the only Romish 'or Popish religion within his realm.'

After many overthrows on both parts, given and received; whereas the end of this third war was thought likely to be the harder, by reason of the breach of faith in the years before; and, on the other side, the state of the realm, by reason of the waste that the cities were brought unto, and the extreme poverty of the mean people and husbandmen, did require some treaty of composition; the king sent messengers to the admiral, to signify unto him in the king's name, that the king himself had at length found out a most sure way of peace and concord; namely, 'That the armies of both parts joined together, should go 'into the Low-Countries against the duke of Alva, who had been the author of the late 'calamities in France.' He signified further, 'That he had great causes of quarrel 'against the king of Spain; and this principally, that he had invaded, and held by force; '(suddenly slaying all the soldiers there,) an island of the new-found world, called Florida, 'which had been taken by the French, and kept under his dominion; and likewise the 'marquisdom of Final, the inhabitants whereof had but a little time before yielded them-'selves to the king's subjection and allegiance.' He said, 'that the most steadfast band of 'concord should be that foreign war, and that there could no other better means be de-'vised to drown the memory of the former dissensions, in eternal forgetfulness.' To the performance hereof, he said, 'It was a matter of most apt opportunity, that Lodovick, 'count of Nassau, brother to the prince of Orange, had been now two years in the admi-'ral's camp, to whom the admiral gave principal credit in all things; and that by him 'and his fellows of the Low-Countries, and others whom he understood to favour his 'part; it might be easily brought to pass that certain cities might be surprized, and thereby 'great advantage be attained to the atchieving of the war.'

The admiral, hearing these things, was marvellously troubled. For, albeit he doubted not of the king's fidelity, yet, therewithal, many things fell into his mind to be considered; as the power of the cardinal, and the rest of the Guisians, who were well known to have been at all times most affectionate to the king of Spain. For the duke of Guise had left a son, a very young man, called Henry; to whom the queen had given all the offices and places of houour that his father had borne before, being unfit thereto by age, and against

the ancient laws and customs: and also through the traitorous infidelity of certain of the king's counsellors, whom she knew, for their affection to the popish religion, to be most addicted to the Spanish king; and that divers of them had great yearly pensions of him, and did disclose unto him the affairs of the realm. He remembered how hereby it came to pass, that the same king's ambassador (which, amongst strange nations, seemed utterly incredible,) was admitted into the privy-council of France; and that one Biragio, a Lombard, and (as it is reported) a traitor to his own country, otherwise altogether unlearned, and especially ignorant of the civil-law, was yet, for the subtlety of his wit, advanced to so great honour, that he executed the chancellor's office; Michael Hospitall being displaced, a man known to be such a one, as there was not, in all degrees of men, any either more wise, or more learned, or more zealously loving his country. Herewithal he considered the slanderous cavillations of his adversaries; to whom, hereby, might seem an occasion given, as if the admiral were of a troublesome nature, and could not abide any quietness, nor could long rest at home without some tumultuous stir. Hereupon the messengers replied as they were able, and therewithal alleged this cause of so sudden hatred against the Spanish king, that one Albeny, late returned out of Spain, had informed the king, and the queen-mother, for certainty, that king Philip, a few months before, had poisoned his wife, the French king's sister; and had spread rumours of her throughout all Spain, such as, for the honour of many persons, are not meet to be disclosed. But nothing moved the admiral so much, as the cheerful earnestness of Lodovick of Nassau; who, as soon as he was advertised of that purpose of the king, omitted nothing that he thought might serve to encourage the admiral thereunto.

The admiral, persuaded hereby, nothing fearing the infidelity of those of the court, gave his mind to hearken to composition. And so was the third civil-war ended, and the peace concluded with the same conditions that were before, 'That every man should have 'free liberty to use and profess the Religion.'

Within few months after this, divers princes of Germany, that favoured the Reformed religion, and, amongst those, the three electors (the Palsgrave, the duke of Saxony, and the marquis of Brandenburgh,) sent their ambassadors into France to the king, to congratulate him for the new reconciliation of his subjects. And, because they accounted it greatly to behove themselves, that the same concord should remain stedfast, and of long continuance; they promised, 'That if any would for that cause procure trouble, or make 'war upon him, either within his own dominions, or without; they and their followers 'should be ready to defend him.' To this ambassage, the king first, by words, and afterwards by a book (subscribed with his own hands) answered, and gave his faith, 'That he 'would for ever most sacredly and faithfully observe his edict of pacification.'

Hereby so much the more willingly the admiral suffered himself to be drawn to the said purposes for the Low-Countries; although oftentimes, calling to mind the nature of the queen-mother, he used to say to divers, and especially to Theligny (to whom he afterwards married his daughter), that 'he greatly suspected the rolling wit of that woman. 'For, (said he) so soon as she hath brought us into that preparation against the Low-'Countries, she will leave us in the midst.'

Nevertheless, the count of Nassau writeth to his brother; and they, conferring their advices together, send messengers to the king, 'that if it please him to deal with the 'Low-Countries, they will shortly so do; that he shall, by their many and great services, 'well perceive their affection and devotion towards him.' The king writeth again to them in most loving terms, saying, 'That their message most highly pleased him; and he gave 'to them both his hearty thanks.'

About the same time, Maximilian the emperor, pitying the estate of the prince of Orange (as he said), treated, by his ambassadors, with the king of Spain; and had, in a manner, obtained, that the prince should have all his goods restored unto him; but with this condition, that he should have no house within the territory of the Low-Countries; but settling his residence and dwelling elsewhere, he should freely enjoy all his revenues. Which matter being reported to the French king, he immediately sent messengers to the

prince of Orange; willing him to look for nothing by that dealing of the emperor; saying, 'that it was but a fraud and guileful device, intended for this purpose, only to 'break up his levying of soldiers that he had begun in Germany;' and assuring him, 'that if he would credit and follow him, he would give him aid sufficient to recover his 'estate.'

The prince of Orange, persuaded by these promises of king Charles, continued his musters; and determined a while to bear the charges, though they were heavy to him; while such things, as were necessary for the war, were preparing. In the mean time Lodovick, in disguised apparel, went to Paris to the king: forasmuch as the season of the year, by this time, seemed not commodious to levy an army; for the winter was at hand; by assent they deferred the matter till the next summer.

These things thus hanging, the prince of Orange's captains by sea did oftentimes set upon the Spaniards and Portuguese, and such ships as they took they brought into the haven of Rochelle, which then was in the power of the Prince of Condé's party; and there they openly uttered and sold their prizes to the men of the town, and other merchants of France: whereupon the ambassador of Spain made often complaints to the king's privy-council.

And, forasmuch as they thought it very available to this enterprise, that Elizabeth queen of England, might be brought into league with them, the king committed the dealing in that matter to the admiral. For, a few months before, the king had, with most sweet alluring letters, gotten him to the court, where he was most honourably entertained. And, to take from him all occasion of distrust upon his adversaries, or of otherwise suspecting the king's or queen-mother's affection towards him, first, all the Guisians of a set purpose departed the court. Then the king gave the admiral free liberty to take with him what company, and with what furniture he would: and because it was thought that he had more confidence in the marshal Cosse, than in the rest; therefore the king commanded the said marshal to be ever at hand with the admiral, and to assist him in the king's name, if any need were. The matter of the league with England the admiral so diligently and industriously handled, that within short space after by ambassadors sent, and by faith given and received, and oaths solemnly taken on both parts, it was confirmed.

Concerning the procurement of other leagues and amities, such as might seem to further the enterprise of the Low-Countries, the admiral also travelled in the king's name, and by his commandment; and had, in a manner, brought all these things to an end. And, of all those leagues, the first and principal condition was, 'That the liberty of religion 'should continue; and that the king should most diligently and sincerely observe this 'edict of pacification.'

Though these things seemed to be handled secretly, yet by the letters both of Biragio the vice-chancellor, (of whom we made mention before,) and of Morvilliers, whom, for his hypocritical leanness, children commonly called 'the Chimera or Bug of the Court,' and by advertisements of cardinal De Pelve, a man most fit either to invent or execute any treason; they were carried to the bishop of Rome, who, by advice of his cardinals, sent by one of their number, called Alexandrine, in the midst of a most sharp winter, into France, with these instructions: 'To persuade the king to enter into the society of the 'league of Trent; whereof the first and principal article was, that the confederates should 'join their powers, and make war upon the Turks and hereticks;' meaning, by the name of hereticks, all those princes that did permit the use of the Reformed religion within their dominions.

The cardinal Alexandrine was honourably received in the court, but yet dismissed without atchieving his purpose: for so was it bruited among the people, and commonly believed throughout France, albeit he himself secretly seemed to return very merry and cheerful to the pope; and, as it is reported, did sometimes say, 'that he received such an-'swer of the king as was needful not to be published; and that the king and queen-'mother had largely satisfied him.'

Forasmuch as it was thought a matter greatly availing to the enterprise of the Low-

Countries, to send certain ships into the English seas, that if any aid should be sent into the Low-Countries to the duke of Alva out of Spain, it might so be stopped: Strozzi, and the baron De la Guarde, were appointed for that purpose; to whom the king gave in commandment 'to rig forth certain ships of Bourdeaux and Rochelle, well armed and well 'appointed, and to provide with all speed all things needful for those ships.' The ambassador of Spain, somewhat moved with this preparation, made divers complaints to the king's council on the behalf of the king his master; and yet never received any other answer, but 'that the king thought it not likely; and that he would send commissioners to 'Bourdeaux and to Rochelle, with letters and commandment that there should be no pre-'paration made to the sea; and, if any had been made, it should be enquired of.' What instructions were secretly and closely underhand given to these two captains of that navy, we do not certainly know: but this no man can doubt of, but that they had commission to distress all such ships wherein any Spanish soldiers should be transported into the Low-Countries; and that all this preparation to the sea was ordained against the Spanish king and the duke of Alva.

And, moreover, that the admiral, at the same time, received commandment from the king, to send spies into Peru, an island of the New-found World, most plentiful of gold above all others; (now being in the Spaniards' dominion,) to learn if there were any good enterprise to be attempted or atchieved for the getting of it. Which matter was committed to a certain gentleman, one of the admiral's train, who went thither, accompanied with a certain Portuguese; a man most skilful in those navigations, whom the admiral had joined with him by the king's commandment, and is not yet returned.

Now it cannot be expressed, how many, and how great tokens of most loving mind, the king at that time shewed to the admiral, and to the count Rochefoucault, and to Theligny, and to the rest of the chief noblemen of the Religion. First, all such things as in the former wars had been taken away in the towns, ferms, and castles of the admiral, and D'Andelot, the king caused to be sought out and restored. If there were any other whom the king understood to be beloved and esteemed of the admiral, or to have attained any special honour in the said late wars, those he liberally benefited and rewarded. To the admiral himself, he commanded one day to be given a hundred-thousand pounds of his own treasure, in recompence of his former losses. When his brother, the cardinal Castillion, (endowed with many great and wealthy benefices,) departed this life, the king gave him the fruits of one whole year. Also the king wrote to Philibert duke of Savoy, 'That he should do him a most acceptable pleasure, if he did not only deal more 'gently with those that in the former wars had aided those of the Religion; but also 'would use clemency and mildness towards all others that professed the same religion 'within his dominions.'

And for that there was old enmity between the Guisians and the admiral, whereby it was to be doubted, that perilous contentions would arise in the realm of France; the king willed it to be signified to them both in his name, that they should, for his sake, and the commonwealth's, give over those displeasures; and he prescribed them a certain form of reconciliation and agreement, the same whereof the foundations had been laid almost six years before in the town of Molins; where the king calling to him the greatest estates of his realm, after consultation and deliberation had upon the matter, pronounced the admiral not guilty of the death of the duke of Guise; wherewith he was charged by the young duke of Guise, and his kinsmen. And so the king, by the advice of his council, had ended that controversy.

Furthermore, the cardinal of Lorrain, who (as we have said) was the very forger of all the former wars, to take away all jealousy of new practices, was departed to Rome; and took with him his familiar friend, the late created cardinal Pelvey, one reputed a most subtle and crafty person; under pretence of going to the election of a new pope, in place of the old pope, then lately deceased.

But there was no greater and more assured token of public peace and quietness than this, that the king purposed to give his sister Margaret in marriage to prince Henry, the

son of the queen of Navarre; which prince had in the last war defended the cause of the Religion, and been sovereign of their army. Which marriage the king declared, that it should be the most strait bond of civil concord, and the most assured testimony of his good-will to those of the Religion. Yea, and also, because it was alleged that the said prince Henry was restrained in conscience, so as he might not marry the lady Margaret, (being of a contrary religion; a Catholick, and given to the rites of the Romish church,) the king for answer said, 'That he would discharge her of the pope's laws:' and notwithstanding the crying out of all his courtiers to the contrary, he permitted him, that, without all ceremonies, in the porch of the great church of Paris, the marriage should be celebrated in such a form, as the ministers of the Reformed church misliked not.

Which thing being by report and letters spread through the world, it cannot be expressed how much it made the hearts of those of the Religion assured, and out of care, and how it cast out all fear and jealousy out of their minds; what a confidence it brought them of the king's good-will toward them: finally, how much it rejoiced foreign princes and states, that favoured the same religion. But the admiral's mind was much more established, by a letter, which about the same time Theligny brought him, with the king's own hand and seal, wherein was contained, 'That whatsoever the admiral should do for 'the matter of the intended war of the Low-Countries, the king would allow and ratify 'the same, as done by his own commandment.' About that time, Lodovick of Nassau, with the queen of Navarre, a lady most zealously affected to the Religion, came to the French court. The league was made between king Charles and the prince of Orange; and the articles thereof put in writing. The marriage was appointed to be held in the town of Paris. For which cause, the queen of Navarre, during those few days, repaired thither, to provide things for the solemnity of the wedding. For the same cause, the king sent to the admiral one Cavaignes, a man of an excellent sharp wit, whom, for the admiral's sake, the king had advanced to great honour; requiring the admiral to go before to Paris, as well for the said preparation, as also for the matter of the war of the Low-Countries; promising, that he himself would, within few days, follow after him; assuring him, 'that 'there was now no cause to fear the threatenings and mad outrages of the Parisians.' For, inasmuch as the same town is above all others given to superstitions, and is with seditious preachings of monks and friars daily inflamed to cruelty; it is hard to express how bitterly they hated the admiral, and the professors of that religion. Whereto was added a grief of their mind, conceived certain days before, by reason of a certain stone cross, gilt, and built after the manner of a spire-steeple, (commonly called Gastigne's Cross,) which the admiral, with great earnest suit, obtained of the king to be overthrown. For he alleged, that, being erected in the midst of the rage of the civil-war, as it were, in triumph to the reproach of one of the Religion; it was a monument of civil dissension, and so a matter offensive to peace and concord.

The king, well knowing this deadly hate of the Parisians to the admiral, wrote his letters to Marcell, the provost of the merchants (which is the highest dignity in Paris), with sharp threatenings, if there should be raised any stir or trouble, by reason of the admiral's coming. To the same effect, also, the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, and the queen-mother, wrote to the same Marcell, and the rest of the magistrates of Paris; so that now there seemed utterly no occasion left for the admiral to fear or distrust. And within few days after, the king sent Briquemault, a man of great virtue and estimation, to the admiral, with the same instructions, saying, 'That the matter of the Low-Countries 'could not well be dealed in, without his presence.'

The admiral, persuaded by these many means, and filled with good hope and courage, determined to go to Paris; where, so soon as he was arrived, and had been honourably and lovingly entertained of the king and his brethren, and the queen-mother, and consultation entered among them, about the preparation for the Low-Countries; he declared to the king at large, how the duke of Alva was levying of great power, and preparing an army; and that, if the king should dissemble his purpose, it would come to

pass, that many thereby would shew themselves slower and slacker to the enterprise; and that now were offered great means to do good, which if he let slip, he should not so easily recover the like again hereafter; and, therefore, it was best to take the advantage of this opportunity.

A few days before, Lodovick of Nassau went secretly into the frontiers of the Low-Countries, and took with him, as partners of his journey, and privy to his council, three Frenchmen of great credit with the admiral, namely, Savcourt, La Nove, and Genlis; to whom the king had given in charge, to see if they could by any means attempt and possess any towns bordering upon his realm. They, gathering divers other gentlemen into their company, went speedily into the Low-Countries, the admiral not knowing of it; who, as soon he understood of their going thither, wrote unto them, that he much marvelled what they meaned; saying, 'That he well knew there could be no 'power gotten ready before forty-days end, and that they should be well advised to 'do nothing rashly, nor to overthrow with haste their devices, that seemed not ripe to 'be executed.'

The count of Nassau, inflamed with the sight and desire of his country, and fearing the mutableness of the king, did first, at the sudden, set upon Valenciennes; but, being repulsed by the Spanish soldiers that were in garrison in the castle, he hastily departed to Mons, and took the town; being a place very strong by nature, and well furnished with all things necessary for the war. Which thing being by report and messengers spread abroad in the Low-Countries, and carried into France and Germany, both encouraged all them of the Religion with great hope, and also seemed to have now plainly and openly decyphered and disclosed the mind of the French king. Moreover, Genlis returning to Paris, when he had made report to the king of all the matter as it had proceeded, easily obtained of him, that, by his assent, he might levy certain bands of footmen and horsemen of France, and carry them to succour Mons. But, by the way, when he was entered into the bounds of the Low-Countries, having with him to the number of four-thousand footmen, and about four-hundred horsemen, they were beset by the duke of Alva, and the most part of them distressed: which thing was well known to have been wrought by the means of the Guisians, which, by daily messages and letters, advertised the duke of Alva of their purposes and preparation. Which falsehood of theirs many, most affectionate to the Romish religion, were highly offended with; because a great number, addicted to the same Romish religion, were in that company.

With this loss, and with the rescue of the town of Valenciennes, the king seemed to be much troubled; for he feared, lest his counsels, being disclosed to the Spanish king, would, at length, breed some cause of quarrel and war. Howbeit, when he began to remember, that a great part of his secrets were already revealed to the duke of Alva, he oftentimes resolved to utter his mind plainly, and to make open war. But he was withdrawn from that purpose by certain men, which the admiral had long before conceived, that they would so do. Howbeit, he gave the admiral liberty to send whatsoever he thought meet, to further the prince of Orange's enterprise, and as great supply, either of footmen, or of horsemen, as he could, to the army which the prince of Orange had levied in Germany. When the admiral, for that cause, had made request, that he might levy thirty troops of horsemen, and as many ensigns of footmen, he easily obtained it.

For the entertainment of these footmen, it behoved to have money; wherefore, at the request of the admiral, the king called for his treasurer, and commanded him to deliver to the admiral so much money, as the admiral should think meet; and charged him, that he should not in any wise, after the usual manner of the account of finances, write the causes of the receipt, but only set it down, in this form: 'This sum of money was paid 'to the admiral such a day, by the king's commandment, for certain causes, which the 'king hath commanded not to be written.' And to this warrant the king subscribed with his own hand.

Also the king wrote to Monducet, his ambassador in the Low-Countries, to travel as

earnestly as he could, for their deliverance, that were taken at the overthrow of Genlis; which commandment, it is said, that Monducet did most faithfully and diligently execute.

Not long before this, Joan, queen of Navarre above-mentioned, died in the court, at Paris, of a sudden sickness, being about the age of forty and three years; where, as the suspicion was great, that she died of poison, her body was, for that cause, opened by the physicians, there were no tokens of poison espied. But, shortly after, by the detection of one A. P. it hath been found, that she was poisoned with a venomed smell of a pair of perfumed gloves; dressed by one Renat, the king's apothecary, an Italian, that hath a shop at Paris, upon Saint Michael's bridge, near unto the palace; which could not be espied by the physicians, who did not open the head, nor look into the brain. It is well known, that the same man, about certain years past, for the same intent, gave to Lewis, prince of Conti, a poisoned pomander, which the prince left with one Le Grosse, his surgeon: Le Grosse, delighted with the same, was by little and little poisoned therewith; and so swelled, that he hardly escaped with his life.

By her death, the kingdom came to the prince Henry her son; to whom, as is above-said, the king's sister was promised and contracted.

Things being, as it seemed, throughout all France, in most peaceable estate, and the concord of all degrees well established, the day was appointed for the marriage of the king of Navarre; which day all they, that fancied the Religion, esteemed so much the more joyful to them, because they saw the king wonderfully bent thereunto; and all good men judged the same a most assured pledge and establishment of civil-concord: whereas, on the contrary part, the Guisians, and other enemies of common quietness, greatly abhorred the same marriage.

When the day came, the marriage was, with royal pomp, solemnized before the great church at Paris; and a certain form of words (so framed, as disagreed with the Religion of neither side,) was, by the king's commandment, pronounced by the cardinal of Bourbon, the king of Navarre's uncle: and so the matrimony celebrated with great joy of the king, and all good men; the bride was, with great train and pomp, led into the church, to hear mass, and in the mean time the bridegroom, who misliked the ceremonies, (together with Henry prince of Condé, son of Lewis, and the admiral, and other noblemen of the same religion,) walked without the church-door; waiting for the bride's return.

While these things were doing at Paris, Strozzi, who (as we have said) had the charge of the king's power at sea, hovering upon the coast of Rochelle, did now and then send of his captains and soldiers into the town, under colour of buying things necessary; and sometimes he came thither also himself. The like was done at the same time, in another part of France, by the horsemen of Gonzague, duke of Nivers, near to the town of La Charitè, which hath a bridge over the river of Loyre; and remained, till that time, in the power of those of the Religion, by reason of the great number of them there inhabiting. This troop was of those horsemen, which the king hath accustomed to keep in ordinary wages, in every country, whereof the most part were Italians, countrymen to their captain, Lewis Gonzague, to whom the queen-mother had given the daughter and heir of the duke of Nivers in marriage. They requested of the townsmen, that they might make their musters within the town, saying, 'That they had received warrant from the king so to do;' and shewed the king's letters therefore. At Lyons, the governor of the town commanded a view to be taken of all those, that professed the Religion; and their names to be written in a book, and brought unto him; which book shortly after, according to the success, was called, 'The bloody Book.'

After the marriage, ended at Paris, which was the time, that the admiral had appointed to return to his own house; he moved the king, concerning his departure. But so great was the preparation of plays; so great was the magnificence of banquets and shows; and the king so earnestly bent to those matters, that he had no leisure, not only for weighty affairs, but also, not so much as to take his natural sleep. For, in the French court,

dancings, maskings, and stage-plays (wherein the king exceedingly delighteth) are commonly used in the night-time: and so the time, that is fittest for counsel and matters of governance, is, by reason of nightly riotous sitting up, of necessity consumed in sleep. So great also is the familiarity of men and women of the queen-mother's train, and so great the liberty of sporting, entertainment, and talking together, as to foreign nations may seem incredible; and be thought, of all honest persons, a matter not very convenient for preservation of noble young ladies chastity. Moreover, if there come any pander or bawd out of Italy, or any schoolmaster of shameful and filthy lust, he winneth, in a short time, marvellous favour and credit. And such a multitude is there begun to be of Italians, commonly throughout all France, especially in the court, since the administration of the realm was committed to the queen-mother, that many do commonly call it 'France Italian;' and some term it 'a colony,' and some, 'a common sink of Italy.'

These madnesses of the court were the cause, that the admiral could not have access to the king's speech, nor entrance to deal in weighty matters. But when they that were sent from the Reformed churches, to complain of injuries commonly done to those of the Religion, understood of the admiral's purpose to depart; they did, with all speed, deliver to him their books and petitions, and besought him, not to depart from the court, till he had dealed in the cause of the churches, and delivered their petitions to the king, and his council. For this cause, the admiral resolved to defer his going for a while, till he might treat with the king's council, concerning those requests: for the king had promised him, that he would shortly inquire into those matters, and be present with the council himself.

Besides this delay, there was another matter that stayed him. There were owing to the Rutters of Germany, which had served on the part of the Religion in the last war, great sums of money, for their wages; in which matter the admiral travailed with incredible earnestness and care.

Concerning all these affairs, the admiral, as he determined before, having access and opportunity for that purpose, moved the king's privy-council, the twenty-second day of August, (which was the fifth day after the king of Navarre's marriage,) and spent much time in that treaty. About noon, when he was returning home from the council, with a great company of noblemen and gentlemen, behold a harquebuzier, out of a window of a house, near adjoining, shot the admiral, with two bullets of lead, through both the arms. When the admiral felt himself wounded, nothing at all amazed, but with the same countenance that he was accustomed, he said, "Through yonder window it was done. Go, see who are in the house. What manner of treachery is this?" Then, he sent a certain gentleman of his company to the king, to declare it unto him. The king at that time was playing at tennis, with the duke of Guise. As soon as he heard of the admiral's hurt, he was marvellously moved, as it seemed, and threw away his racket, that he played with, on the ground; and, taking with him his brother-in-law, the king of Navarre, he retired into his castle.

The gentlemen that were with the admiral broke into the house, from whence he received his hurt: there they found only one woman, the keeper of the house, and shortly after, also a boy, his lacquey that had done the deed; and, therewithal, they found the harquebuz lying upon the table, in that chamber, from whence the noise was heard. Him that shot they found not; for he, in great haste, was run away out at the back-gate, and getting on horse-back, which he had waiting for him, ready saddled at the door: he rode a great pace to Saint Anthony's Gate, where he had a fresh horse tarrying for him, if need were; and another at Marcelles Gate. Then, by the king's commandment, a great number rode out in post into all parts, to pursue him; but, for that he was slipped into by-ways, and received into a certain castle, they could not overtake him.

At the suit of the king of Navarre, and prince of Condé and others, the king by-and-by gave commission for inquiry to be made of the matter, and committed the examining thereof to three chosen persons of the parliament of Paris; Thuan, Morsant, and Viol, a counsellor.

First, it was found that the same house belonged to a priest, a canon of Saint Germain,

whose name is Villemure, which had been the duke of Guise's school-master, in his youth, and still continued a retainer towards him. Then the woman (which we said was found in the house) being taken and brought before them, confessed that, a few days before, there came to her one Challey (sometime a master d'hostel of the duke of Guise's house, and now of the king's court,) and commanded her to make much of the man that had done this deed, and to lodge him in the same bed and chamber where Villemure was wont to lie; for that he was his friend and very familiar acquaintance, and that Villemure would be very glad of it. The name of him that shot was very diligently kept secret. Some say it was Manrevet, who in the third civil-war traitorously slew his captain monsieur De Moovy (a most valiant and noble gentleman), and straightway fled into the enemies' camp. Some say it was Bondot, one of the archers of the king's guard. When the woman's confession was brought to the king, he immediately called monsieur De Nance, captain of his guard, and commanded him to apprehend Challey, and bring him to him. Challey, as soon as he heard the stroke of the piece, fled into the king's castle called the Louvre, and hid him in the duke of Guise's chamber; from whence he conveyed himself away as soon as he had heard of the king's commandment. When De Nance was informed of his departure, he answered that Challey was a gentleman of good worship, and there was no doubt, but, when need were, he would appear before the king and the magistrates.

While these things were doing, and the admiral's wound dressing, Theligny went by his commandment to the king, and most humbly besought him in the name of his father-in-law, that his majesty would vouchsafe to come unto him; for that his life seemed to be in peril, and that he had certain things to say, greatly importing to the king's safety, which he well knew that none in this realm durst declare to his majesty. The king courteously answered, that he would willingly go to him; and within a little while after he set forward. The queen-mother went with him, and the duke of Anjou; the duke of Monpensier, a most affectionate subject to the church of Rome; the count De Rhetz, the queen-mother's great familiar; Chavigny and Entragny, which afterwards were chief ringleaders in the butchery of Paris.

When the king had lovingly saluted the admiral as he was wont to do, and had gently asked him some questions concerning his hurt and the state of his health, and the admiral had answered with such a mild and quiet countenance, that all they that were present wondered at his temperance and patience; the king being much moved, as it seemed, said, "The hurt, my admiral, is done to thee, but the dishonour to me. But, by the death of God (saith he) I swear I will so severely revenge both the hurt and the dishonour, that it shall never be forgotten." He asked him also how he liked of the judges that he had chosen; to whom he had given commission for examining the matter. The admiral answered, that he could not but very well like of those that his majesty had allowed of; yet he besought him, if he thought it good, that Cavagnès might be called to counsel with them. "Albeit, that it was no hard matter to find out, for it was no doubt (said he) that this good turn was done him by the duke of Guise, the revenge whereof he referred to God. This only he most heartily and humbly besought of his royal majesty, that the fact might duly be inquired into." The king answered, "that he would take earnest care of it; and revenge that injury with no less severity than if it had been done to himself." Then, the king's brethren and their mother withdrawing themselves a while, the admiral (as it was afterwards known by his own report) began to advise the king to have in memory those things that he had often told him, of the dangerous intentions of certain persons. And he told him, that though he himself had received a great wound, yet there was no less hanging over the king's head: and that long ago there was treason practising against his life, which, if he would do wisely, he should avoid betimes. Further he said, that though as soon as God should take him to himself out of this life, he doubted not but that his fame should be brought into sundry slanders by envious persons, and such as sought him ill-will by reason of the late wars; nevertheless, he had oftentimes disclosed unto the king the authors of the dissensions, and opened the causes thereof; and that God

was his witness of his most faithful heart to the king and the common-wealth, and that he had never holden any thing dearer than his country and the public safety.

The king, after such answer made hereunto as he thought best, spoke aloud, and heartily entreated the admiral to suffer himself to be removed into his castle of the Louvre; for that he thought some peril, lest there should arise some sedition among the commons already in disorder, or any stir in that mad and troublesome city. Whereto this speech of the king tended could not then be understood. For, though the commonalty of Paris had ever been accounted the most foolish and mad of all others, yet it is ever most easily appeased, not only with the coming and presence of the king, but also with the very sound of his name. The admiral most humbly and largely thanked the king, and made his excuse upon the counsel of the physicians, who feared that shaking would increase his pain, and therefore had taken order that he should not be stirred out of his place. Then the count De Rhetz, turning to certain gentlemen of the admiral's friends, said, "I wish the admiral would follow the king's counsel; for it is to be feared that some such stir may arise in the town, as the king shall not easily be able to appease." Which speech being uttered, although no man did yet suspect whereto that advice tended, yet the admiral and his friends thought it good to request of the king to assign unto him certain of the soldiers of the guard for his safety. The king answered, "That he very well liked of that device, and that he was fully determined to provide as well for the admiral's safety as for his own, and that he would preserve the admiral as the ball of his eye, and that he had in admiration the constancy and fortitude of the man, and that he never before that time believed that there could be so great valiantness or courage in any mortal person."

Therewith, the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, commanded Cossin, captain of the king's guard, to place a certain band of soldiers to ward before the admiral's gate. There could hardly a man be found more hateful to the admiral's party, nor more affected to the Guisians, than this Cossin; which the success plainly proved, as hereafter shall appear. The duke of Anjou further added, that he thought it should be good for the admiral, if more of his friends and familiars, that lodged in the suburbs, did draw nearer about him: and forthwith he commanded the king's harbingers to warn those, to whom they had before assigned lodgings in that street, to remove from thence, and to place the admiral's friends in their rooms: which counsel was such, as none could possibly be devised more fit for those things that followed. For those, who might have by flight escaped out of the suburbs, were now held fast enough; being inclosed not only within the walls of the town, but also within the compass of one narrow street. The next day after the undermasters of the streets, commonly called Quartermen, surveyed all the victualling-houses and inns from house to house; and all the names of those of the Religion, together with the place of every of their lodgings, they put in books; and with speed delivered over the same books to those of whom they had received that commandment.

After noon, the queen-mother led out the king, the duke of Anjou, Gonzague, Tavaignes, and the count De Rhetz (called Gondin) into her gardens called Tegliers. This place, because it was somewhat far from resort, she thought most fit for this their last consultation. There she shewed them, how those whom they had long been in wait for, were now sure in hold, and the admiral lay in his bed maimed of both his arms and could not stir; the king of Navarre and prince of Condé were fast lodged in the castle; the gates were kept shut all night, and watches placed, so as they were so snared that they could no way escape; and, the captains thus taken, it was not to be feared that any of the Religion would from thenceforth stir any more. "Now was a notable opportunity (said she) offered to dispatch the matter. For all the chief captains were fast closed up in Paris, and the rest in other towns were all unarmed and unprepared; and that there were scarcely to be found ten enemies to a thousand Catholicks: that the Parisians were in armour, and were able to make threescore-thousand chosen fighting-men, and that, within the space of one hour, all the enemies may be slain, and the whole name and race

of those wicked men be utterly rooted out. On the other side, (saith she,) if the king do not take the advantage of the fitness of this time; it is no doubt, but that, if the admiral recover his health, all France will shortly be on fire with the fourth civil-war."

The queen's opinion was allowed. Howbeit it was thought best, partly for his age, and partly for his affinity's sake, that the king of Navarre's life should be saved. As for the prince of Condé, it was doubted, whether it were best to spare him for his age, or to put him to death for hatred of his father's name. But herein the opinion of Gonzague took place, that he should, with fear of death and torment, be drawn from the Religion. So that council broke up, with appointment that the matter should be put in execution the next night early before day, and that the ordering and doing of all should be committed to the duke of Guise.

The admiral, being informed of a stir and noise of armour, the threatenings heard every where throughout the town, and preparation of many things pertaining to tumult, sent word thereof to the king: who answered, that there was no cause for the admiral to fear, for all was done by his commandment, and not every where, but in certain places; and that there were certain appointed by him to be in armour, lest the people should rise and make any stir in the town.

When the duke of Guise thought all things ready enough, he called to him the above-said Marcell, and charged him that he should a little after midnight assemble together the masters of the streets, whom they call Diziners, into the town-house; for he had certain strange and special matters in charge from the king, which his pleasure was to have declared unto them.

They all assembled at the time. Carron, the new provost of merchants, guarded with certain Guisians, and amongst the rest Entragne and Puygallart, made the declaration. He said that the king's meaning was to destroy all the rebels which had in these late years borne arms against his majesty, and to root out the race of those wicked men: it was now very fitly happened that the chieftains and ringleaders of them were fast inclosed within the walls of the town, as in a prison; and that the same night they should first begin with them; and afterwards for the rest, as soon as possible might be, throughout all parts of the realm, the king would take order: and the token, to set upon them, should be given, not with a trumpet, but with a tocksein, or ringing of the great bell of the palace, which they knew to be accustomed only in great cases: and the mark, for them to be known from others, should be a white linen cloth hanged about their left arm, and a white cross pinned upon their caps.

In the mean time, the duke of Guise made privy thereunto the captains of the king's guard, both Gascoigns, Frenchmen, and Switzers, and bade them to be ready to go to it with good courage. Shortly after, the duke of Guise and the bastard son of king Henry (commonly called the Chevalier), with a great band of armed men following them, went to the admiral's house, which Cossin kept besieged with harquebuziers, placed in order on both sides of the street.

The admiral, advertised of the stir and the noise of the armour, although he had scarcely ten persons in his house able to bear harness, and in his chamber only two surgeons, one preacher, and one or two servitors, yet could not be made afraid; trusting, as he often rehearsed, to the king's good-will towards him, approved by so many and so great means of assurance; having also confidence that the commonalty of Paris, if they once understood the king to mislike of their mad fury, how much soever they were in outrage, yet, so soon as they saw Cossin warding the gate, they would be appeased. He repeated also the oath for keeping of the peace, so often openly sworn by the king and his brethren and their mother, and entered in public records: the league lately made with the queen of England for the same cause, the articles of treaty covenanted with the prince of Orange, the king's faith given to the princes of Germany, some towns attempted and some taken in the Low-Countries by the king's commandment; the marriage of the king's sister solemnized but six days before, which it was not like that he would suffer to be defiled with blood; finally, the judgment of foreign nations and of posterity, shame

and the honour and constancy of a prince, public faith, and the sacred respect of the law of nations; by all which it seemed monstrous and incredible that the king could assent to be stained with so outrageous and cruel a deed.

Cossin, when he saw the noblemen draw near, knocked at the gate, which, as is above said, he was commanded by the duke of Anjou to keep. Whereupon many applied the old proverb, 'A goodly guard to make the wolf keeper of the sheep.' When he was entered without any manner of difficulty, he carried in with him a great company of armed men, and after those followed the great lords. Such as Cossin found at the entry of, and within the porch of the house, he slew with a partizan that he had in his hand: which when the admiral understood, he caused those that were about him to lift him out of his bed, and, casting on a night-gown upon him, he rose upright on his feet; he bade his friends and servants to flee and make shift for themselves, and to take no more care for him; for he said that he was most ready, with most willing heart, to render into the hands of God, now calling for it again, the spirit that he had lent him to use for a time: and said that this violent cruelty was prepared, not so much for his destruction, as for the dishonouring of Christ, and the tormenting of so many churches; the defence of which churches he had, at the petition of all godly men, with his many dangers and calamities sustained.

In the mean time there came up the stairs, into the higher part of the house, one Benuese a German, brought up in the house of the duke of Guise; and to whom it is said, that the cardinal of Lorrain had given one of his bastard-daughters in marriage: and with him came Cossin the Gascoign; Attin a Picard, a retainer and familiar of the duke D'Aumale, one that a few years before sought to murder D'Andelot by treason; and also one Hanfort an Avernois; all weaponed with swords and targets, and armed with shirts of mail.

When they were broken into the admiral's chamber, Benuese came to him, and bending his drawn sword upon him, said, "Art not thou the admiral?" He, with a quiet and constant countenance (as we have since understood by themselves) answered, "I am so called." And then, seeing the sword drawn upon him, he said, "Young man, consider my age and the weak case that I am now in." But the fellow, after blaspheming God, first thrust his sword into the admiral's breast, and then also struck him upon the head; and Attin shot him through the breast with a pistol. When the admiral was with this wound not yet thoroughly dead, Benuese gave him the third wound upon the thigh, and so he fell down for dead. When the duke of Guise, who stayed in the court with the other noblemen, heard this, he cried out aloud, "Hast thou done, Benuese?" He answered, "I have done." Then said the duke of Guise, "Our Chevalier (meaning king Henry's bastard abovesaid), unless he see it with his eyes, will not believe it. Throw him down at the window." Then Benuese, with the help of his fellows, took up the admiral's body, and threw it down through the window. When, by reason of the wound in his head, and his face covered with blood, they could not well discern him, the duke of Guise kneeled down on the ground, and wiped him with a napkin, and said, "Now I know him, it is he." And, therewithal going out at the gate with the rest of the lords, he cried out to the multitude in armour, saying: "My companions, we have had a good lucky beginning. Now let us go forward to the rest, for it is the king's commandment." Which words he did often repeat aloud, saying, "Thus the king commandeth: this is the king's will; this is his pleasure." And then he commanded the token to be given, by ringing tocksein with the great bell of the palace, an alarm to be raised; and he caused it to be published, that the conspirators were in armour and about to kill the king. Then a certain Italian of Gonzague's band, cut off the admiral's head, and sent it preserved with spices to Rome to the pope, and the cardinal of Lorrain. Others cut off his hands, and others his secret-parts. Then the common labourers and rascals, three days together, dragged the dead body thus mangled and bewrayed with blood and filth, through the streets; and afterwards drew it out of the town to the common gallows, and hanged it up with a rope by the feet.

In the mean time, those of the noblemen's bands broke into all the chambers of the admiral's house; and such as they found, either in their beds, or hidden, they mangled them with many wounds, and so slaughtered them. Of that number were two young children, pages, of honourable birth. There was also the count Rochefoucault, who, for the excellent pleasantness of his wit, and for his valiantness, was highly beloved of king Henry, and so seemed, for the same cause also, to be beloved of the king. Him was De Nance, abovesaid, commanded to kill; but, he refusing it, for their old acquaintance and familiarity, one Laberge, an Avernois, offered himself to the king to do it; but with this condition, that the king should give him the captainship of horsemen, which count Rochefoucault had. There was also slain Theligny, the admiral's son-in-law, a young man of singular towardness, both of wit and courage; to whom the king, these many years, had, in words and countenance, made show of so great goodwill, as that no man was thought to be more highly in his favour. He crying out, that it was more grievous to him to live, for that he had ever commended to his father-in-law the faithfulness of the king; refused not the death offered him. And many other most flourishing young noblemen and gentlemen were every where butcherly murdered in that street. Then the noblemen's bands, and Cossin's soldiers, went ransacking from house to house: and the admiral's house, and all the other houses, were all sacked and spoiled, even in like manner as is used to be done by soldiers greedy of prey in a town taken by assault; and many, by this robbery, were, of beggars, suddenly become rich men. For the duke of Guise, the duke of Monpensier, the Chevalier, king Henry's bastard, Gonzague, Tavaignes, and the other great lords, did, with reward of the spoil and booty, encourage the multitude to the slaughter; and cried out aloud, "That this was the king's will." So all the rest of the day, from morning to evening, the rascal multitude, encouraged by spoil and robbery, ran with their bloody swords raging throughout all the town; they spared not the aged, nor women, nor the very babes. In joy and triumph they threw the slain bodies out at the windows; so that there was not, in a manner, any one street or lane, that seemed not strewed with murdered carcasses.

While these things were thus a-doing in the town, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, whom the king had lodged in his own castle of the Louvre, were, by the king's commandment, sent for, and conveyed unto him. But their company, their servitors of their chambers, their friends retaining to them, their schoolmasters, and those that had the bringing up of them, crying out aloud to the king's fidelity for succour, were thrust out of the chambers, and, by the king's guard of Switzers, hewed in pieces, and slaughtered in the king's own sight. But of that number of persons slain, no man's case was so much lamented of many, as monsieur De Pilles, in whom it is hard to express, whether there were more godly zeal in religion, or prowess in war. Whereby, having in the late years, especially by the defence of the town of Saint John d'Angeli, which the king then besieged, gotten great honour of chivalry, he was thought very well beloved, and highly esteemed of the king. Him and Leranne, the son of Odou, by the French king's commandment (which was not then understood whereto it tended), the king of Navarre had stayed in a wardrobe adjoining to his chamber, and caused them to lodge there all night. A little before day, hearing of the running of men, and noise of armour, and cries, and killings, they rose in haste; and immediately De Nance, whom we have before spoken of, came to them, and commanded them, in the king's name, to come down into the court, and to leave their weapons behind them, and lastly, to depart out of the castle. When De Pilles saw himself thrust out amongst the multitude of the murdering soldiers, and beheld the bodies of them that were slain, he cried out with a very loud voice that the king might well hear him, protesting against the king's fidelity, and detesting his traitorous infidelity; and therewith he took off a rich cloke which he wore, and gave it to one of his acquaintance, saying, "Take here this token of Pilles, and hereafter remember Pilles most unworthily and shamefully slain." "Oh! my good monsieur De Pilles, (said the other,) I am none of them; I thank you for your cloke, but I will not receive it with that condition:" and so refused to take the cloke; and immediately De Pilles was thrust

through by one of the guard with a partizan, and died. And this end had this most valiant and noble gentleman. And then his body was thrown into the quarry with the rest; which when they that passed by did behold, the soldiers cried out, "There they be that made assault upon us, and would have killed the king." Leranne, being thrust through with a sword, escaped and ran into the queen of Navarre's chamber; and was, by her, kept and preserved from the violence of those that pursued him. Shortly after, she obtained his pardon of her brother, and, committing him to her own physicians, restored him both to life and health.

While these things were doing at Paris, Strozzi, who, as we have afore said, was come with all his power to Rochelle, sent a great number of his soldiers into the town, under colour of a banquet to be made to his friends in the castle called La Cheine; but, by reason of the jealousy and watches of the townsmen, by whom he saw his treason was espied, he went away without his purpose. But they of La Charitè, (which, as we have before shewed, were trapped by the Italian horsemen,) taking less heed to the safe-keeping of their town, were, a little before night, surprized; and, within few days after, put to the sword.

The next day following, where any that had hidden themselves in corners of Paris, could be found out, the slaughter was renewed; also common labourers and porters, and others of the merest rascals of the people and desperate villains, to have the spoil of their clothes, stripped the dead bodies stark-naked, and threw them into the river of Seine. The profit of all the robberies and spoils came all, for the most part, to the hands of these labourers and the soldiers; and, to the king's treasure, came very little or nothing. The only gain, that came to him, was that which might be made of the vacations, as they term them, of offices, and of places of magistrates, captains, and other rooms of charge, whereof yet he gave a great part freely away to divers of the court. For the admiral's office he gave to the marquis De Villars; the chancellorship of Navarre, after the murder of Francourt, he, by-and-by, gave to Henry Memne de Malassise, who had been the truchman and messenger in the treaty of the last peace; the office of the master of the finances, after the slaughter of Prunes, he gave to Villequier; the office of president des Aides, when Plateau was slain, he gave to De Nully; the other offices he sold, as his manner is, to such as gave ready money for them. For it hath been the custom now lately of certain kings of France (such as amongst foreign nations hath not been heard of) to put to sale all the profits, rights, and benefits of the crown, and to keep an open market for money of all judicial offices, and of all the rooms belonging to his treasure and finances, according to a rate or price set upon every one of them: and there is not, in a manner, one in all France, that doth not openly justify, that he bought his office for ready money; and that no man ought to marvel, if he desire to fill up the empty hole of his stock again. And therefore justice is, through all France, usually bought for money; and, though there be never so many murders committed, yet is there no process awarded to inquire thereof, till present coin be paid to the rakehells and scribes.

This butcherly slaughter of Paris thus performed, and four-hundred houses, as is abovesaid, sacked; immediately messengers were sent in post into all the parts of the realm, with often shifting their horses for haste, to command all other cities, in the king's name, to follow the example of Paris, and to cause to be killed as many as they had amongst them of the Reformed religion.

These commandments it is wonderful to tell how readily and cheerfully the greatest part of the cities of France did obey and execute: but the king, fearing (as it was likely) the dishonour of false treachery and perjury, sent letters to the governors of his provinces; and also special messengers into England, Germany, and Switzerland; to declare, in his name, that there was a great commotion and seditious stir happened at Paris, which he was very sorry for; that the duke of Guise had raised the people, and with armed men made assault upon the band that was assigned to the admiral for his guard; and had broken into the house, and slain the admiral, and all his company and household servants; and that the king had hardly kept safe from those dangers his own castle of the

Louvre, where he kept himself close with his mother and his brethren: the true copy of which letters is hereafter inserted. But the same 'most mighty,' and, by the consent of all nations, commonly called the 'most Christian king,' within two days after, came into the parliament; accompanied with a great train of his brethren and other princes. The council being assembled, he, sitting on his throne, began to speak unto them. He declared, 'that he was certified, that the admiral, with certain of his accomplices, had conspired 'his death; and had intended the like purpose against his brethren, the queen his 'mother, and the king of Navarre; and that, for this cause, he had commanded his 'friends to slay the said admiral and all his confederates, and so to prevent the treason 'of his enemies.'

This his testification and declaration the king commanded to be written and entered in the records of parliament, and that it should be proclaimed by the heralds, and published by printers. And he willed a book to be set forth to this effect; That the slaughter of the admiral, and his adherents, was done by the king's commandment, (for so was his majesty's express pleasure,) because they had conspired to kill him and his brethren, and the queen his mother, and the king of Navarre; and further, that the king did forbid, that from thenceforth, there should be any more assemblies holden, or preachings used of the Religion.

After the king's oration ended, Christopher Thuane, president of that parliament, (a man very notable for his light brain and his cruel heart,) did, with very large words, congratulate the king, that he had now, with guile and subtlety, overcome these his enemies, whom he could never vanquish by arms and battle; saying, that therein the king had most fully verified the old saying of Lewis the Eleventh, his progenitor, king of France, who was wont to say, that he knew never a Latin sentence, but this one: *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare;* 'He, that cannot skill to dissemble, cannot skill to be a king.' But Pibrace, the advocate of the finances, made a short oration, the sum whereof was to this effect: That although the king had just and great cause to be displeased, yet he thought it more agreeable with his majesty's clemency and goodness to make an end of the slaughters and common spoil, and not to suffer such outrages to be any longer committed, without judicial proceeding in the cause; and besought his majesty, that from thenceforth it would please him to use the law, which is well known to be the only establishment of kingdoms and empires; and that there had been already given to the commonalty too perilous an example to follow.

An arrest of parliament, with the king's royal assent, being made to that effect; there were immediately heralds and trumpeters sent round about all the town, and an edict proclaimed, in the king's name, That from thenceforth, the slaughters and common butcherly murdering should cease, and that all persons should abstain from pillage and robbery.

This being known, there were divers speeches used of this matter throughout the town, and especially of learned men; the most part said, that they had read many histories, but in the memory of all ages, they never heard of any such thing as this. They compared this case with the horrible doings of king Mithridates; who with one messenger, and with the advertisement of one letter, caused an hundred and fifty thousand Romans to be slain. Some compared it with the doing of Peter of Arragon, who slew eight-thousand Frenchmen in Sicily; which isle they had surprized in his absence. But yet this difference appeared between those cases and this, that those kings had exercised their cruelty upon foreigners and strangers, but this king had done his outrage upon his own subjects; being yielded not so much to his power, as to his faith and credit. Those kings were bound by no promise, but such as was given to strangers themselves; this king was, with a new-made league, bound to the kings and princes his neighbours, to keep the peace that he had sworn. Those kings used no guileful means, unworthy of the majesty of a king, to deceive; this king, for a bait of allurement, abused the marriage of his own sister, and, in a manner, besprinkled her wedding-robe with blood; which dishonour and indignity no posterity of all ages can forget. Some, again, discoursed, that though this

cruel advice seemed to many courtiers to have been profitable, yet not only the honour of a king, but also the estimation and good fame of the whole nation was against that show of profit. They alleged, how Aristides did openly, in the audience of all the people, reject the counsel of Themistocles, concerning the burning of the Lacedemonians' navy; although it must needs have followed, that the power of the Lacedemonians, their enemies, should thereby have been utterly weakened. Furius Camillus received not the children of the chief lords of the Phalisci, betrayed to him by their schoolmaster; but stripped him naked, and delivered him to be whipped home with rods by the same children. Pausanias hath left it reported, that the posterity of Philip of Macedonia fell into most great calamities for this cause; that he was wont to set light by the reverend conscience of an oath, and his faith given in leagues. Some cited the law of the Twelve Tables: *Si patronus clienti fraudem facit, sacer esto;* 'If the patron or sovereign defraud his client or 'vassal, be he out of protection.' They disputed also, that like faith as the vassal oweth to his lord, the lord oweth also to his vassal; and for what causes, and for what felonies, the vassal loseth his tenancy, for the same causes and felonies, the lord loseth his seigniory. Some said, that the right-hand, in ancient time, was called the pledge of the faith of a king; and that this if a king shall despise, there is no communion of right with him, and he is no more to be accounted a king, neither of his own subjects, nor of strangers. Kingly virtues, in times past, have been reported to be these; justice, gentleness, and clemency: but cruelty and outrage have ever been dispraised, both in all persons, and especially in princes. Scipio hath in all ages been praised, who was wont to say, That he had rather save one citizen, than kill a thousand enemies; which sentence Antoninus the emperor (sirnamed Pius, the Kind, or Virtuous) did often repeat. It was a most shameful by-word of young Tiberius to be called Clay tempered with Blood. They said also, that kings have power of life and death over their subjects, but not without hearing the cause, and judicial proceeding; that there cannot be alleged a greater authority, than the Dictators had at Rome, in whom was the sovereign power of peace and war, of life and death, and without appeal; yet was it not lawful for them to execute a citizen, his cause unheard. Only thieves and murderers take away men's lives without order of law, and hearing their cause. Who can doubt, said they, but that this so great an outrage, and so great shedding of Christian blood, is the fruit of the cursed life of the courtiers? For, said they, now, throughout all France, whoredom and loose lewdness of life are so free and usual, that the most part of the women of France seem to be in a manner common; and the wicked blasphemies, and continual execrations and dishonourings of God's most holy Name and Majesty are such, as God cannot longer bear. And true it is, though incredible among foreign nations, that the Catholicks of France have prescribed themselves this for a special mark to be known from other men, That, at every third word, they blasphemously swear by the head, death, blood, and belly of God: and wonderful it is, that the king himself is so much delighted in this custom of swearing and blaspheming; and this, as it were a pestilent infection, is spread abroad and common among the very ploughmen and peasants; so that none among them now speaketh three words, without most filthy blaspheming, and horrible execration of God. Who can longer bear the vile uncharities, the bawds, and ruffians of the court? Finally, Very nature itself doth now, as it were, expostulate with God for his so long sufferance and forbearing; and the very earth can no longer bear these monsters.

Now as touching the admiral's supposed conspiracy; who can think it likely, that he should enterprize any such thing within the walls of Paris? For, in the court, there is continually watching and warding a garrison of the king's: and, at the entry of his castle, the guards of Gascoigns, Scots, and Switzers, are continually attending; and the king himself, both always before, and especially at that time, by reason of his sister's marriage, had a great train of princes, great lords, noblemen and gentlemen about him. Moreover, it was well known, that in Paris, within three hours' space, might be assembled, and put in armour, threescore-thousand chosen armed men, especially against the admiral; whom no man is ignorant that the Parisians most deadly hated. Besides that, the

noble young men that came thither with the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, by reason of the marriage, and brought with them their wives, their sisters, and their kinswomen; thought, at that time, upon nothing but triumph and exercises of pastime, and gay furniture of apparel and ornaments. Finally, at which of these two times can it be likely that the admiral attempted this conspiracy? Was it before he was hurt? Why? At that time he found the king his most loving, or, at least, his most liberal and bountiful good lord; neither could he hope ever to have a more favourable sovereign in France. Was it then after he was hurt; as though, forsooth, he, lying sore of two so great wounds, aged, maimed of both arms, (the one whereof the physicians consulted whether it were to be cut off,) accompanied with three-hundred young men, would set upon threescore-thousand armed men; or in so small a time could lay the plot for so great, and so long, and so heinous a fact; for he lived scarce forty hours after his hurt, in which time he was enjoined by the physicians to forbear talk? Again, if he had been detected of any such crime; was he not committed to Cossin, and to his keeping; and so environed (all the ways beset about him), and so in the king's power, that if it had pleased the king, he might at all times, in a moment, be carried to prison? Why was not orderly inquiry, and judicial proceeding used, according to the custom, and laws, and general right of nations; and witnesses produced, according to the form of law? But be it, that the admiral, and a few others of his confederates and followers, had conspired; why yet proceeded the outrageous cruelty upon the rest that were innocent; why upon ancient matrons, why upon noble ladies, and young gentlewomen, and virgins that came thither for the honour of the wedding? Why were so many women great with child, against the laws of all nations and of nature, before their delivery, thrown into the river? Why were so many aged persons, many that lay sick in their beds, many gown-men, many counsellors, advocates, proctors, physicians, many singularly learned professors and teachers of good arts; and, among the rest, Petrus Ramus, that renowned man throughout the world; many young students, executed without hearing, without pleading their cause, without sentence of condemnation? Moreover, if the admiral had slain the three brethren; who doubteth, but that all countries, all cities, all parliaments, finally, all sorts and degrees of men would have speedily taken armour; and easily have destroyed all of the Religion, having them inclosed within their towns, and having just cause to render to all foreign nations for their common slaughters, and killing of them? As to that which toucheth the king of Navarre; what can be imagined more absurd and unlikely? Had not the admiral him four years in his power? Did not he profess the same religion that the admiral did? Which of those of the Religion, which of them, I say (as Cassius was wont to reason) should have gained, or received profit, by the killing of the king of Navarre? Did not the Catholicks hate him? And the admiral could not hope to have any man more friendly to him, nor by any other man's means to have revenge of his injury. Lastly; In their houses that were slain, what armour, what weapons were found, by which conjectures judges use to be led to trace out a fact? These matters wise men, throughout the town of Paris, commonly muttered.

But now to return to our purpose.—At such time as the king's prohibition abovesaid was proclaimed at Paris; not only in other towns, as at Orleans, Angiers, Viarod, Troyes, and Auxerre, the like butcheries and slaughters were used, but also in the town of Paris itself. In the very jails, that are ordained for the keeping of prisoners, if any had escaped the cruelty of the day before, they were now tumultuously slain by the raging and outraging multitude: in which number were three gentlemen of great reputation; captain Monins, a man very famous in martial prowess; Lomen, the king's secretary, a man of great estimation for his long service in the court; and Chappes, a lawyer, near fourscore years old, a man of great renown in the court of Paris. And, because we have made mention of Angiers, we think it good not to omit the case of Masson de Rivers. This man was a pastor of the church, and esteemed a singular man, both in virtuousness of life, and in excellence of wit and learning; and was the first that had laid the foundation of the church at Paris. As soon as the slaughter was begun at Paris, Monsorel (a

most cruel enemy of the Religion) was sent to Angiers in post, to prevent all others, that might carry tidings of the murdering. As soon as he came into the town, he caused himself to be brought to Masson's house: there he met Masson's wife in the entry, and gently saluted her; and, after the manner of France, especially of the court, he kissed her, and asked her, where her husband was? She answered, that he was walking in the garden: and by-and-by she brought Monsorel to her husband, who gently embraced Masson, and said unto him, "Canst thou tell why I am come hither? It is to kill thee, by the king's commandment, at this very instant time; for so hath the king commanded, as thou mayest perceive by these letters:" and therewith he shewed his dag ready charged. Masson answered, "That he was not guilty of any crime: howbeit, this one thing only he besought him, to give him space to call to the mercy of God, and to commend his spirit into God's hand." Which prayer as soon as he had ended in a few words, he meekly received the death offered by the other, and was shot through with a pellet, and died.

Now to return to Paris.—The admiral's body being hanged up by the heels upon the common gallows of Paris, (as is aforesaid,) the Parisians went thither by heaps to see it; and the queen-mother, to feed her eyes with that spectacle, had a mind also to go thither; and she carried with her the king, and both her other sons: but, the next night following, the body was conveyed away, and, as it is thought, buried. About that time, whereas many of the court secretly muttered, that the king should, by this fact, incur dishonour, not only among foreign nations, but also with all posterity in time to come for ever, Morvillier, (of whom we have made mention before,) one that is accounted the principal lewd practiser and wicked sycophant of all France, and the first author and chief means of bringing the jesuits into France, came to the queen-mother, and told her, that it was best, that some of those, that were lately taken fleeing and hiding themselves, should, for form's sake, be brought to open judgment; and, after the accustomed manner, should be inquired into; that they might be condemned by the sentence of certain judges picked out for that purpose, and so openly executed in the sight of the people. There were called to council, hereupon, Birage, Limege, Thuane, and Belleure. They not only allowed Morvillier's opinion, but also gave advice, that a man of hay, made in figure of the admiral (for his body, as we have said, could not be found,) should be dragged by the boureau through the streets, his arms and ensigns of honour broken, his memory condemned, his castles and farms razed, his children pronounced infamous, ignoble, and detestable, and all the trees in his woods to be hewn down, to the height of six feet. There was, among those that were apprehended, one Cavaignes, master of requests to the king; and Briquemault, of whom we have before spoken. This Briquemault had spent his time in service in the old wars in the time of king Francis and king Henry; and was, for the war, accounted a man of great experience among the best now living, and was near about threescore and ten years old. As soon as they were carried into prison, there were presented unto them all the tormentor and the hangman, and they were threatened with torture and tearing their bodies in pieces, unless they would presently subscribe with their own hand, That they were of council with the admiral to kill the king and his brethren, and the queen-mother, and the king of Navarre. They all cried out, "That they were ready to suffer death most willingly, forasmuch as the king's pleasure was it should be so; but so great torture they could not bear, and therefore humbly besought his royal goodness and clemency to pardon them that torment; and yet, trusting unto the mercy of God, they hoped, that they should suffer exceeding great pains, rather than stain themselves with so great shame, or confess an untrue crime against themselves." They, that were first assigned their judges, hearing their cries and defences, and fearing the judgment of the world, said plainly, that they would not draw upon themselves most assured infamy for condemning them; therefore there were new judges appointed in their places. To them were adjoined such a tormentor and notary, as were thought fittest for the purpose; and so Briquemault and Cavaignes were quickly condemned by a shadowed form of law, and led to the gibbet, standing in the principal street of the town, and in sight of many

thousands of men gazing at them. To this spectacle the queen-mother led the king, and her other sons, and her son-in-law, the king of Navarre.

It was thought commodious, for playing of this last act, that Briquemault should, in hearing of all the people, ask pardon of the king; and, for that purpose, there were some suborned to put him in mind, that, if he would, he might easily purchase his life, for the king was by nature full of clemency and mercy; and, if he would ask pardon of his majesty, with confessing his offence, he should easily obtain it. He answered, with a valiant and bold courage, that it was not his part but the king's, to ask pardon of God for this fault; and that he would never crave forgiveness of that offence whereof he well knew himself, and had God to witness, that he was clear and innocent: nevertheless, he besought God to forgive the king this fault. So were these two excellent and famous men, with halters fastened about their necks, thrown by the hangman from the ladder and hanged; and therewithal also the man of straw, made in figure of the admiral, was tied fast and hanged with them, after a preposterous order of law, whereby the admiral was first slain, and then condemned.

But whereas, in a manner, in all towns, there were great slaughters committed, yet was there none more horrible nor more outrageous than the butcherly murder at Lyons. So soon as the letters from the court were brought to Mandelot, governor of the town; first by a cryer and trumpet he caused to be proclaimed, that all the professors of the Religion should appear presently before him at his house. They, without any delay, repaired to him. As soon as they were come, he commanded them all to suffer themselves to be led to prison by such officers as should be assigned them. They obeyed his word, and followed the officers that led them. By reason of the great multitude, they sorted them into sundry prisons. Then Mandelot willed the common executioner to be commanded in his name, to take some to help him, and to kill those that were in prison. The executioner answered, "That he used not to execute the law upon any but such as were condemned, and in public and open places; and therefore willed him to seek another slaughter-man, if he would." Mandelot, thus refused by the executioner, commanded the garrison-soldiers of the castle to do it. The soldiers answered, "That it was against their honour, to use weapons upon men bound, and lying suppliant before them. If they had raised any rebellion, or had offended or provoked them, they said they would most readily have fought with them." Being thus refused by them also; at last he committed the matter to the watermen, and butchers. These fellows, being let into the prisons, went to it with chopping-knives and butchers-axes. Such as they found prostrate at their feet, piteously holding up their hands to Heaven, crying upon the mercy of God and men; they did, for sport, cut off their fingers and the tops of their hands; and throughout the whole town was heard such a cry, and lamentable howling of women and children, that innumerable people, even such as were zealously given to the popish religion, did detest that cruelty; and judged, that not men, but outrageous savage beasts, in the shape of men, were entered into the prisons. It is well known, that a great number of honest women in the town, great with child, were so frighted with the horror of it, that they were delivered before their time. And out of the court of the gaol, called the archbishop's prison, the blood was seen in the broad day-light (to the great abhorring and fear of many that beheld it) run warm and smoaking into the next streets of the town, and so down into the river Seine. There was, in that same archbishop's prison, an aged man called Francis Collut, a merchant of caps, and two young men his sons, whom he had ever caused diligently to be taught and instructed in religion. When he saw the butchers come towards him with their axes, he began to exhort his children not to refuse the death offered by God: "For (said he) it is the perpetual destiny of religion, and that often such sacrifices do happen in Christian churches; and Christians in all ages have ever been, and for ever to the world's end so shall be, as sheep among wolves, doves among hawks, and sacrifices among priests." Then the old father embraced his two young sons, and lying flat on the ground with them, crying aloud upon the mercy of God, was, with many wounds, both he and

his sons, slaughtered by those butchers: and long time afterwards their three bodies had, knit together, yielded a piteous spectacle to many that beheld them.

In the mean time Mandelot, in jest and scorn, as it seemed, caused to be proclaimed by the cryer, that no man should commit any slaughter in the town; and that, if any would detect the doers of any such slaughter, he would give him a hundred crowns in reward for his information; and from that time they ceased not to kill, to rob, and to spoil. The next day after, which was the first day of September, the greatest part of the dead bodies were thrown into the river Seine; and the rest of them Mandelot, to feed and glut his eyes and heart with blood, caused to be carried by boat to the other side of the water, and there to be thrown down upon the green grass, near unto the abbey called Esne. There the people of Lyons, especially the Italians, of whom, by reason of the mart, there is great store in the town, satisfied their eyes awhile; and did such spights as they could to these heaps of carcases, and so exercised their cruelty not upon the living only, but also upon the dead. And there happened one thing, which, for the abominable cruelty, is not to be omitted: there came to that spectacle certain apothecaries, and among those bodies they perceived some very fat ones; whereupon they went to the butchers, and told them, that they did use to make certain special medicines of man's grease, and that they might make some profit thereof; which as soon as the butchers understood, they ran to the heaps, and chose out the fattest, and lanced them with their knives, and pulled out the fat, and sold it for money to the apothecaries.

While these things were doing at Lyons, the king being informed, that divers of the Religion had left their wives and children, and were fled out of the other towns, and lurked some in the woods, and some among their friends; such as took pity on them, he practised with fair words, to allure and call them home again. He sent to every part messengers and letters, affirming, "That he was highly displeased with those slaughters, and horrible butcheries, and that he would that such cruelty should be severely punished; and if the admiral, with a few of his confederates, had entered into any secret practice, it was no reason, that so many innocents should bear the punishment due to a few." Many, sweetly beguiled with these words of the king, and with the letters of the governors, retired home again to their dwellings and houses; especially they of Roan, Dieppe, and Tholouse.

There were scarcely two days past, when they were again commanded to prison, where they were all shut up. Then were murderers a-new appointed of the most base and rascally of the people, to torment them with all kinds of torture, and then to slay them. And throughout the whole realm of France, for thirty days together, there was no end of killing, slaying, and robbing; so that, at this day, there are about a hundred-thousand little babes, widows and children, that were well born, that are now fatherless and motherless; live wandering, and in beggary. About this time, the king caused to be proclaimed, that such as had any office or place of charge, unless they would speedily return to the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish church, should give over those their temporal rooms. There was no town, nor any so small a village or hamlet, wherein all the professors of the Religion were not compelled either to go to mass, or presently to take the sword into their bosoms; and, in many places, it happened that such as, being amazed with the suddenness of the matter, had abjured their religion, yet, notwithstanding, were afterwards slain.

And while these things were still doing, yet the king, in the mean while, sent abroad his letters and messages into all parts, and caused to be proclaimed with trumpet, that his pleasure was, that the edicts of pacification should be observed; and, although they could not have freedom to use and exercise their religion in open places, yet they should have liberty permitted them to retain and profess it within their own houses, and that no man should meddle with, or disturb the goods and possessions of those of the Religion.

And the same king, who, but few days before, had, by letters directed to all the gover-

nors of his provinces, signified, that his cousin, the admiral, was slain by the duke of Guise, to his great sorrow, and that himself was in great danger; the same king, I say, now caused it, with sound of trumpet, to be proclaimed, that the traitorous and wicked admiral was slain by his will and commandment. He, that, a few days before, had, by new authority, confirmed the liberty of religion permitted by his edicts of pacification; the same king did now not only take, from the professors thereof, their offices and honours, but also prescribed them, in a precise form of words, a form of abjuring and detesting their religion. Which things lest any man should doubt of, we shall hereafter set down the very true copies of the said letters, edicts, and abjuration.

The King's Letters to the Governors of Burgundy; whereby he chargeth those of the House of Guise, for the Murder committed upon the Admiral's Person, and for the Sedition which happened at Paris; and commandeth, that the Edict of Pacification should be kept and retained.

COUSIN; You have perceived what I wrote unto you yesterday, concerning my cousin the admiral's wounding, and how ready I was to do my endeavour to search out the truth of the deed, and to punish it, wherein nothing was left undone or forgotten. But it happened since, that they of the house of Guise and other lords and gentlemen, their adherents, (whereof there is no small number in this city,) when they certainly knew, that the admiral's friends would proceed to the revenge of his hurt, and because they were suspected to have been the authors thereof, were so stirred up this last night, that a great and lamentable sedition arose thereon; insomuch that the guard by me appointed for his defence, about his house, was set upon, and he himself, with certain of his gentlemen slain, and havock of others made in divers places of the city; which was handled with such a rage, that I could not use the remedy that I would, but had much ado to employ my guards, and other defence, for the safety of myself and my brethren, within the castle of Louvre; to give order hereafter for the appeasing of this sedition, which is, at this hour, well appeased, thanks be to God! And it came to pass, by a particular and private quarrel, of long time fostered betwixt those two houses; whereof, when I foresaw, that there would succeed some mischievous purpose, I did what I could possibly, to appease it, as all men know. And yet, hereby, the edict of pacification is not broken, which I will to be kept as straitly as ever it was; as I have given to understand in all places, throughout my realm. And, because it is greatly to be feared, that such an execution might stir up my subjects, one against another, and cause great murders through the cities of my realm, whereby I should be greatly grieved, I pray you cause to be published and understood in all places of your government, that every person abide and continue in the safeguard of his own house, and to take no weapons in hand, nor one to hurt another, upon pain of death; commanding them to keep and diligently to observe our edict of pacification. And, to make the offenders and resisters, and such as would disobey and break our will, to be punished; you shall assemble out of hand as great force as you can, as well of your friends as of them that be appointed by me and of others; advertising the captains of castles and cities in your government, to take heed to the safeguard and preservation of the said places, so that no fault ensue on their behalf; advertising me also, as soon as you can, what order you have given herein, and how all things have passed within the circuit of your government. Hereupon, I pray God to keep you, Cousin, in his holy safeguard. At Paris, the twenty-fourth of August. Signed CHARLES, and underneath, *Brulard.*

Another Letter from the King to the Lord of Prie, his Lieutenant-General in Touraine; upon the same Matter that the former Letter was.

Monsieur de Prie,

YOU have understood how my cousin the admiral was hurt the last day, and in what readiness I was to do as much, as in me lay, for the trial of the fact, and to cause so great and speedy justice to be done, as should be an example throughout all my realm, wherein nothing was omitted. Since it is so happened, that my cousins of the house of Guise, and other lords and gentlemen, their adherents, (which are no small party in this town,) as all men know, having gotten certain intelligence, that the friends of my said cousin, the admiral, intended to pursue and execute upon them the revenge of this hurt; for that they had them in suspicion to be the cause and occasion thereof, have made such a stir this night past, that among them on both parts, hath been raised a great and lamentable tumult; the guard that was set about the lord-admiral's house was distressed, himself slain in his house, with divers other gentlemen; as also great slaughter hath been made of others in sundry places and quarters of this town; which hath been done with such fury, that it was impossible for me to give such remedy as was to be wished; I having enough to do to employ my guard and other forces, to keep myself in safety, in the castle of Louvre; to the end to give order for the appeasing of the whole uproar, which, at this hour, (thanks be to God!) is well quenched, for that the same happened by the particular quarrel that hath of long time been between those two houses: whereof always having some doubt, that some unhappy effect would ensue, I have (as is well known to all men) before this time done all that I could to appease it, nothing in the last fact tending to the breach of my edict of pacification; which contrariwise I will in all things to be maintained, as at any time heretofore; as I do give it to understand throughout my realm. And, forasmuch as it is greatly to be feared, that this may stir up and cause my subjects to rise one against another, and to commit great slaughters in the towns of my realm, whereof I would be marvellously sorry; I pray you, that, immediately upon the receipt thereof, you cause to be published and done to understand in all places of your charge, that every man, as well in town as in country, remain in rest and surety in his house; and do not take arms one against another, on pain of death. And that, more diligently than at any time heretofore, you cause the last edict of pacification to be kept, and carefully maintained and observed. To the intent abovesaid, and to punish such as shall do the contrary, and to distress all such as shall rise and disobey our pleasure; ye shall immediately assemble all the strength that you are able, as well of your friends being of our allowance as others, advertising the governors and captains of towns and castles within your charge, that they take good heed to the surety and safe-keeping of their places, in such sort as there ensueth no default; informing me with speed of such order as you shall take therein, and how all things shall proceed within the compass of your authority. I have here with me my brother, the king of Navarre, and my cousin the prince of Condé, to take such chance as myself. I pray the Creator, Monsieur de Prie, to hold you in his holy safeguard. From Paris, this twenty-fourth of August. Thus signed, CHARLES, and underneath, *Pinart.*

These letters are all of one argument as the former, and written all in one form, and all one day, to Monsieur de Prie, lieutenant of Touraine.

The King's Letters to the Officers of Bourges, upon the same Matter that the former were.

OUR loving and faithful; we doubt not but by this time you know of the sedition, which, to our great grief, happened in Paris, a few days since, wherein my cousin, the admiral, and certain others of his side were slain, and a great murder committed upon divers, in

many places of this city. And, lest the news thereof should change the quiet estate, wherein Bourges hath hitherto been maintained since the edict of pacification, if remedy were not foreseen; it is the cause that we writ this letter presently unto you, whereby we command and expressly ordain, that every one of you, according to his charge, do see that no commotion or insurrection be against the inhabitants of the said city, nor that no murder be committed; as it is to be feared, by those which pretend to break the edict of pacification, and thereby would execute a revenge of their long and private grudge, to our incredible vexation and anguish of mind. For this cause it is your part to give to understand and publish throughout that city of ours, and other places pertaining to it, that every one should quietly and peaceably keep their houses, without taking weapons in hand, and offending one another, upon pain of death; and well and diligently to keep our edict of pacification. And if any go about to contradict this our intent and mind, to cause them to be punished, and rigorously chastised by penalties imposed on such offenders in our ordinances, having a watchful and diligent eye to the safeguard of that our city; in such sort, that no inconvenience arise in your service towards us, as you would have us to know, that you are our loyal and obedient subjects. Given at Paris, the twenty-seventh day of August, 1572. Thus signed, CHARLES, and below, *De Neufville.*

A Letter of the Treasurer of the Leagues of the Switzers, written by the King's Commandment unto the said Leagues; of the same Argument that the former Letters were.

NOBLE Seignors; Monsieur de la Fontaine, ambassador for the king, your assured and perfect friend and confederate, and I, his treasurer in this country, having commandment of his majesty to communicate with you, as with them whom he accounteth his chief and sure friends, of a chance which lately happened in the city of Paris, his own person and court then being there; whereof he received so much more grief and displeasure, because it befel on such a time as he least feared, or looked for such a thing. The matter is this: On the twenty-seventh day of August last, the admiral, as he went from Louvre, was, with an harquebuz-shot, hurt in the hand and arm; whereof when his majesty was advertised, he commanded forthwith, that search and punishment were had of the offender, and the authors of such a mischief; whereinto, when he had readily laid his hand by his officers, and committed the inhabitants of the house, where the harquebuz was shot, to prison; they which were the cause first of the mischief, (as it may easily be presupposed) because they would prevent the inquisition thereof, heaping one transgression upon another, on the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of the said month, assembled a great troop of people in the night, and moved the people of Paris to a very great sedition; who, in a rage, set upon the admiral's lodging, and, forcing the guard which his majesty had set for the admiral's surety and keeping, slew him, with other certain gentlemen in his company, as the like also was committed upon others in the city; the matter growing, in the very same instant, to such an outrage and commotion, that whereas his majesty had thought to provide remedy for appeasing thereof, he had much ado, with all his guards, to keep his house at Louvre, where he lodged with the two queens, his mother and the spouse, the lords, his brethren, the king of Navarre, and other princes.

Think therefore, ye noble seignors, in what a perplexity this young and courageous king now standeth, who (as a man may say) hath held in his hands thorns, instead of a sceptre, ever since his coming to the crown, for the great troubles which have almost ever since been in his realm; and therefore, by the good and wise counsel and assistance of the queen his mother, and the lords his brethren, thought to enjoy and establish a more sure repose in his realm, and a more happy government for himself and his subjects, after he had taken away (as he thought) all occasions of dissensions amongst his subjects; by the means of his edicts of pacification, and of the marriage of the king of Navarre, to the lady his sister, and the prince of Condé to madam De Nevers. Besides all this, to the intent

nothing should be left undone that might serve for the quieting of all things, and especially for the admiral's safeguard, his majesty, as every man knoweth, hath done his endeavour to the uttermost, to appease and reconcile his principal and most dangerous enemies unto him. And so God (the true Judge of the king's majesty's good and pure intent) brought to pass, that the people's rage being quieted within a few hours, every one went home to his house; and the king had special regard to nothing more than to see nothing attempted or innovated contrary to his edicts of pacification, and the repose of his subjects, as well of the one religion as of the other. And for that purpose hath sent to divers of his governors and officers in his provinces, to look diligently to the observing of his edicts, with express commandment to hold their hands there; that every one might perceive that the chance at Paris happened for some private quarrel, and not for any purpose to alter his edicts, which his majesty will in no respect suffer: which is the principal thing, noble seignors, that his majesty hath demanded us, on his part, to assure you; and to let you understand the dangers that depend over him and his neighbours, not so much for this sedition, (for he trusteth in God, that it shall grow no further, and his majesty will keep his realm in as good repose at it hath been since his last edict of pacification,) but for the great mustering and assembling men of war in many places, especially in the Low-Countries, where it is yet uncertain on which side God will give the victory, nor whither the conqueror will employ his force after his conquest. Wherefore his majesty prayeth you, (continuing the good love and intelligence which hath always been between the crown of France and his allied and confederate friends, the seignors of the leagues,) to have good regard to him and his realm, in case that need shall require, as he will have to you and your prosperous estate, if it be requisite; employing, in the mean while, your great and singular wisdom to the preservation of the union of the nation in league, which is the only cause to make you not only able to send succour to your friends, but also maintain yourselves in estimation, that you may be a terror to your neighbours, how great soever they be; his majesty promising you, in all occurrences, as much friendship, favour, and assistance, as you can desire, and to be as entire and perfect a friend as ever your nation had.

A Declaration of the King, concerning the Occasion of the Admiral's Death, and his Adherents and Accomplices, happened in the City of Paris, the Twenty-fourth of August, 1572.—Printed at Paris, by John Dallier, stationer, dwelling upon St. Michael's Bridge, at the sign of the White Rose; by the king's licence.

By the KING.

HIS majesty desiring to have all seignors, gentlemen, and other his subjects, understand the cause of the murder of the admiral, and his adherents and accomplices, which lately happened in this city of Paris, the twenty-fourth day of this present month of August; lest the said deed should be otherwise disguised and reported than it was in deed. His majesty therefore declareth, that which was done was by his express command, and for no cause of religion, nor breaking his edicts of pacification, which he always intended, and still mindeth and intendeth to observe and keep; yea, it was rather done to withstand and prevent a most detestable and cursed conspiracy begun by the said admiral, the chief captain thereof, and his said adherents and accomplices, against the king's person, his estate, the queen his mother, and the princes, his brethren, the king of Navarre, and other lords about him. Wherefore, his majesty, by this declaration and ordinance, giveth to understand to all gentlemen, and others of the religion which they pretend *reformed*, that he mindeth and purposeth that they shall live under his protection, with their wives and children in their houses, in as much safeguard as they did before; following the benefit of the former edicts of pacification, most expressly commanding and ordaining, that all governors and

lieutenants-general, in every of his countries and provinces, and other justices and officers to whom it appertaineth, do not attempt, nor suffer to be attempted, any thing in what sort soever, upon the persons and goods of them of the Religion, their wives, children, and families, on pain of death, against the faulty and culpable in this behalf. And nevertheless, to withstand the troubles, slanders, suspicions, and defiances, that may come by sermons and assemblies, as well in the houses of the said gentlemen, as in other places, as it is suffered by the said edicts of pacification; it is expressly forbidden and inhibited by his majesty, to all gentlemen, and others, of the said religion, to have no assemblies for any cause at all, until his majesty hath provided and appointed otherwise, for the tranquillity of his realm; upon pain of disobedience, and confiscation of body and goods. It is also expressly forbidden, under the pain aforesaid, that for the foresaid occasions, none shall take or retain any prisoners, or take ransom of them; and that immediately they certify the governors of every province, and the lieutenants-general, of the name and quality of every such prisoner, whom his majesty hath appointed shall be released and set at liberty; except they be of the chief of the late conspiracy, or such as have made some practice or device for them, or had intelligence thereof: and they shall advertise his majesty of such, to know his further pleasure. It is also ordained, that from henceforth none shall take or arrest any prisoner for that cause, without his majesty's command, or his officers; nor that none be suffered to roam abroad in the fields, to take up dogs, cattle, beef, kine, or other beasts, goods, fruits, grains, or any thing else; nor to hurt the labourers, by word or deed, but to let them alone about their work and calling, in peace and safety. At Paris, the twenty-eighth of August, 1572. Signed, CHARLES, and underneath, *Fizes*.

The King's Letters to the Officers of Bourges; of the same Argument that the former Declaration was.

OUR trusty and well-beloved: We considering, that, under the colour of the death of the admiral, and his adherents and accomplices, certain gentlemen, and others our subjects, professing the religion called *reformed*, might rise and assemble together to the prejudice and hindrance of the tranquillity which we have always desired should be in our realm; the doing of the said murder being counterfeited, and given out otherwise than it was: We have, therefore, made a declaration and ordinance, which we send you; willing you to publish the same forthwith by sound of trumpet, and set the same up in such places of your jurisdiction, where cries and proclamations are usually made; to the end, that every one might know it. And although we have always been diligent observers of our edicts of pacification; yet, seeing the troubles and seditions which might arise amongst our subjects, by the occasion of the said murder, as well of the admiral, as of his companions; we command you, and ordain, that you particularly forbid the principals of the religion, pretended *reformed*, within your jurisdiction; that they have no sermons nor assemblies, either in their houses, or in any other places, to take away all doubt and suspicion which might be conceived against them. And likewise, that you advertise such as dwell in the cities of your jurisdiction, what you judge meet to be done; to the intent they might, in this point, follow our mind, and keep them quiet in their houses; as they may do by the benefit of our edict of pacification, and there they shall be under our protection and safeguard: but, if they will not so retire themselves, after you have given them warning, then shall you set on them with all strength and force, as well by the provosts of the marshals, and their archers, as others which you can gather together by bell-ringing, or otherwise, so that you hew them all to pieces, as enemies to our crown. Besides, what commandments soever we have sent by word of mouth, either to you or others, in our realm, when we were in fear, upon just occasion; knowing the conspiracy that the admiral had begun, of some mischance that might fall unto us, we have and do revoke; willing you

and others that no such thing be executed, for such is our pleasure. Given at Paris, the thirtieth of August, 1572. Thus signed, CHARLES, and underneath, *De Neufville.* Published in judgment.

Remembrances and Instructions sent by the King to the Count of Charnye, his General-Lieutenant in Burgundy; on the same Argument.

THE King, considering the commotion lately happened in Paris, wherein the lord-admiral Chastillion, with other gentlemen of his side, were slain; because they had mischievously conspired to set upon the king's majesty's person, the queen his mother, the princes his brethren, the king of Navarre, and other princes and lords near about them, and upon his estate; and, lest they of the religion called *reformed,* not knowing the true causes of the said rebellion, should arise and put themselves in arms, as they have done in the troubles that are passed; and devise new practices and fetches against the weal of his majesty, and tranquillity of his realm; if he should not cause the truth of the matter to be known to all gentlemen and others, his subjects of the same religion, how it passed, and what his pleasure and mind is in their behalfs. And thinking, that for remedy hereof, it is very needful for the governors of the provinces in his realm to go round about their governments: for this occasion, he willeth that the count of Charnye, great esquire of France, and his majesty's lieutenant-general for the government of Burgundy, shall go diligently through all cities and places of the said government; and as he arriveth in every place, he shall devise the best ways that he can to make peace, union, and quietness, amongst the king's subjects, as well of the one religion, as of the other. And to bring it the better about, he shall gently call before him, in an open or private place, as he shall see best cause for his majesty's service herein, the gentlemen of the places, and the burgesses of the cities of his government that be of the Religion; and shall declare unto them, and cause them to understand the truth of the said commotion, lest any have misreported it unto them, otherwise than it was in deed; and shall tell them, that under the colour of the lord admiral's hurt, (whereof his majesty would have caused justice to be done, according to the good order that he had appointed,) the said admiral, and gentlemen of his religion which were in the city with him, without looking for the execution of the said justice, had made a mischievous, unhappy, and detestable conspiracy against the king's majesty's person, the queen his mother, the lords his brethren, the king of Navarre, and other princes and lords with them, and against the whole estate; even as certain of the chief and adherents of the said conspiracy, acknowledging their faults, have confessed.

Wherefore his majesty was constrained, to his great grief, to resist and prevent so mischievous, pernicious, and abominable a purpose. And that which he suffered to be done on Sunday, the twenty-fourth of August, upon the admiral and his accomplices, was not for any religion, nor to go against the edict of pacification; he intended, nevertheless, that they of the Religion should still live and abide in all liberty and safety, with their wives, children, and families, in their houses; as he hath, and will maintain them, if they be content to live quietly under his obedience as he desireth. For the which cause he willeth, that the count of Charnye shall offer and give to them his letters of safeguard in good and authentic form, which shall be of as good force and virtue, as if they should come or be taken from his own majesty; and, by the authority of them, they shall be preserved from all wrongs, violences, and oppressions; enjoining and forbidding most expressly all his Catholic subjects, whatsoever they are, to attempt nothing upon the persons, goods, or families of any of the Religion which keep themselves quietly in their houses, on pain of death.

And if any be so rash, or evil advised, to act against this injunction, or to violate the safeguard promised, his majesty willeth, that ready and rigorous punishment be done; to the intent, that their example may serve to hold in others not to do the like; which is the true and only means of assurance that his majesty can give to them of the Religion, with his word and promise which he giveth them to be their good and benign prince, protector

and preserver of them, and of all that toucheth them, so long as they live and continue under his obedience, without doing or enterprizing any thing against his will and service. And because his majesty hath often known that the enterprises and consultations, taken in hand by them of the Religion against his service, have been concluded amongst them at assemblies at sermons, which gentlemen had liberty to cause to be made in their houses and lordships; therefore my lord of Charnye shall particularly give to understand to gentlemen, which were wont to have such sermons, that his majesty, in consideration that nothing hath more moved, and set on the Catholicks against those of the Religion, than such preachings and assemblies; and, if they continue, it is certain, that it will be a cause to increase and maintain the said commotions; desireth, that they should cause them to cease, until he hath otherwise provided and appointed, and that they apply themselves hereunto as a thing greatly serving the effect of his intention, which is, gently to bring his said subjects to a true and perfect amity, union, and concord one with another, committing all divisions and partialities to oblivion.

And, because this may seem hard at the beginning, my lord of Charnye shall cause it to be fair and gently spoken to them, lest they enter into some strange conjecture or suspicion. For so his said majesty would proceed in all true sincerity towards them which conform themselves to his will and obedience, wherein he exhorteth them to live, with all the best persuasions that he can; and shall assure them, in so doing, to be surely maintained and preserved as his other subjects, the Catholicks, as his majesty would that he should do.

And, to the intent his said subjects, the Catholicks, should know how to use and behave themselves herein, my lord of Charnye shall tell them, that his majesty's pleasure neither is, nor hath been, that any wrong or oppression should be done to them of the said Religion, which, like good and loyal subjects, will gently keep themselves under his obedience: declaring unto the said Catholicks, that if they forget themselves, and hurt those of the Religion, who, in such sort, behave themselves towards his majesty, and those also, which, for that end, have received of his majesty, or of my lord of Charnye, letters of safe-conduct, he will cause them to be punished and chastised in the field, as transgressors of his commandments, without any hope of grace, pardon, or remission; which the said lord of Charnye shall express and declare unto them, with as plain words as is possible, and cause it also to be as strictly executed. And after that, following his majesty's intent, he hath pacified them by this means, which is the way that his majesty best liketh of, and searched the direction to assure a tranquillity betwixt the subjects, and to set some assurance betwixt the one and the other, such, as shall conform themselves herein to his said majesty's will; he will comfort, and make them the best and most gentle entertainment that he possibly can. But if any of the Religion become self-willed and stubborn to his majesty, without having regard to his said warnings, and shall assemble in arms together, making practices and devices against the weal of his service, then the lord of Charnye shall run upon them, and hew them in pieces, before they have power to fortify themselves and join together. And therefore he shall assemble as much force as he can, as well of the ordinary as of other men of war, soldiers, footmen of the garrisons, and inhabitants of the Catholicks within the cities of his government, and shall besiege them which hold and make themselves strong in cities about of his government, so that the victory and authority may remain in his majesty. At Paris, the thirtieth of August, 1572. Signed, CHARLES; and underneath, *Brulard.*

The King's Letters to the Lord of Gwiche; whereby it may plainly be perceived, how they would search out all them of the Religion which had any Charge in hand during the Troubles.

MY Lord of Gwiche; I understand that the three brethren Daggonels, and one Porcher the host at the sign of the Adventure, Mossoner, Crispin, and Captain Grise, (which were the principal of the faction in Burgundy, and were the cause of the taking and recovering of the city of Mascon in the late troubles, and of all the decay which happened in that

country,) be kept prisoners in Mascon. And, because I understand that they hope to escape out by ransom, which I would in no wise should be done; I ordain and command that you keep them safe, forasmuch as I hope by their means to discover a great many things which greatly touch the weal of my service. And if there be any other prisoners of the new religion in Mascon, which have been factious, you shall likewise keep them, so that they escape not by paying ransom; for I would not, for any thing in the world, that there should be taking of ransom among my subjects. And thus, my Lord of Gwiche, I pray God keep you in his holy tuition. Written at Paris, the 14th of September, 1572. Signed, CHARLES, and underneath, *Brulard.*

The King's Letters to Monsieur De Gordes, his Lieutenant-General in Daulphine; wherein he sendeth him word, that the best Proof of his Doings is the Accusations and Complaints of them of the Religion against him, whereunto he should have care to answer.

M. DE GORDES; By your letters of the first of this month, I perceived the order which you appointed in your government, since the advertisement which you had of the execution of the admiral and his adherents. And since I am sure you forgot nothing, which you thought might serve for your assurance of those places whereof you had occasion to doubt: and, to the intent you should have the more means to make yourself known, I have prepared that the soldiers of Corsica, which I had appointed to go into Provence, should return to you; and thereupon have written to my cousin the count of Tende, who will not fail to send them unto you; forasmuch as there is no need of them now in that country. He should also send you word of the time of their departing, to the end that you might have leisure to provide to receive them, and appoint their places, where they should be in garrison. I have seen that which you writ to me concerning the continual payment in Daulphine, what is due for the last year; whereupon, I will advise of the state of my fines the means that may be, and according thereunto there shall be no fault, but they shall be provided for. For the reparation of the bridge of Grenoble, they of the same place must devise the means wherein they should best help themselves therein, and when they have advertised me, I will appoint them necessary provision. Touching the soldiers appointed for the baron of Adresse, because the occasion why I appointed them to be levied now ceaseth, I have written to him to send them back and dismiss them again: wherefore there is no need to make provision for their maintenance, nor likewise to tell you any thing else, concerning the answers which you have made to the remembrances, which they of the Religion have presented against you; for your doings are well known, and plain unto me, and thereupon I will take no better proof than their accusation: wherefore, you shall put yourself to no more pain on that side.

Moreover, I have herewith sent you a copy of the declaration which I made of the admiral's death and his adherents; and made to be understood, that it should be observed and followed, and that all murders, sackings, and violences should cease. Nevertheless, I have heard complaints of divers places, that such extraordinary ways continue; which is a thing, that doth much displease me. By the means whereof I advise you, in doing this charge once again put unto you, that you give order throughout your government to cause all hostility, force, and violence to cease, and that the said declaration be streightly observed and kept; with punishing those that withstand, so rigorously, that the demonstration thereof may serve for an example; seeing my intent is, that they should be punished as behoveth, and to mark them which wink or dissemble thereat. This present letter shall serve also for an advice of the receipt of those letters which you wrote the fifth of this present; whereby you send me word, that you received no message by word of mouth from me, but only letters of the twenty-second, twenty-fourth, and twenty-eighth of the month passed; whereof put yourself to no further pain, for that charge was only for such as then were near about me, which is all that I have at this time to say unto you. Praying here-

upon the Creator to keep you in his holy and worthy tuition. Written at Paris, the fourth day of September. Signed, CHARLES, and beneath, *Fizes.* And above: To M. De Gordes, Knight.

The King's Letters to the Duke of Guise, his Lieutenant-General in Champaigne and in Prye.

COUSIN; Although in my former letters I have given you to understand well enough how much I desire all my subjects, as well of the nobility as others which profess the new religion, and quietly use themselves in your government, should by you be maintained and preserved in all surety, under my protection and safeguard, without giving them any hindrance by trouble in their persons, goods, and families: yet, nevertheless, I have been advertised that, in certain places of my realm, there have been many sackings and pillagings done by such as dwell in the houses of them of the said new religion; as well in the fields as in the cities, under colour of the commotion, which happened in my city of Paris, the twenty-fourth day of August last; a thing beyond all measure unpleasant and disagreeable unto me, and, for the which, I would have provision and remedy. Wherefore, I pray you, cousin, that above all things as you desire that I should know the good affection you bear to the good weal of my service, you take that matter next your heart to preserve and maintain within your government according to that which I have so plainly told and written to you heretofore; that all such of the new religion, who behave themselves quietly, take no wrong or violence, whether it be for the preservation of their goods or persons, no more than to my Catholic subjects. And where any wrong or outrage shall be offered them against my will, as I have before declared, so do I now by these presents declare, I will and intend that you shall make some evident and notorious punishment of such as are herein culpable, so that their correction may serve for an example of all others; that I may see myself thoroughly obeyed herein as I would be, and my commandments received amongst all my subjects in another sort than they have been heretofore: Assuring you, cousin, that the best news, that I shall receive from you, shall be to hear say that you chastise those well, of whom I am disobeyed. And thus, cousin, I pray God to keep you in his holy tuition.

Written from Paris, the 28th of September, 1572. Signed, CHARLES, and underneath, *Brulart.*

Remembrances sent by the King to all Governors, and Lieutenants of his Provinces; to put out and remove all those of the Religion from their Estates and Charges, although they would abjure the same; saving such as have but small Estates and Offices, to whom his Majesty permitteth Continuance, on condition that they abjure the said Religion, according to the Form of Abjuration sent for that purpose.

THE King considering how much his officers and magistrates of justice, and such as have the administration and dealing of his fines and payments, which be of the new religion, are suspected and hated, and put his Catholic subjects in great mistrust, if they should presently exercise their offices after these fresh commotions; because that the said offices are in their hands that now keep them: Therefore, lest the people should thereby be brought to a new occasion of stir, and they of the new religion be in danger or hazard of their own persons, although they would abjure their said new religion, and profess the holy faith and Catholic religion of Rome: his majesty, desiring to avoid the new mischiefs and troubles which may come, hath advised to discharge the said officers from the exercise of the said offices, until he shall otherwise appoint. And yet, nevertheless, in the mean

while, if the said officers be obedient unto his will, and live quietly in their houses, without attempting, practising, or taking any thing in hand against his service, they shall receive their wages; and they that will resign their said offices to Catholic persons, and come to his majesty, shall be very honourably provided for. And as touching other small offices without wages, which cannot be troublesome, as notaries, serjeants, and such where the officers have no authority, which cannot be so odious nor mistrustful to the people, as the others; his majesty is advised, that such small officers which will abjure the said new religion, and profess the faith Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish, and therein live continually hereafter, shall continue in the exercise and enjoying of their estates: but they, that will continue in their new opinion, shall depart from their offices, until his majesty hath otherwise provided. And this is for the great mischief and inconvenience that may befall them, if they should exercise their said estates; because of the great mistrust and suspicion which the Catholicks have conceived of them of the new religion. Nevertheless, his majesty well considering that the most part of the said officers have no other way to live, but the exercise of their said offices, willeth that they shall be in choice to resign to Catholic and capable persons, and then to come to him for that effect, and he will grant them the greatest favour and moderation of his treasure that is profitable.

The which resolution and pleasure of his majesty he willeth to be declared to the said officers of the new pretended opinion, as well by governors and lieutenants-general of his provinces, as by them of his courts of parliament, of the chamber of his accounts, of the court of his aids, them of his great-council, of the treasury of France, the generals of his fines, his bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, judges, or their lieutenants, and every one of them, as shall appertain. And to this intent, his majesty willeth and intendeth, that every one of them, in their calling, shall send, particularly and apart, for every one of the said officers of the new religion, which be of their incorporation, charge, and justification, and shall admonish them, in this behalf, to conform themselves to his majesty's mind. And if any of them in authority, because of their said estates, will return to the bosom of the Catholic and Romish church, it shall be said to them, that his majesty liketh very well of it, and that he taketh a great and singular affection therein, and that it shall give him the greater assurance and credit of their good-will; and that his majesty will not bar them from his service hereafter, but will provide for them as their behaviour shall deserve. And, notwithstanding, for the reasons abovesaid, he willeth that they shall cease from the exercise of their estates and offices, until he otherwise appointeth: and because that, in many places of the realm, they have proceeded by way of seizing the goods of them of the new religion which be dead or absent, and hide themselves, and sometimes of those which be in their own houses; although his majesty gave to understand, by his declaration of the twenty-eighth of August last, that he would and intended that they of the new religion should enjoy their goods: nevertheless, to the intent there should be no doubt of his purpose, and that no mistrust might arise thereupon, he declareth, willeth, and intendeth again, that according to his declaration of the twenty-eighth of August, they of the new religion which be living, whether they be present or absent, and be not culpable or charged with the last conspiracy, or to have attempted against his majesty, or his estate, since his edict of pacification, shall be restored to their houses, and put in possession of all and singular their goods, moveable and unmoveable. And that the widows and heirs of them that be dead, may and shall succeed them, and apprehend all and singular their goods, and that they shall be maintained in them, and kept under the protection and safeguard of his majesty; so that no hurt shall be done or said unto them in any manner, wise, or sort. Willing, for this purpose, that all necessary surety shall be given them, and that all officers, magistrates, mayors, and others which have public charge, shall maintain them in all safety; forbidding all persons, of what estate, quality, or condition soever they be, not to hurt them in person or goods, upon pain of death. And, nevertheless, his majesty willeth, that they of the new opinion shall submit themselves, and promise, (upon pain to be declared rebels and traitors to his majesty,) that they shall hereafter live under his obedience, without attempting any thing to the

contrary, or taking their parts that do attempt against his majesty and estate, or things against his ordinances; and to acknowledge none but his majesty, or such as he shall appoint under him, to have authority to command them. And, if they know any that shall enterprize against his majesty and service, to reveal them immediately to him and his officers, as good and faithful subjects.

And to take away all doubt and suspicion, as well from the nobility, as others; because that in the declaration of the twenty-fourth of the last month, these words are contained: 'Except they be those of the chief, which had commandment for those of the new opi-'nion, or those which made practices and devices for them, or those which might have 'had intelligence of the said conspiracy:' his majesty declareth, that he meaneth not of things done and past during the troubles which were before the edict of pacification in August 1570, and that there shall be no inquisition thereof; and none shall be troubled in goods or person therefore, but, for that respect, they shall enjoy the benefit of the edict of pacification; but that the said words extend only to those which be found to be guilty or accessary to the last conspiracy done against his majesty and estate, and that others, who are imprisoned, shall be set at liberty. And as touching them which will make profession of their faith, and return to the Catholic religion; his majesty desireth that his governors and officers shall excite and comfort them as much as they can, to that effect, and execution of that good-will: and that their friends and kinsfolks should be also exhorted to do the like for their part: and if any should hurt them in goods or body, his majesty willeth ready and speedy execution to be done on them. And to the intent that they may follow the form which hath been kept, in professing the faith which they do make, that return to the Apostolic and Romish church, there is sent herewith a memory thereof. From Paris, the twenty-second day of September, 1572. Signed, CHARLES, and underneath, *Pinart.*

The Form of Abjuration of Heresy, and Confession of Faith, which they which have swerved from the Faith, and pretend to be received into the Church, ought to make.

This is the Abjuration which they caused all of the Religion to make in France, to save their lives. Printed at Paris, by Nicholas Roffet, dwelling in the New Street of Our Lady, at the sign of the Mower. With the king's privilege.

FIRST, They which have swerved from the faith, and desire to return into the compass of our holy mother-church, ought to present themselves to their curates or vicars, to be instructed of that which they ought to do. That done, they shall be sent unto the reverend bishop of the diocese, or his chancellor, or official, to make the said abjuration and confession in manner and form following.

I *N.* born at, &c. in the diocese of, &c. and dwelling, &c. acknowledging, by the grace of God, the true faith, Catholic and Apostolic, from which I have, through my own fault, gone astray, and separated myself since, &c. and desirous to return to the flock of Christ's true sheepfold, (which is the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish church,) confess to have abjured and cursed all the errors and heresy of the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Hugonots, and all other heresy whatsoever, wherewith I have heretofore been defamed or touched; and I agree to the faith of our holy mother the church, and desire you, (in the Name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and of the glorious virgin, his mother Mary, and of all the saints in Paradise,) that it would please you to receive me into the flock and sheepfold of God's people, which live under the obedience of the pope, ordained our Saviour Jesus Christ's vicar in the said church; submitting myself patiently to abide, and willingly to do the penance which it shall please you to enjoin me for the absolution of the faults committed, whilst I was in the foresaid sects; whereof I ask and require pardon of God, and of his said church, and of you (hat be appointed my pastor by God the Creator) ab-

solution, with such penance as you shall judge to be wholesome for the satisfaction of my sins and offences. And, to the intent you should know that I have and do make this abjuration from my heart, I confess, moreover, (before God and you,) that I believe that which is contained in the symbol or Creed of the Apostles, and Athanasius, and other confessions of faith made and approved by the whole councils of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish church: that is, I believe in one only God, the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son ingendered by God the Father, before the constitution of the world, God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, ingendered, not created, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made, who for us men, and for our salvation, descended from heaven, &c. as in the Belief of Morning-prayer.

I believe likewise, acknowledge and confess, all that which is contained in the books as well of the Old, as of the New Testament, approved by the said holy and Apostolic church of Rome, according to the sense and interpretation of the holy doctors received by the same, rejecting all other interpretations as false and erroneous. I acknowledge the seven sacraments of the said Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish church, that they were instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ; and that they be necessary for the salvation of mankind, although that all of them are not of necessity to be conferred to all: that is to say, I confess that the said seven sacraments are these, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist (which is the sacrament of the altar), Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage; and that the said sacraments confer grace, and that, of them, Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege: that the said sacraments have the effect which the said church teacheth, and that the form and usage, wherewith they be ministered to Christians, is holy and necessary.

I acknowledge also, that the holy Mass is a sacrifice and oblation of the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, under the form of bread and wine mingled with water; which substances of bread and wine under the said forms, are in the Mass, by the words which serve for consecration, said and pronounced by the priest, transubstantiated and transformed into the substance of the said body and blood of Jesus Christ; notwithstanding that the qualities and accidents remain in the said forms after the said consecration; and that the Mass is wholesome and profitable as well for the quick as the dead. I acknowledge and confess the concomitance; that is to say, that, in receiving the body of Jesus Christ under the form of bread alone, I likewise receive the blood of Jesus Christ.

I confess, that prayer and intercession of saints for the quick and the dead is holy, good, and healthful for Christians, and is not contrary, in any respect, to the glory of God: that prayers made in the church for the faithful, which are dead, do profit them for the remission of their sins, and lessening of their pains incurred for the same: that there is a purgatory, where the souls abiding are succoured by the prayers of the faithful.

I confess that we must honour and call upon the saints which reign with Jesus Christ, and that they make intercession for us to God, and that their relicks are to be worshipped: that the commandments and traditions of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish church, as well they which pertain to the form and ceremonies of divine service, and to assist the same, (which, I think, are to draw Christian people to piety, and turning to their God,) as fasting, abstaining from meats, observation of holy days, and ecclesiastical policy, according to the tradition of the Apostles and holy fathers, continued since the primitive church till this time, and afterwards brought into the church by the ordinances of councils received in the same of long and ancient time, or of late, be good and holy, to the which I will and ought to obey, as prescribed and appointed by the Holy Ghost; the author and director of that which serveth for the keeping of the Christian religion, and of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church.

I believe also, and accept, all the articles of Original Sin, and of Justification. I affirm assuredly, that we ought to have and keep the images of Jesus Christ, of his holy mother, and all other saints, and do honour and reverence unto them.

I confess the power of indulgence and pardons to be left in the church by Jesus Christ,

and the use of them to be very healthful; as also, I acknowledge and confess the church of Rome to be the mother and chief of all churches, and conducted by the Holy Ghost; and that other pretended particular inspirations, against the same, come of the suggestion of the Devil, the prince of dissension, which would separate the union of the mystical body of the Saviour of the world.

Finally, I promise straitly to keep all that was ordained at the last general council of Trent, and promise to God and you, never more to depart from the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church; and if I do, (which God forbid!) I submit myself to the penalties of the canons of the said church, made, ordained, and appointed against them which fall back into apostasy. The which abjuration and confession I have subscribed.

The King's Letter to Monsieur de Guise, and other Lieutenants and Governors of his Provinces; by which he wholly abolisheth and subverteth all the Edicts of Pacification, and willeth that only the Romish Religion should take place in his Realm.

THE King, knowing that the declaration which he made upon the occasions which lately chanced in the city of Paris, the remembrances and instructions of his will, which he sent round about to all governors of his provinces, and lieutenants-general therein, and particular letters to the seneschals, and his courts of parliament, and other officers and ministers of justice, cannot hitherto stay the course of murders and robberies done in the most part of the cities of this realm, to his majesty's great displeasure; hath advised, for a more singular remedy, to send all the said governors into every of their charges and governments, assuring himself, that according to the quality and power which they have of his majesty, they can well follow and observe his intent; the which more fully to declare, his majesty hath caused his letters patents to be dispatched, which shall be delivered them. Besides the contents thereof, M. de Guise, the governor, and lieutenant-general for his majesty in Champaigne and Brye, shall call before him the gentlemen of the new religion, abiding within his government; and shall tell them that the king's will and intent is to preserve them, their wives, children, and families, and to maintain them in possession of their goods, so that, on their part, they live quietly, and render to his majesty obedience and fidelity, as they ought: in which doing, the king also will defend them, that they shall not be molested or troubled by way of justice, or otherwise, in their persons and goods, by reason of things done during the troubles, and before the edict of pacification of August, 1570. And afterwards he shall lovingly admonish them to continue no longer in the error of the new opinion, and to return to the Catholic religion, reconciling themselves to the Catholic-Romish church; under the doctrine and obedience whereof kings, his predecessors, and their subjects, have always holily lived, and this realm hath been carefully conducted and maintained; shewing to them the mischiefs and calamities which have happened in this realm, since these new opinions have entered into men's spirits: and how many murders have been caused by such which have fallen from the right way holden by their ancestors.

First, they made them separate themselves from the church, then from their next of kindred, and also to be estranged from the service of their king, as a man may see since his reign. And, although the authors and heads of that side would have covered their doings under the title of 'Religion and conscience,' yet their deeds and works have shewn well enough that the name of religion was but a vizard to cover their drifts and disobedience, and under that pretence to assemble and suborn people, and to make and compel them to swear in the cause, under the title of disobedience, and by such ways to turn them from the natural affection which they owe to the king, and consequently from his obedience; it being notorious that, what commandment soever the king could make to

them of the new religion, they have not since his reign obeyed him otherwise than pleased their heads. And contrariwise, when their said heads commanded them to arise and take to their weapons, to set upon cities, to burn churches, to sack and pillage, to trouble the realm, and fill it with blood and fire; they, which went so astray to follow them, forgot all trust and duty of good subjects, to execute and obey their commandments. Which things if the gentlemen will well consider, they shall easily judge how unhappy and miserable their condition shall be, if they continue longer therein. For they may well think of themselves, that the king being taught by experience of so great a danger, from which it hath pleased God to preserve him and his estate; and having proved the mischiefs and calamities which this realm hath suffered by the enterprises of the heads of this cause, their adherents and accomplices; that he will never willingly be served with any gentlemen of his subjects, that be of any other religion than the Catholic; in which also the king, following his predecessors, will live and die.

He willeth also to take away all mistrust amongst his subjects, and to quench the rising of discords and seditions, that all they of whom he is served in honourable places; and especially the gentlemen which desire to be accounted to be his good and lawful subjects, and would obtain his favour, and be employed in charges of his service, according to their degrees and qualities; do make profession hereafter to live in the same religion that he doth, having tried that discords and civil wars will not cease, in a state where there be many religions; and that it is not possible for a king to maintain in his realm diversities in religion, but that he shall lose the good-will and benevolence of his subjects; yea, and they, who are of a contrary religion to his, desire nothing in their heart more than the change of the king and of his estate.

For the reason abovesaid, the duke of Guise, to bring the matter to this pass, shall take pains to persuade the nobility and others, infected with the said new opinion, to return of themselves, and of their own free will, to the Catholic religion; and to abjure and renounce the new, without any more express command from the king. For, howsoever it be, his majesty is resolved to make his subjects live in his religion; and never to suffer, whatsoever may befall, that there shall be any other form or exercise of religion in his realm than the Catholic. The said duke of Guise shall communicate with the principal officers and magistrates (having the principal charge and administration of justice in cities of his government) his majesty's declaration; to the intent they should know his mind, and the good end whereunto he tendeth for the uniting and quietness of his subjects; to the intent the said Monsieur de Guise, and the said officers and magistrates, should, with one accord, intelligence, and correspondence, proceed to the effect abovesaid, so that fruit and quietness may thereof ensue, such as his majesty desireth, not only for himself, but for the whole realm.

The bailiffs and stewards, which are not in religion accordingly qualified, shall, within one month, resign their offices to gentlemen capable, and of the quality required by the edict, which may keep and exercise the same. And to the intent this shall be done, his majesty doth now presently declare them deprived after the said month, if they do not then resign; that they shall have no occasion or colour of excuse to delay their resignations; and yet permitteth them, in the mean while, to resign without paying any fine. All bailiffs and stewards shall be resident at their offices, upon pain of loss of the same; and if they cannot so be, then they shall be bound to resign. All archbishops and bishops shall likewise be resident in their diocese; and such as for age and other disposition of person cannot preach the word of God, nor edify the people, and do other functions appertaining to their charge and dignity, shall be bound to take a conductor to comfort them, and to employ themselves in the duty of their charge. To which conductor they shall appoint an honest and reasonable pension, according to the fruits and revenue of their living. Also parsons and vicars shall be resident at their benefices, or else shall be admonished to resign them to such as will be resident, and do their duty. Archbishops and bishops shall take information of them which hold abbeys, priories, and other benefices in their diocese, of what quality soever they are, and how they do their duty in the administration of them;

whereupon, they shall make process by word unto the governors, which shall send them to the king to provide therein as reason shall move him. They shall compel the curates actually to abide at the places of their benefices, or else shall appoint others in their stead, according to the disposition of the canons. At Paris, the third day of November, 1572.

(Signed) CHARLES.

Letters of Monsieur De Gordes, the King's Lieutenant in Dauphiny, to certain of the Religion in his Government; whereby he exhorteth them to come back again to the Religion of Rome; and how the King is determined to suffer no other.

SIR,

I AM sufficiently advertised of your behaviour; but you should remember what adve tisements I have before sent you to return to the Catholic religion of yourself, which is the best hold and stay that you can chuse for your preservation and health; putting from you all those which persuade you to the contrary, who would abide to see any commotion or disorder, rather than abate any point of their opinion: and, by this means, you shall make evident to the king the will which, you say, you have to obey his majesty; counselling you, forasmuch as I desire your well-doing, that this is the best for you to do, without looking for any more open commandment; otherwise, assure yourself, there can but evil come of it, and that his majesty would be obeyed. And thus I pray God to advise you, and give you his holy grace.

From Grenoble, Dec. 6, 1572. Your entire good friend,

GORDES.

The Answer of the Gentlemen, Captains, Burgesses, and others, being in the Town of Rochelle; to the Commandments, that have been given them in the Name of the King, to receive Garrisons.

WE the gentlemen, captains, burgesses, and others, now being in this town of Rochelle, do give answer to you, Monsieur N. and to such commandments, as you give us in the name of his majesty, that we cannot acknowledge, that that which is signified unto us, and the proclamation, which you require that we should cause to be published, do proceed from his majesty; and thereof we call to witness his majesty himself, his letters of the twenty-second and twenty-fourth of August, his own signet, and the publishing of the same letters, by the which his said majesty layeth all the fault of all the trouble lately happened, and of the cruel slaughter done at Paris, upon those of the house of Guise; protesting, that he had enough to do to keep himself safe within his castle of Louvre with those of his guard. And we shall never suffer ourselves to be persuaded, that so foul an enterprise, and so barbarous a slaughter, hath at any time entered into the mind of his majesty; much less, that the same hath been done by his express commandment, as the paper importeth which you have exhibited unto us; nor that his majesty hath been so ill advised, as himself to cut off his own arms, or to defile the sacred wedding of Madame, his own sister, with the shedding of so much noble and innocent blood, and with the shame of so cruel a fact to stain the nation of France, and the blood-royal, which hath heretofore ever, among all nations, borne the name of Frank and Courteous: nor that he hath had a mind to deliver matter to writers to set forth a tragical history, such as antiquity hath never heard speak of the like, and such as posterity cannot report without horror; but that it was first laid at Rome, and afterwards hatched at Paris, by the authors of all the troubles of France.

And, howsoever it be, we are ready to maintain, that out of the mouth of his majesty doth not proceed hot and cold, white and black; and that he doth not now say one thing, and by-and-by another, as he should do, if the paper, that you present unto us, had

passed from him; protesting, that he will inviolably keep his edict, and immediately breaking the same, in declaring, that he commanded those murders to be committed; having also made protestation before, that it is to his great grief, and done by the outrage and violence of those of Guise, against whom he was not able to make speedy resistance in time, as his majesty desired. And, in this quarrel, we, the gentlemen, captains, and others, that make you this answer, are ready to try it by combat, man to man, or, otherwise, to maintain the honour of our king against all those that so profane holy things, and as much as in them lieth, do, by such words and titles villainously defile the excellence of his majesty, and of the noble princes of his blood: which we may right well conjecture and estimate by the slaughters, that are yet in doing, as well in the town of Paris, as elsewhere, upon so many noblemen, gentlemen, and others, men, women, and children; and upon a great number of young scholars, the maintenance, under God, of realms and commonwealths in time to come; and by many other barbarous, unnatural, and unmanly acts, generally committed.

We think, therefore, and judge, that herein treason is enterprized against the person of his majesty, and of my lords his brethren, and that the Guisians mean to invade the crown of the realm, as they have of a long time practised; and, howsoever it be, we say, that his majesty is forced by the power, that they have taken upon them, and usurped, by means of the rebellious stir of the commons of Paris. As for that which they say, that the admiral, and those of the Religion, had conspired against the king's majesty and his brethren, these are allegations of as great truth, and of as good likelihood, as their manner of proceeding in justice hath been orderly, beginning at execution before examination of the fact. But there is now no need to tarry for time to discover it, for the matter is plain to be seen with the eye, and groped with hand; and all those of the Romish religion, that have any drop of the nature of man remaining, do confess it, and hold down their heads for shame; cursing, both with heart and mouth, the cruel executors of this abominable enterprise, and the wicked disturbers of common quiet; which can yet no more suffer, than they hitherto have done, that this poor realm should long enjoy the benefit of that peace, which the king alone (next under God) had wisely caused to be made, and to be accordingly observed; whereof this realm began to feel the good taste, to the great contentment of all persons, except the enemies of peace and of this realm, namely, the Guisians.

Finally, When his majesty, being out of their hands and power, shall declare what is his pleasure, we will endeavour to obey him in all things, wherein our consciences, which are dedicated to God alone, shall not be wounded. In which case, we will rather forsake the earth than heaven, and our frail and transitory houses, rather than the heavenly mansions. But hitherto the law of nature, and the duty that we owe to our natural prince, to the preservation of his crown, and to the safety of our lives, our wives, and children, doth command us to stand upon our guard; and not to put us at the mercy of those that have received the same bloody commission from the Guisians, under the pretended name of the king, to use us in the same manner, as they have wickedly, traitorously, and unnaturally done to those about his majesty, and, as it were, under his wings, and under the skirts of his robe, which the traitors-strangers have stained with the true French blood, without his majesty's being able to remedy it, nor to stay their cursed attempts; so much less is he able, now so far off, to defend us as he would: which his majesty's good-will, being known unto us, doth arm us for our defence, and for the safeguard of our lives, and of the privileges which he hath given us, until such time as he shall be able by himself to defend us against his enemies and ours.

Cromwell's Complaint of Injustice: Or his Dispute with Pope Alexander the Sixth, for Precedency in Hell.

[Folio; containing two pages.]

Oliver. WHAT pretence hast thou to take place of me? What vast gigantic crimes hast thou committed, that thou shouldst dare to think, thou deservest to be greater than I? Have not I transgressed all the laws of God and man? Did not I subvert a state? Change its religion and government, murder its prince, and set whole rivers of his best subjects' blood a-flowing? Did not I do all this; and hast thou the impudence to pretend to merit more, and have a greater share in the infernal empire, than I?

Pope. All this thou didst, I do confess it. But if thou wouldst have but the patience to hear me, I do not question but to make appear, that I and my predecessors have done much more meritorious things, for our great lord and master the Devil, than ever thou didst, or couldst do.

Oliver. Hell and furies! What didst thou ever do more, than whore thy own daughter, and help thy son Cæsar Borgia to poison, and make away all the opposers and obstacles to his greatness?

Pope. Well, that is something: it shewed how willing and ready I was, to tread in the footsteps of my predecessors, and give a good example to all my flock; but be patient, and I will tell thee the right, I and my brother-popes have to be viceroys here below. Thou, alas! valuest thyself, for having been the ruin of one prince and state: but, how many emperors have we forced to come, and lay their necks under our feet? How many kings have we caused to be assassinated? How many princes to be murdered? How many kingdoms and states to be ruined by civil-wars and dissensions? Have not we caused princes to rebel against and murder the kings their fathers? Subjects to depose their lawful sovereigns, and set up tyrants in their rooms? And, in fine, did we not bring anarchy and confusion into all nations, when our interest required it; or when those at the helm did not regulate themselves as we would have had them? All this thou knowest we did, and must confess it; there being millions of instruments here, whom we employed to those ends, to confirm and testify it.

Oliver. I grant, all you popes together have been fruitfully and bravely wicked: but hath any one of you attempted, performed, and completed, such great, noble, and numerous crimes as I have done? Did not I and my companions, under the pretext of religion, subvert both it and the government; and crying out against the ill management of the state, the treachery, and want of conduct in ministers, and by pretending to reform the helm, bring the nation into such a combustion, that we gained our point; which was, that we might have the liberty to act those wickednesses, that the others, who were there before us, were accused of, but which indeed never came into their thoughts, not having the sense or courage to perform, or at least were restrained by their consciences; the liberty of which we cried out mightily for, because we knew ours would allow us all we could desire.

Pope. All this I know, and how successful you were in it; but you were only the executioners of the Roman contrivances: we drew the model, and set you to work; your king's death, that you brag so much of, was first resolved on at Rome, before it came into your noddles, and, so far, you were only the blind ministers of our resolutions.

Oliver. I am sure that is false; for none of us all, but aimed chiefly at him, though we seemed to look, and squinted another way. You might perhaps have the same design,

but you ought not therefore to arrogate to yourself all the honour; seeing we thought on it, and designed it, as soon as there was any probability of doing it; and even performed it as soon as it lay in our power, Indeed, we found it a difficult task; and, without your help, perhaps we should not have been able to have compassed it. We were forced to raise fears and jealousies of an arbitrary government; and in that, I must confess, we found your party extremely useful to us, and very skilful to infuse the poison into people's minds; and, by these means, we arrived at what we so much had railed against, and seemed to abhor; that is to say, an unlimited power. We trampled all laws down under our feet, and made such new ones, as were fit for our purpose and interests. The truth is, to bring this to pass, we made it cost the nations whole seas of blood: trade was destroyed, maidens were ravished, mothers had their infants ripped out of their wombs, the father stabbed his son, and the son his father; and nothing was more common, than to see brother drink his brother's blood to the health of our cause, when he called him an enemy, and traitor to his country.

Pope. I laugh at all these flourishes; they are but the common and usual effects of our conspiracies. Had but our late plot succeeded in England, you would have seen them bravely acted, and repeated even to a degree above admiration; they would have surpassed your envy, and even have caused, in you yourself, a dread and terror.

Oliver. But must you not confess, that your instruments were but pitiful base creatures, and ashamed of their task; since they denied it at their executions? Whereas you see my brood, in Scotland, not only begun bravely by their rebellion, and murdering the archbishop of St. Andrews, but acknowledged the fact at their trials and deaths; and not only maintained the lawfulness of it, but also died martyrs for the doctrine of king-killing: whereas your chicken-hearted heroes were both ashamed of what they would have done, and disowned what the brave doctors of your church have taught.

Pope. Come, do not reproach us; they had been fools if they had owned it; nay, and we had taken care to persuade them they should have been damned too: besides, people's opinion of an action is generally regulated by its success, which we being disappointed of, all our interests and reputation in the world would have been lost and ruined, had they not stiffly denied it. Therefore, I say, do not reproach us; for can you or your brood (as you call them) ever pretend to match our treacheries, treasons, plots, conspiracies, massacres, &c. Do you think you ever can?

Oliver. Perhaps we may; but of that I will tell you more hereafter.

Scotland Characterized: In a Letter written to a Young Gentleman, to dissuade him from an intended Journey thither[1].

Scotica si diris devotum, terra tulisset
Cainum; non alias Exul peragraverat Oras.
Ipsa suis contenta malis: Non indiga Pestis
Externæ: Infensi satiasse Numinis Iras.

Cleaveland Translated.

By the Author of 'The Trip to North-Wales,' 1701.

[Folio; containing four pages.]

IT was not without the greatest surprise in the world, that I heard, from my lady your mother, your intentions led you to our neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, to perfect and give the grace-stroke to that very liberal education, you have so signally improved in England. I confess, it is very irksome to some spirits, to be contradicted and thwarted in either their expressions, or designs; and they do, with such an unpersuadible obstinacy, cherish their own ideas, that you might as well expect grapes from a thistle, as to make them change their party, though upon the most demonstrative arguments, that can be produced. But I hope better things of you; and do not in the least doubt, but you are so much reason's humble servant, that if I convince you this ramble of yours will neither be for your credit, pleasure, nor advantage (which I shall make the topicks of my discourse) you will even stay where you are, and not hazard three things so very precious to all rational creatures; and if you meet with any harsh, rugged expressions in this epistle, I hope you will do me the justice to believe, that it was nothing, but a grateful sense of my own obligations, and a hearty desire of your welfare, that extorted them from me. And let so much suffice, by way of preface.

You are now advanced to those years, in which, if ever, men begin to consider and propose some end to themselves in what they do. But (under favour) if, by going into Scotland, you imagine to improve your intellect, you are as wide of your purpose, as if you should take West-Chester in your way from London to Dover; and, before I will believe, that ever any man that has lived a gentleman or fellow-commoner, in either of our two universities, and a little tasted of the education of an inn of court, (as you have done,) can ampliate his understanding by grazing in the Caledonian forest[2], I will subscribe to the calling in of the Jews, and the pope's being turned Protestant.

I will not deny, but Scotland has formerly given very eminent scholars to the world: nay, I will go further, there are no finer gentlemen in the world, than that nation can justly

[1] [From Mr. Tooke's ably and usefully-illustrated edition of Churchill's Poems, the following note is taken: "In the 13th No. of the North Briton appeared 'Howell's perfect description of the people and country of Scotland, written in 1649;' a tissue of disgusting exaggerations, more disgraceful to the narrator than to the subject of his libel. A pamphlet of a similar nature, intitled 'Scotland Characterized,' &c. is preserved in Vol. VII. of the Harleian Miscellany. Both the works are curious specimens of the length to which national prejudice may be carried; and prove that it could not be more inveterate in the 18th, than it had been in the 17th century."]

[2] [A poetical satire, intitled "The Caledonian Forest," by John Hopwith, and applied to certain political characters of the time, was published in 1641.]

boast of; but then they are such as have travelled, and are indebted to other countries for those accomplishments that render them so esteemed, their own affording only pedantry, poverty, brutality, and hypocrisy.

To make this evident, give me leave a little to pursue my proposed method. And here pleasure (which influences most people, young especially, that care not much to look forwards) leads the van. Now, sir, you would take him for a very unaccountable man, that should pretend to regale his nose with asa-fœtida, or, in the heat of summer, take sanctuary in a bagnio for coldness; and yet you do the same thing in effect, when you make the tour of Scotland for diversion.

For the charms of conversation (which, considering man as a sociable creature, are most universally desired), it may be presumed, Nebuchadnezzar, when turned out a grazing, had full as eligible companions, as you are like to meet with; and you might, with as much safety, enter into a league of friendship with a cannibal, who would upon the first opportunity eat you up, as with a Scotchman; for what sir John Chardin says of the Mingrelians, may be truly applied to them, That they are perfidy itself. The most sacred ties, as oaths and the like, are snapped asunder by them with as much ease, as the new cords were by Sampson. And there is nothing amongst them, to their very kings, (of which the last age afforded us a very memorable example,) that is not vendible. Civility is not so much as known in the idea amongst that proverbially clownish people. The conscience of a custom-house officer, the integrity of a knight of the post, the modesty of a common prostitute, and the courage of a town-bully, amount to full as much.

Their women are, if possible, yet worse than the men, and carry no temptations, but what have at hand suitable antidotes; and you must be qualified for the embraces of a *succubus*, before you can break the seventh, or one article of the tenth commandment here. The skin of their faces looks like vellum; and a good Orientalist might easily spy out the Arabic alphabet between their eye-brows; their legs resemble mill-posts, both for shape, bigness, and strength; their hair is like that of an overgrown hostess; their gait like a Muscovian duck's; and their fingers strut out with the itch, like so many country-justices going to keep a petty sessions: their voice is like thunder; and will as effectually sour all the milk in a dairy, or beer in a cellar, as forty drums beating a preparative. It is a very common thing for a woman of quality to say to her footman, "Andrew, take a fast gripe of my a—, and help me over the stile."

They pretend to be descended from one madam Scota, daughter to king Pharaoh; but the best proof, they give of it, is their bringing two of the plagues of Egypt along with them, *viz.* lice and the itch; which they have intailed upon their posterity ever since.

Some are of opinion, that when the devil shewed our Saviour the kingdoms of the earth, he laid his thumb upon Scotland, and that for a twofold reason: first, because it was not like to be any temptation: next, being part of his mother's jointure, he could not dispose of it during her life.

For their cookery and bedding, they are the antipodes of all cleanly folks. Can you like to breakfast upon steen-bannock? (an oaten cake, often baked upon my hostess's warm womb:) or drink ropy ale, that is full as palpable, as ever the Egyptian darkness was? Would it please you to see a joint of meat ready to run away from you? And yet such must be your entertainment there.

In Edinburgh, the capital city, whither you are going, they have not a private *forica:* but, as their houses, which are incredibly high, consist of eight or ten distinct families, each of which possesses an entire floor; so, at every stair's-head, you may see a great tub, called a cogue, that is the receptacle-general of the nastiness of a whole family: for all disembogue here promiscuously both males and females, masters and mistresses, with their servants, without the least restraint of modesty or shame. When this is competently full, two lusty fellows, by the help of a cowl-staff, carry it by night to a window, and, after

crying, "Gude peeple, leuk to yar selles there;" out they throw it: he, that comes by, has great cause to bless his stars, if he comes off with p—. It may be, at high noon, and in the principal street, you shall meet a tattered wretch, with a monstrous cloke, and a close-stool under it, bawling out, "Wha wants me?" For a half-penny you may be accommodated, and covered whilst you are so.

Trees are great rarities. This made sir Anthony Weldon, who knew the country very well, say, "that had Christ lived there, and been betrayed (as most certainly he would have been, if he had lived there,) Judas might sooner have found the grace of repentance, than a tree to hang himself on." The high-street in Edinburgh, about three-quarters of a mile long, is very fit (by reason of its breadth) for a triumph, from the castle to Holy-Rood House; but the rest of the lanes (as they call them) are absolute common-sewers, which makes the city look like a comb.

No wonder, then, if the Scots, who are not unfitly resembled to a *crepitus ventris*, once Anglified, care not for returning to their native country; and yet, as the French refugees take all occasions to extol their monarch, his armies, palaces, &c. so these gentlemen, though in England, cannot forbear to magnify their own gude land. He is happy, that believes their report, without going thither to refute it.

If you call to have your sheets aired; forty to one, but the wench, in great civility, proffers to uncase, and come into bed to you. I was much surprized at my landlady's asking me one night, if my cods lay right? But I quickly cleared her from any ill meaning, when I understood, it is their name for the pillows.

You shall commonly hear a beggarly Scot, whose every meal is a stratagem, here in England, tell you of his felicities there, and how he used to walk about his father's perk, with a lacquey at his heels: but you must not immediately conceive too extraordinary an opinion of his grandeur; for upon inquiry how many deer his father had in his perk, the truth will out, though to shame both Scot and devil, That his father kept no deer in his perk, and that they call an inclosure a *perk*, in his country.

A Scotch laird, having got boosy, and mounted upon a mole-hill to survey his large demeans, asked his man, "If he knew a greater lord than himself?" He was told, "Yes; *viz.* the Lord Jehovah." Says he, "Ise neer heard of that Lord; but get ye to him, and will him immediately to surrender all to me, or Ise pull him out by the lugs." The servant (to honour his master's pride) seems to do so; and, upon his return, tells him he need not use such violent methods, it was but ask, and he might have his kingdom. "Well, (replies my gentleman,) since he be so civil, deel take me, if ever I, or any of mine, set our foot where he's got to do."

But, sir, if you have the least regard to your own, or your country's reputation, you will never go thither to feed upon husks with swine; especially since you may have bread enough, and that of the finest sort, in our own universities. In a word, a Padua physician, a Salamanca doctor of divinity, and a Scotch master of arts, are three animals sunk below contempt, and not to be paralleled in the universe.

In the last place, for any advantage you are like to get, I dare be bold to say, you might hope for as much in one of those Lithuanian academies Dr. Crull speaks of, that are erected for the education of bears and other wild beasts.

Their colleges are neither, for learning, libraries, learned men, revenues, or structure, any more to be compared to ours, than a dancing-master's kit to a bass-viol, or a Welch vicarage to St. Paul's cathedral.

None but the principal and professors lodge within the walls at Edinburgh, to which you are going, (I meddle not with St. Andrew's, Glascow, or Aberdeen, because I never saw them, and hardly know how to believe the relations of those that have) so that you must unavoidably take up in the town with some fauce loon, who will stick to you as close as the ivy does to the oak; and for the same reason too, to draw away your sap from you. The scholars go like sword-men, and never can be called the *gens togata*, till they are laureated, (*i. e.* take their degrees of masters of arts,) which is constantly done at four years standing, and not unfrequently, especially if there be money in the case, sooner: then

they oblige you with a most ample diploma, written in an effeminate sort of Latin, and as fulsome as a mountebank's panegyrick on his own balsam, or wonder-working *panacea*. The scope of it is to satisfy your friends, to whom returning, that you have spent much money, travelled many miles, endured great hardships, and taken extraordinary pains, to very little purpose.

This college is divided into five distinct classes. Each of these has a several regent, who, from nine till twelve in the morning, and from two till five in the afternoon, shall entertain you with a lecture as jejune as a homily, but as terrible for length, as an old parliament-fast; and they, you know, were reckoned dreadful enough. The only degree, they confer, is that of master of arts: Dr. Rule, the present principal, is doctor of medicine, though a divine. They have two pretty tolerable philosophers, one an Aristotelian, the other a disciple of Cartes; but not a good mathematician, or sound Grecian, in their whole college. For their divinity, it is so so. They are entirely of the presbyterian cut, and made more haste to throw out bishops, than the Israelites did of old to expel the Canaanites. Theft, as being one of their liberal sciences, is rather cherished than punished: but adulterers and fornicators are miserably persecuted by them. If they detect a lady of pleasure, they oblige her, publicly, in the time of divine-worship, to mount a theatre of ignominy, called, forsooth, 'the stool of repentance;' to the end all the geude brethren may know where to have a whore. They are professed foes to all copyhold tenures in divinity, and will much rather preach extempore nonsense, than use notes. In the time of king James I. soon after his coming into England, one of his own country thus accosted him; "Sir, (says he,) I am sorry to see your majesty so dealt with by your prelatical tantivies, as you are. Alas! they can neither preach, nor pray, but by a beuk. If your majesty will please to hear me, Ise doe bath without." And so he did, till the king told him, "He preached and prayed, as if he had never leuked in a beuk in his whole life."

In the college-library, they keep Buchanan's skull, however the lining be wanting, which had, methought, a pretty distich upon it. The first line I have forgot, but the second was thus:

Et decus es tumulo jam, Buchanane, tuo[3].

But I must correct myself. I intended only a letter, but have insensibly swelled it to the dimensions of a treatise. I will conclude my observations of the country with one short, and true story. The famous duke of Lauderdale, when first-minister of state, was invited to dinner by the then lord-chancellor; and as splendidly entertained as the poverty of the country would permit. At taking leave, says he, "My lord, Ise con you mickle thanks for your generous and noble treat; which puts me in mind of one proverb we have in use amongst us, *viz.* That feuls make feasts, and wise men eat them." The other, loth to be out-done in point of civility, replied, "Ye say vary right, my lord; and it is as true, That wise men make proverbs, and feuls repeat them."

Well, lest I should surfeit you with my rugged prose, I will, for once and away, try to fall into the amble of rhyme-doggrel.

And what, dear sir, then is it *quid reale*,
That you design an *Iter Boreale*?
Are you so much a stoick, that this hotland
You fear not to exchange for gelid Scotland?
Where, when you rise i' th' morning, ere a dozen
Can well be told, your fingers-ends are frozen.
Debate's the only fuel of that nation;
And you'll be hot alone in disputation.

[3] [This is not the second but the last line of an epigram consisting of twelve hexameter and pentameter verses, the composition of Principal Adamson. See Dr. Irving's erudite Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 300.]

Here you may warm your inside with a bottle,
But there must try to do't with Aristotle.
Good food's a thing so scarce too, that I'll tell ye,
Philosophy alone must fill your belly.
Instead of having that with dainties cramm'd,
You must take up with Cortes and Le Grand.
And, if you'd keep your purse-strings quiet,
Live merrily on a chamelion's diet.
Next; for its dressing, 'tis assuredly
A perfect antidote 'gainst gluttony:
For he, that on their carbonadoes looks,
Must needs say, 'God sends meat, the devil cooks.'
Be therefore rul'd for once, and abstain from it,
Unless you mean to take a Northern vomit.
To be a brute's the only thing in fashion;
And nastiness, the genius of that nation.
The things, that are abominated there,
Are clean shirts, swines-flesh, and the Common-prayer.
But stay—What's your pretence? Come let me know;
Is't to refine your intellect you go?
Sir, you affront your English education,
To borrow learning from its neighbour nation.
Whate'er there have been, I'm afraid you'll light on,
But few such men as Buchanan and Creighton.
They're all apostatiz'd to arrant sots,
Bœotûm Terra is the land of Scots.
In short, if nought's sufficient to dissuade you,
Wou'd all the dreadful plagues of Scotland had you.
Hunger, slovenliness, and troops of vermin,
Companions of Scotch gentry, and English carmen:
All these you are sure to meet, with many more,
More grievous than those mentioned before.
Your voyage all your cordial friends lament,
Where you'll be under rule, not government.
But he especially, who protests he's fervent
When he subscribes himself your humble servant, E. B.

A Warning for England, especially for London; in the famous History of the frantick Anabaptists, their wild Preachings and Practices in Germany.

Printed in the Year 1642.

[Quarto; containing twenty-eight pages.]

ABOUT the year of our Lord 1525, all Germany was put into an uproar and confusion, by the seditious preaching of some turbulent ministers. The ringleader among them was one Thomas Muncer, who pretending a wonderful and more than ordinary zeal, (having with great passion preached against the popish errors,) at length began to preach against Luther; terming him as too cold, and his sermons as not savouring enough of the Spirit: with great earnestness he pressed the exercises of mortification, and exhorted to a more frequent and familiar conversation with God; he pretended to some divine revelations, that God by dreams and visions did reveal unto his saints his will. By these discourses, he won a great opinion and reputation with the people, who daily flocked after him and admired him as a man divinely inspired. At length he began more plainly to publish his design, and told his followers, that he had received a command from God to kill and root up all wicked princes and magistrates, and to choose better in their places.

Frederick elector of Saxony, hearing of these his seditious sermons, banished him out of his country. From thence he went first to Norrenburg, then to Mulhuse; every-where poisoning the people with his seditious doctrine. Because the senators of Mulhuse, and the better sort, disliked him, he wrought so effectually with the base people, that, rising in a tumult, they turned out their chief magistrates, and created others. So that now Muncer was not only a preacher, but a senator: whatsoever he commanded, was done; his pleasure was a law, and his direction in all things, as he said, a divine revelation. He taught a community of all goods to be most agreeable to nature, and that all freemen ought to be equal in dignity and condition. By this means he gathered great companies of mean people, who, leaving their labours, thought fit and just to take part with others of better wealth and store.

In Swevia and Franconia, near forty-thousand peasants took arms upon this occasion; who robbed a great part of the nobility, and plundered many towns and castles, Muncer being their chief captain. He had a companion, a bold fellow, one Phifer, who talked much of his dreams and nightly apparitions; especially of one dream, wherein, he said, "he saw in a barn an infinite company of rats and mice, all which he had chased away and destroyed." This dream he expounded to be a commandment sent him from God, that by force and violence he should destroy all the nobility. And Muncer, to the same purpose, moved the boors throughout Franconia and Thuringia to undertake this holy war, as he called it, against their princes. Phifer, with some of his troops going out into the neighbour-country, wastes and destroys noblemen's houses, chaseth away the most, taketh some, and bringeth them captives. This good success gave great courage to the party. Muncer wins his forces with the rest of Phifer's.

In the mean while, Albert count of Mansfield, setting upon them with some troopers, kills about two-hundred. The seditious, discouraged with this loss, retire a while and keep in. This gave leisure and time to the neighbouring princes, John duke of Saxony and his cousin George, Philip landgrave of Hesse, and Henry duke of Brunswick, to collect

some forces against them; about one-thousand five-hundred horse, and some companies of foot. The rebels sat down on the side of a mount where they had some advantage of the place; but they were not well armed, and most of them ignorant in war. The princes therefore, out of pity, advised them to lay down their arms; and offered them pardon, if they would deliver up the authors of the sedition. Muncer, finding himself in some danger, encourageth them with a long and earnest exhortation; pretends, "That this great action was undertaken by command from Heaven; that God would undoubtedly assist them against the tyrants; that he had promised in many places of Scripture to assist the oppressed against their wicked governors; that those tyrants (so he called the princes) followed only their ease and pleasures; neglected justice; pillaged their subjects with intolerable exactions; had no care to reform the corruptions of the church; spent all their life in pride and luxury: that therefore, without doubt, the time was now come, when God would take vengeance upon those Canaanites, and restore to his own good people the liberties of their goods, their lives, and consciences: that, as God had assisted Gideon, and David, and the Israelites, and gave them victories by miracles; so they should now find his power and love no less in their deliverance: and, for a token of his especial favour, mark (said he) yonder rainbow in the clouds, which, being represented in our own colours, God hereby giveth us an evident testimony that he is present with us in this battle, and will root out our enemies."

Some few of the more desperate were animated with this oration, and especially with the rainbow; but the most of them apprehended the instant danger, and the rather, because in their army all was carried tumultuously without any rule or order. Muncer, against the law of arms and of nations, had killed a noble young gentleman who was sent to parly with them. The princes being the more provoked with this cruelty, prepared for the onset. Philip the young prince of Hesse spoke to the soldiers to this purpose: "That he could not excuse himself and some other princes from some errors, but this could not excuse the rebels for their sedition; that God every-where expressly chargeth all people every-where to honour and obey their magistrates: that of necessity people must contribute of their goods to the honour and support of their princes: that princes on the other side did protect them by their power and laws: that whereas the rebels called for the liberty of their consciences, and of the Gospel, though princes should deny it, yet that were no just cause of rebellion; that the Gospel was propagated through the world, not by force and violence, but by patience and sufferance of the first Christians: that yet their clamours herein were causeless, and their pretences unjust; seeing the most princes of Germany had then given way to the reformation: that these rebels did but cover with the name of the Gospel their own impious and bloody designs: that their true aim was, to take away all government, to bring in confusion into the state, atheism and barbarism into the church; that therefore their hypocrisy was so much the more damnable to pretend the name of God and of religion to their intended confusion:" and more to this purpose.

At the first onset the rebels were quickly and easily put into disorder, and above five-thousand slain upon the place, and three-hundred more taken in a town hard by; Muncer himself, hiding his head in a village, was apprehended, and brought to the duke of Saxony and the landgrave. Being asked by them why he had thus abused the miserable peasants, and raised these tumults? his answer was, he had done but his duty, and that such princes as hindered the reformation of the church, ought to be so opposed. The landgrave, on the contrary, proved unto him by testimony of Scripture, that governors ought to be had in honour; that all sedition is forbidden by God; and that, by the laws of the Gospel, no Christian may take arms against their lawful prince under any pretext whatsoever. To this when he replied nothing, he was brought to the rack; to know what his purposes were; and who were the principal contrivers of this conspiracy. His fellow Phifer was taken and beheaded in Mulhuse: Muncer himself being brought upon the stage was extremely confounded and dejected, and not able to give any tolerable account of his faith;

yet, in general terms, confessed his fault and his error; and his head, being cut off, was carried upon a spear through the army.

This Muncer was the first author of the much-famed sect of the Anabaptists; so called from their doctrine and practice of rebaptizing: for they forbid children to be baptized; and, if they have been, rebaptize them. They carried at first a great show of sanctity: they talked, that it was not lawful for Christians to contend in law upon any occasions; nor to bear magistracy, nor to swear, nor to have any thing proper; but that all things ought to be common amongst all men.

These were at first their discourses, but by degrees they fell to publish other more pernicious doctrines. When this sect began first to creep in Germany, Luther and all other learned divines mightily opposed them, and magistrates every-where punished them; yet secretly they increased, and raised many dangerous tumults; but especially in Munster the prime city of Westphalia; where they acted a mad and most memorable tragedy.

In that city, one Bernard Rotman, a minister, by his pains and preaching, had there reformed the church, and cast out the popish bishop and his clergy. About the year of our Lord 1533, John of Leyden, a taylor by his trade, an Hollander, and an earnest Anabaptist, came to live in the city of Munster. This fellow privately insinuated the doctrine of Rebaptization; much contemning the contrary opinion. Rotman, in the beginning, vehemently preached against him and his phantastical opinions, as pernicious both to the state and to religion. Yet Leyden prevailed much with the base people, and infected great numbers, who had their secret meetings in corners and conventicles most usually in the night; admitting none but such as were addicted to their opinions. And within a while Rotman himself began to incline towards them, and to condemn the baptism of children as impious and heretical; insomuch that the number of Anabaptists was daily increased: and the landgrave of Hesse entreated by the senators of the city to send some preachers of learning to confute them, and contain the people in order and obedience.

Accordingly he sent unto them Fabritius, a messenger, and others, who were provoked by the Anabaptists to a disputation which was admitted by them, and by the senators. But the sectaries, afterwards better considering their own ignorance and weakness, to which they were conscious, and trusting to their multitudes, refused to dispute, and took another course. One of them runs up and down the city, as if possessed by the Spirit, and cries, "Repent and be rebaptized, lest the wrath of God overwhelm you." Divers others cried out in the same manner.

Some simple men obeyed for fear, being terrified with their clamours, and some of the richer sort to save their fortunes; for the Anabaptists began to rob all their adversaries, and gathered together into great troops; they possessed themselves of the arms and strongest parts of the city, and made proclamations, that all who were not rebaptized were to be accounted Pagans and Infidels, and to be killed. Rotman, and Bernard Knipperdoling, his companion, send letters to all the neighbouring villages, inviting all of their faction forthwith to come to Munster, and promise liberal satisfaction for their estates and goods that they were to leave.

Hereupon, multitudes of men and women, especially of the base beggarly sort, make haste to Munster. The citizens of the better sort, seeing the town filled with strangers, forthwith secretly convey away themselves and their families, and leave there the Anabaptists; who (now perceiving their own strength, and the weakness of the other party) first chuse new senators, all of their own faction; then create consuls, and make Knipperdoling the chief. They quickly afterwards burn the suburbs, and spoil all churches; straightway they run, by troops, through all the streets, crying, "Repent;" and soon after, "Get ye hence, all ye wicked, if you mean to save your lives." They run armed up and down, and chase out of the town all that did not favour the sect, without respect of age or sex, so that many women with child miscarried by their violence; then they seize upon the goods of all those that are cast out. The bishop of Munster (whom they had forced out) was lord of the city, and to recover his right, had now besieged it with strong forces; so that

the miserable people, that were turned out by the Anabaptists, were rifled, and many killed by the bishop's soldiers. The fear thereof constrained many honest men, which abhorred the Anabaptists, to stay in the city against their will.

The chief prophet among them, as they called him, was John Matthew; he sends forth his proclamations through the city, commanding every man, upon pain of death, to bring forth their gold and silver, and all their goods, unto a public place appointed for the purpose. The people, astonished with the severity of this edict, were fain to obey it. If any man detained aught of his own goods, they were discovered by certain women, that pretended to be prophetesses. Soon after, the same prophet commands, that no man keep any books in his custody, but only the Holy Bible; that all other books must be brought forth and burned; "For this (he said) he had direction from Heaven:" and accordingly all other books in great numbers were flung into the fire.

It happened about that time, that one Hubart Trutaling, a smith, a witty fellow, had jested somewhat sharply upon their prophets; whereupon they call the multitude, and command them to come armed: they arraign the poor smith, and condemn him to die for his sauciness; which proceeding struck great terror in the people. Matthew, the chief prophet, doth execution upon the wretch; first wounds him with a spear, then shoots him through with a pistol.

The same prophet, taking his long pike, running in great haste to the gates of the city, cries, "That God the Father had sent him a commandment to raise the siege, and to beat away the enemy." When he came near the soldiers, he was by one of them dispatched, and run through. Though by this event he was proved to be a false prophet, yet his friends and fellows, the other prophets, did so excuse and palliate the business unto the vulgar, that they much lamented his death; and thought it a great calamity to have lost so brave a man. His fellow, John of Leyden, desires the people to be comforted; for it was long before revealed unto him, that Matthew was to die in that manner, and that, after his death, himself was to marry his wife.

Within a while they run to the churches, and ring out at once all the bells: that done, Knipperdoling begins to prophesy, and he foretells, "That some in high places must be thrown down, others of mean condition raised up to great authority." Then he commands all churches to be defaced, affirming that this commandment came from God: and accordingly the commandment was executed a few days after. John of Leyden delivers the sword to Knipperdoling, and appoints him to be the public executioner; for so God had commanded, that he who was, but now, the highest magistrate, should take upon him the meanest office, and be the hangman: he undertook the office with great thanks and good-will.

The bishop alone, at his own charge, had, for some months, continued the siege; afterwards divers of the neighbouring princes sent in monies and men to assist for him: he had made many assaults, thinking to enter the city by force, but being repulsed, seeing no hopes, but only to conquer them by famine, he resolved upon that course, and shut up all the passages.

In the mean while John of Leyden betakes him to his sleep, and continues in a dream three days together. Being awaked, he speaks not a word, but calls for paper: in it he writes the names of twelve men, who were to be chief officers over God's Israel, and to govern all things; "for such (he said) was the will of the heavenly Father, when he had thus prepared the way to his kingdom." He propounds certain doctrines unto the ministers, and requires them to confute them by testimonies of Scripture, if they were able; if not, he would relate them unto the people, and enact them for laws. The doctrines were these, 'That no man was bound to one only wife, and that every man may take as 'many as he pleaseth.' When the preachers disliked the doctrines, he calls his twelve rulers, and a general assembly of the people. In the presence of all he casts his cloke upon the ground, and upon it the book of the New Testament; by these signs he swears, "That the doctrine which he had published was revealed unto him from Heaven;" and therefore he gravely threatens the ministers, "That God would be highly displeased with

them, if they consented not to it." It was in vain for them to resist, and therefore they yielded; and, for three days together, discourse unto the people of the lawfulness of polygamy. The issue was, that Leyden first takes three wives; whereof one had been the wife of John Matthew, the great prophet: many other follow his example; so that at length he was thought most praise-worthy that had most wives.

Many citizens of good sense, and good Protestants, were extremely displeased with these mad doings. Arming as many as they could, they meet together in the market-place, and lay hold upon the prophet Knipperdoling, and their teachers: which the base people hearing, they gather in multitudes, assault them with great fury, take away their captives, and kill to the number of fifty, with extreme cruelty: for, binding them to stakes and trees, they shot them to death; the great prophet standing by, and commending this execution, as a thing well pleasing to God; others also were killed in another manner.

After some weeks, there ariseth a new prophet, a goldsmith: he calls the multitude into the market-place, and declares, the will and commandment of the heavenly Father to be, "That John of Leyden must have the government of all the world; that, with mighty forces, he was to go out to destroy all kings and princes without difference, sparing only the poor people who love righteousness; that he was to possess the throne of his father David, until he should yield up the kingdom to his heavenly Father; that all the wicked must be destroyed, to the end, that the godly alone may rule and reign in this world." When the goldsmith had said thus much, John of Leyden falls down upon his knees, and, holding up his hands to heaven, "Men and brethren, (said he,) this very thing was revealed to me many days ago, though I did not publish it; but now it hath pleased the Father to make it known unto you by this prophet."

John, being thus advanced to be a king, instantly puts his twelve men out of office, and provides himself (after the fashion of kings) nobles to wait upon him, two crowns, a sword, and sceptre of state, and other such-like ensigns of majesty, all of the purest gold. Then he appoints certain days, when he would publicly receive all complaints, and hear all petitions. So often as he went abroad, he was attended with his great officers; immediately after him followed two pages on horseback, one carrying a crown and the Bible, the other a naked sword; his chief wife was waited on with the same pomp. In the market-place his chair of state was placed on high, covered with cloth of gold. The suits and complaints that were brought unto him, most of them were about marriages and divorces, which were much in use; so as some couples, that had many years lived together, were then parted.

Now, whilst the people were thus standing thick together, hearkening unto their new prince, Knipperdoling suddenly leaps up, and creeps with his hands and feet upon the heads of the crowded multitude, and breathing into their mouths, "The Father (said he) sanctifies thee; receive the Holy Spirit." Another day dancing before the king, "Thus, (saith he) I was wont to do with my sweetheart, but now the Father commands me to dance before the king:" but, when he would not give over, the king, being offended, went his way; thereupon he sits down in the chair of state, and behaved himself as if he were king, till the king returning, turned him out, and sent him to prison for three days.

Whilst the city was besieged, they published a book called 'The Restitution:' in this book, among other things, they affirmed, 'That Christ shall have a kingdom here upon 'earth before the Day of Judgment, wherein only the godly and the elect shall reign, the 'wicked being every where destroyed; that it is lawful for the people to cast off their 'governors; and that, although the apostles had no secular jurisdiction, yet the ministers 'of their church had power from God to use the civil sword, and, by force, to set up a new 'commonwealth.' Farther, 'That no man who is not a good Christian is to be tolerated 'in the church; and that no man can be saved that challengeth any propriety in his 'goods; that Luther and the Pope were two false prophets, and, of the two, Luther the 'worse: and that the marriages of profane men ought to be accounted no better 'than whoredom and adultery.' These dreams and dotages were confuted by many

learned men, Melanchthon, Justus Menius, and Urbanus Regius, whose writings are extant.

Some weeks after this, the new prophet, of whom we spoke, summons all by sound of trumpet, 'to repair, with their arms, to the chief churchyard; for the enemy (as he said) 'was to be repulsed from the city.' Thither when they came, they found a supper ready; they sat down at the first near four-thousand, and after them one-thousand more that had kept the watch; the king and queen, with their servants, waited: when supper was near done, the king reached bread to every one, with these words, "Take, eat; declare the death of the Lord." The queen also reacheth the cup, saying, "Drink, and declare the death of the Lord."

This done, the prophet, standing aloft, demandeth of them, "If they would obey the word?" They affirmed, "They would." "Then, (saith he) the Father hath commanded, that we send forth twenty-eight teachers into the four quarters of the world, to publish the holy doctrine that is professed in this city." Then he names all the apostles, and shews which way they are to go: six are sent to Osemburgh, so many to Warendorf, eight to Susat, eight more to Cosfield. With these apostles, and the other servants, the king and queen sit down to supper. In supper-time, the king, suddenly arising, saith, "He must go about a business which the Father had commanded." A certain soldier by chance had been taken prisoner; him the king said to be another Judas the traitor, and, with his own hand, striketh off his head: he after returns to supper, and reports merrily what he had done. Supper being ended, the twenty-eight aforesaid are sent abroad their several ways, each one carrying with him a small piece of gold, which they were to leave at such places, as did not admit them, and their wholesome doctrine, as a witness against them at the Day of Judgment. These apostles in the towns, as they passed, cried out aloud, "That men should repent, otherwise they should shortly perish; that they were sent by the Father to offer them peace, which, if they refused, that gold should testify against them their ingratitude; that the time was come which all the prophets had foretold, wherein God would propagate holiness throughout all the world; and when their king had done his office, and brought this to pass, then was Christ to deliver up his kingdom to God his Father."

Being apprehended and examined, (first in a friendly manner, then by the rack,) concerning their life and doctrine, their answer was, "That themselves only were of the true religion; that, from the Apostles' time to this age, the word of God had never been truly preached, nor righteousness practised; that there are four prophets, and of them two just, David and John of Leyden; and two unjust, the Pope and Luther." Being interrogated, "Why they had turned so many innocent people out of their city, and out of their estates, and by what place of Scripture they could prove this to be justice?" They answered, "That the time was come which Christ had promised, that the meek should possess the earth." They confessed farther, "That most of their company had above five wives; that they expected some help from Holland and Friesland: when they were come, that their king was to go out with all his army to subdue the world, and to destroy all other princes for want of justice." Notwithstanding their torments, when they obstinately persisted, and would not acknowledge any magistrate besides their own king, they were beheaded.

The city was now in extreme distress, and therefore the citizens secretly conspired to take the new king, and deliver him prisoner to the bishop. He being aware of it, for his own security, chooseth twelve trusty men which he called captains, appointing to each other soldiers to assist him, to keep the people in awe: to them he promiseth large rewards, whole provinces, towns, and forts; then calls the multitude, and promiseth them, that, before Easter then following, without fail, they should be freed from the siege and famine.

About the month of December, divers princes of the empire, in a meeting at Confluence, after deliberation, agreed to assist the bishop with three-hundred horse, and three-

thousand foot, for six months, under the conduct of Utricsh, earl of Oberstein. They agreed also to solicit king Ferdinand, the emperor then in Spain, and all the other princes of Germany to join with them.

They sent also their letters to Munster, and gravely advised the besieged to desist from their ungodly and rebellious courses; professing, if they yielded not, that the bishop should have the forces of the empire to do justice upon them. This was about the end of December. In the beginning of January, they sent an answer in many words, but little to the purpose, yet so as they commended all their doings. To that charge laid against them of creating a new king, they said nothing in that reply. But, in other private letters to the landgrave, they endeavoured to excuse it, speaking much of the general destruction of the wicked, and of the glorious reign of the godly in this life. Withal, they sent to him the book formerly mentioned, of 'The Restitution,' and counsel him to repent by times, and not combine with other princes against them, being the holy saints of God. The landgrave, having read their letter and their book, returns them an answer; and, because they pretended their new king to be made by especial direction from God, he desires to know, "By what authority of Scriptures they assumed that power, and by what miracles they confirmed it?" And, whereas they called for a fair trial of their cause, the landgrave replied, "It was now too late; since they had already seized on the civil-power, and been authors of so much sedition and calamity, it did appear to all the world, that they intended nothing else, but the ruin of all order and government both in church and state; that he had sent unto them many learned and godly ministers to instruct them in sound religion, whom they had scorned and rejected; that their doctrines and practices of rebelling against their magistrates, of robbing men of their goods, of polygamy, of setting up a king of their own, of a community of all things amongst Christians, and the like, are unchristian and abominable, contrary to all laws of God and men.

Upon this reply from the landgrave, they write back again, and send him another book in the Dutch tongue, intitled, 'Of the Mysteries of Scripture.' In their letters, they defend all their tenets; and in their book divide the ages of the world, into three parts: 'The first from Adam, to Noah, which perished by water: The second, this wherein we 'live, which is to perish by fire: The last shall be the new world, wherein righteousness 'shall reign. That, before this present world be purged with fire, Antichrist must be 'revealed, and his power abolished. That then the throne of David shall be erected, and 'Christ obtain a glorious kingdom upon earth, in his saints, as the prophets have foretold. 'That this age is like that of Esau, the wicked prospering, and the godly being afflicted; 'but that their miseries were now near an end, and the time of their freedom and resti-'tution approached, when the wicked should be repaid fourfold, for all their persecutions, 'as was prophesied by John, in his revelation. That, immediately after the restitution, 'the new and golden age should follow, wherein the righteous saints should reign alone, 'all the wicked being utterly destroyed.'

These dreams were confuted by some learned divines appointed by the landgrave. About February, the besieged began to be in great distress, for want of victuals: when many of the poor people perished by famine, one of the queens chanced to say privately to another, "That she did not think it pleasing to God, that the miserable wretches should perish in that manner." The king, who had his own store-houses well furnished, not only for necessity, but even for luxury and abundance, hearing of her speeches, brings her into the open market-place, with her fellows, and, commanding her to kneel down, strikes off her head; and when she was dead, brands her with lightness, and playing the whore. This done, the other queens applaud his doings, and give thanks to the heavenly Father. The king begins to dance, and invites the people, who fed upon nothing but bread and salt, to dancing and merriment.

When Easter was come, at which time the king had, with great confidence, assured the people, they should be freed, no show of freedom appeared: to find an excuse, he feigns himself sick, and keeps in for six days; then comes out into the assembly, tells them, he

had, in a vision, been set upon a blind ass; and that the heavenly Father had laid upon him the sins of all the multitude, and therefore, now, they were almost pure and clean purged from all iniquities: that this was the freedom he had promised unto them, and with this they ought to be contented.

Luther, hearing of the wild pranks of these mad men of Munster, about this time, published a discourse, concerning the Anabaptists, in the vulgar tongue. He said, 'It 'was very plain to all the world, that Munster was become the harbour and habitation of 'devils; for so the justice of God had punished the sins of Germany, and especially their 'loose and profane life, that professed the Gospel. That yet, in this very tragedy of 'Munster, the marvellous mercy of God evidently appeared, in that he had not permitted 'that old subtle serpent, the witty and cunning Satan, to contrive and govern that busi-'ness; but only had given way to some silly, dull, and blockish devil, who seemed not well 'skilled in villainy, to be their guide and conductor. That the grossness and stupidity of 'all their doctrines and doings made faith of the dullness of that lewd spirit, which moved 'them. That their polygamies, their seditions, and rebellions might trouble the state, but 'could not hinder or do prejudice to the church, or Gospel of Christ, to which they are 'so palpably contrary. That no man of sense, or in his right wits, could be perverted by 'such means, or induced to favour such lewd people, or their practices.' He further added a particular confutation of their principal errors.

In the month of April, king Ferdinand, at the request of the princes, held a diet of the empire at Worms, where, after some debate, it was agreed, that twenty-thousand crowns, by the month, should be levied for the taking-in of the city, and the chastisement of the rebels; and withal, that, when it was taken, the innocent poor people who had been abused, should be used with mercy, and restitution made to such honest men as had been robbed of their estates, in this tumult. Hereupon, the bishop delivers over the army unto the general Oberstein.

In the city, the famine still increased, and the miserable perished in great numbers: some few escaped out, and, falling into the hands of the besiegers, were by them, in mere pity, spared, being nothing but skin and bones. The general summons the city to yield, and promises pardon to all the rest, if they would deliver up to justice the king, with some few of his companions. The citizens had a good desire to do it, but were over-awed by the care and watchfulness of the king; who resolved not to give up the place, so long as himself and his family had any victuals. The captains, therefore, commanded them to keep-in their famished, and to expect no more favour. This was in the beginning of June: shortly after, they answer, "That they are not suffered to have a fair hearing of their cause; that they are unjustly persecuted; that they are ready to revoke their errors, if they be convinced of them. Then they expound a part of Daniel's prophecy of the fourth beast, the most cruel of all: and, in conclusion, profess they will persevere in their courses." All this, by direction of the king.

The besieged city being now reduced to the last extremity, it chanced that two men made an escape out, which were brought to the general, and the bishop; they gave direction how the town might be taken. Upon another summons, they still persist in their resolution. Within two days, an assault was made in the night, and, by the help of the guides, one gate forced, at which five-hundred soldiers, with their captains and colours, entered. By them, another passage was soon opened: the whole army enters, and, finding some resistance, made a great slaughter. Rotman, desperately rushing in among the soldiers, was slain. The king, Knipperdoling and one Cretchting, his chief servants, were taken alive; the rest, upon their submission, spared. Those three captives were sent up and down to the princes, as spectacles of scorn and wonder. Many divines confer with them, upon their absurd opinions, and convincing the king, with evidence of Scripture and reason, though they could not win him to recantation, yet they forced him to yield many things: which, some imagined, he did only to save his life. For, when they came to him again, he promised, if he might obtain his pardon, to reduce all the

Anabaptists in Holland, Brabant, England, and Friesland, where they were in great multitudes, under the obedience of their magistrates.

Being brought before the bishop, the bishop demanded of him, "By what authority, he had taken upon him so much power and liberty over his city and people of Munster?" The king demands again of him, "Who gave him the command and government of that city?" When the bishop answered, "That his power was lawfully conferred on him, by the consent of the church and people." The king replied, "That his right and calling thither was from Heaven."

In February after, 1536, they were brought back to Munster, and committed to several prisons. There they were exhorted by many pious men to confess their errors, and to ask pardon of God, and their magistrate. The king relented; the other two continued in their stubbornness: being all brought to execution, the king was fastened to a post; two executioners stood on either side, with hot pincers. At the three first pinches, he kept silence; after, he cried out unto God for mercy! Being in this manner tortured, above the space of an hour, he was, at length, run through with a sword: his fellows died in the same fashion. Their carcases were inclosed in three several cages of iron, and hanged up, upon the highest tower of the city; the king in the middle, and higher than the rest.

So, let all the factious and seditious enemies of the church and state perish; but, upon the head of king Charles, let the crown flourish! Amen.

The Scottish Politick Presbyter, slain by an English Independent: Or, The Independents Victory over the Presbyterian Party. The Rigour of the Scotch Government, their Conniving and Bribing; the Lewdness and Debauchery of Elders in secret. A Tragi-Comedy.

Diruo & ædifico, muto quadrata rotundis.

Printed in the Year 1647.

[Quarto; containing sixteen pages.]

The PERSONS.

DIRECTORY, *The Scotch Presbyter.*
SARGUS, LUXURIO, *Two lewd Elders.*
ANARCHY, *An Independent.*
PRISCILLA, *His Wife.*
LITURGY, *An Episcoparian.*
MONEYLESS, *A Courtier.*
A Pursuivant, Officers, Mutes.

PROLOGUE.

PRESBYTERY and Independency
Have long time strove for the precedency;
Here one kills t' other: when you see him die,
Wish his destroyer fell by Liturgy.

ACT I.

SCENE I.

Enter DIRECTORY, SARGUS, LUXURIO, *two Elders.*

Direct. IT must be so.

Sarg. If that he'll not comply. Have you heard nothing from him?

Lux. No, he seems to slight our summons.

Direct. Let him smart for't, Luxurio, denounce him to the horn, after excommunication *ipso facto.* What madness doth possess him, that he'll not buy his peace?

Sarg. I sent one of my agents to him, who gave him timely notice, there was no way but punishment, except a fee.

Direct. Have you already fram'd the warrant?

Sarg. Yes.

Direct. Read it. [Sargus *reads.*

Bishops Liturgy.

WE, the elders of the congregation Demoniack, upon information and notice of some scandals that you have given, whereof we are to take notice, do hereby, as officers of the church, require and command you to appear before us, on Tuesday the seventh

day of February, *anno* 1644, to answer such things as shall be ojected against you.

DIRECTORY. SARGUS. LUXURIO.

Direct. Send it away with speed. Fond man, doth he not know that we have scourged lords, and trod on kings? That temporal force will aid our spiritual plots: Knox and Melvill have left power to us, ample as that Rome's bishop claims. I'll make myself as great as him, if I get foot in England. I hug my genius that doth prompt me on.

No dull and heavy fancy clogs my soul,
'Tis purest fire extracted from the pole.

If that I can persuade the Englishmen to let me noose them, as their brethren, I'll spread my pennons further yet:

And, like a comet in the evening sky,
Strike with amazement every wond'ring eye.

Let's be gone. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

Enter LITURGY, DIPWELL.

Litur. And why new Jordan?

Dipw. If we give credit to the card, 'twill tell us, like to that river through which once Levites did bear the holy ark, New River flows.

Litur. But can those tender virgins, that resort there to be baptized, endure the bitter blasts of Boreas's and Hyems' frosty breath, and not be much impaired in their health?

Dipw. The water, without doubt, is sanctified; and, as the holy martyrs, girt with flames, sang cheerfully, as if they nothing felt; so compassed about with ice and cold, those, that we there dip, receive no harm.

Litur. Strange delusions!

Enter a Pursuivant, with Officers.

Purs. By the command o'th' ruling Presbytery-Demoniack, sir, I arrest your person.

Litur. Where's your warrant?

Purs. Here.

Litur. Ha! my inveterate foes have all conspir'd to work my ruin. Look here, friend; because I did refuse to come when summoned, nor sent a fee for my discharge, [*shews Dipwell the warrant,*] so to maintain their lust and luxury, who, by their daily prodigality, consume their *aurum Tholosanum*, in riotousness, adultery, and fornication. O England! wilt thou be slave to these vermin? The vulgar do not know what will ensue, should they accept of a presbytery; those that do sit at helm will not discover it, for that it tends to uphold their pride and wantonness: good men are vassals to the vile.

The crown stoops to the mace,
The noble to the base:

While that the fathers of the church do walk like men dejected and forlorn,

Mourning like doleful pelicans, and howl
In desert places, like Minerva's owl.

Who would have thought so flourishing a state,

As England was but seven years ago,
Should now become the pattern of all woe?
Calamity and comfort comes and goes
From state to state, as Neptune ebbs and flows.
With human things, a thing divine doth play,
Nothing arriv'd at height, but doth decay:
Earth's toys are false, they bid us soon adieu,
Her during sorrows are most certain true.

Come, I'll along, sir, with you. Mr. Dipwell, will you be witness of my usage with me?

Dipw. Sir, do not go; 'tis madness for a man to put himself into their hands that hate him.

Litur. Should I not go, they'll give me over to the temporal sword, and in the market-place proclaim me rebel, confiscate my estate, and send me into banishment.

Dipw. Will Englishmen put on this Scottish yoke? I have a hope the Independents may send hence this government to be abhorr'd, from England to Geneva, where 'twas born.

Litur. Pray Heaven it prove so! Now to my adversaries. My soul contemns their most usurped power, though now it overflows in tears, whose current overflows its banks.

Where grief's virago, upon either hand,
Worser than Scylla, or Charybdis, stand.

[*Exeunt.*

ACT II.

SCENE I.

Enter ANARCHY, PRISCILLA, *his Wife.*

Pris. I'LL none of this same lousy learning, to make my son a whoremaster, ere he hath seen the age of eighteen years; for, when they once come but to construe Ovid *de Arte Amandi*, their bowels yearn to occupy the nine.

Anar. Away, thou fool! Doth not even nature tell us, that learning doth support the world, and taught the rustic clown the way to till the ground, to bind the corn in sheaves, and wield the flail?

Pris. I say, I will not make my son a beggar, expose him to contempt and scorn: send him to Oxford, send him to Cairfax rather, and see him caper in a string. No, no, we, in this age of ours (the Heavens be praised) have little use of learning: if he can read his psalter, and cast up his accounts for bread and salt, he's a sufficient scholar. Besides, Heaven bless the parliament for their most pious acts in general and particular, that they have reduc'd those tippling black-coats to a new-modell'd garb; that where before they drank too much, and eat too little, they now shall neither eat nor drink. What shall we do with such lob-locks, that must sit all the week in taverns and ale-houses, and on the Saturday bestow two hours in study, which, when they utter the next day, there's none can understand it?

Anar. The blind cares not, if Sol ne'er shine; they still can grope their way. My son shall be a scholar, and let the worldlings wallow in the dung, while he the Indies bears about him: none knows the learned's bliss, but those that learned are. I do look on Plato's Divinity, next unto Moses's Writings; fam'd Aristotle's learned Philosophy, next unto Jesse's son's rare Proverbs; Livy's large Book, next to the Chronicles of Israel's kings; and Homer's deathless Verse, next unto David's Lays. May hell conspire to cast plagues on those would not have learning be advanc'd and honour'd: when ignorant armies, ignorant parliaments, ignorant synods, ignorant fools and knaves

Shall lie unthought of, rotting in their graves;
The learned's songs, when they in dust do lie,
Shall wrestle even with eternity.

Enter MONEYLESS.

Mr. Moneyless, I joy to see you, sir.

Mon. Sir, I made bold to press into your privacies unawares; my ignorance will, I hope, purchase my pardon.

Anar. Still complimenting: you courtiers feed on compliments as your meat; leave it, and take more solid food, a thousand of 'em will not staunch one's hunger. What news, what news abroad?

Mon. Faith, none that makes for me: the king must not yet see Whitehall; Cromwell won't have it so.

Anar. We can grow great without him. What profit doth the world receive by kings, who, at the best, are but relenting tyrants, whose power is dissonant from God's appointment? How bravely Holland thrives, guided by states, where people rule the people? There's a strong sympathy in nature; the mutual love they talk of, that was wont to be 'twixt subjects and their kings, is now for ever lost.

Mon. Sir, I know you are an enemy to monarchy, and would digress even from your principles, should you allow of kingly government, which makes your words invalid.

Anar. Well said; I like thee, that adversity's bleak storms have not unriveted thy fix'd resolves, but thou still art faithful to thy master.

O, courtier, curse them that have caus'd thy woe,
That like a skeleton thou now dost show.

You came, I know, to dine with me, and are most welcome. What printed news abroad?

Mon. As I was coming to you, I met another meagre courtier's face, and he shewed me a song, of which I begg'd the copy: I hope 'twill not offend your ears, if I do sing them to you.

Anar. Not the least; let's hear.

Moneyless sings.

The king shall now enjoy his own,
And have the sovereignty;
Once more fill his refulgent throne
Like to some deity.

But first of all his charge must hear
For things most trivial;
Three kingdoms blood, Lilburne doth swear,
Upon his head must fall.

The Parliament, as some report,
Intend for to disband;
And, if they would, we'd thank them for't,
And something give in hand.

They now have seven years sat,
And yet it will not be;
The army (shall I tell you what?)
Will never make them free.

Is it not pity, that at last,
When they intended flitting,
They should out of their house be cast,
And suffer for their sitting?

And all the gold that they have got,
And without fear extorted,
For to enjoy is not their lot,
O they are strangely thwarted!

His majesty is quitted now
Of Brown, that wooden jailor,
And, in his stead, they do allow
Joyce, that same prick-louse taylor.

'Tis very good to ease our teen,
The army are so witty,
And many thousands of them seen
Incompassing the city.

Why sure it cannot but well hap,
And prove a good purgation,
That fourscore members, at a clap,
Are forced from their station!

The propositions now are gone,
And surely now the king
Will ratify them every one,
But I fear no such thing.

He cannot sure dare to resist,
If he intend to eat;
For 'tis well known he long hath mist
His wonted clothes and meat.

Our dearest brother (Jockey) now
Is his destruction wooing,
And very fain would something do
To purchase his undoing.

Their long-eared assembly
Do grieve and groan in ire,
That their compounded Presbytery
Should back to them retire.

Truth is, how much the more, at first,
Our splendour shined bright,
We are so much the more accurst,
Inveloped with night.

How like you this?

Anar. 'Tis an excellent song, yfaith. Shall I, Mr. Moneyless, crave a copy of it?

Mon. Both I and it are at your service.

Anar. Come, Mr. Moneyless, 'tis almost dinner-time. Time was, you welcomed me; 'tis fit I should be grateful: come, wife.

[*Exeunt* Anar. Priscilla, *manet* Mon.

Did I e'er think that want should so oppress me, that I should be constrained to wait on this man for a dinner?

Yet, of my wants, how dare I so complain?
Shall I not suffer with my sovereign?

Whom yet I'll not despair to see plac'd in his throne, his crown on's head, his sceptre in his hand: the citizens now do triumph o'er the courtiers.

O, why should fortune make the City proud,
And give them more than is the Court allow'd?
The king's own brightness his own foil is made,
And is to us the cause of his own shade.

[*Exit.*

ACT III.

Recorders, a Consistory of the Presbytery; then enter Directory, Sargus, Luxurio, after them, with Officers, Liturgy, Dipwell afar off.

Direct. BRING forth those weeds of shame ——apparel him.

[*A coat of sackcloth brought out.*

Litur. I hope I shall have licence for to speak.

Direct. Not a syllable: 'tis known thou art by name and nature an enemy to our government, and hast avouch'd it to be tyrannous; saying, that Scotland, by their policy in bringing their church-form amongst us, do but assassinate our monarchy, thirsting to be our lords; all which here openly recant, or we'll surrender thee.

Litur. I recant, ye cacodemons: hear me and mark,

First, leathern swains shall plow amid the sky,
Thames turn his course, and leave his channel dry;
Sodom's dead lake revive, and entertain
Leviathan and Neptune's hungry train;
Fishes the flood forsake, and fowls of heaven
Bedeck'd with scales, and in the ocean driven;
The brightest flame of heaven shine by night,
And horned Cynthia give diurnal light;
Before I change my settled constant mind,
To damn myself, that you may count me kind:
Cemonian stairs, Phalarian bulls, nor all
Torments that flow from cruel tyrants' gall;
Tarpeian mountains, altars of Busire,
Or furnaces of Babylonian fire,
Shan't make me stoop to such base fools as you,
Or unto your intentions for to bow.

Sarg. He raves. Sir, these loose words will but augment your sorrow in the end. Do you know where you are?

Litur. Very well, lecherous Sargus; better than thou know'st to be honest.

Direct. Stop his mouth. Were ever heard speeches so desperate? Dare you, before this holy convocation, to prate so peremptorily?

Litur. Dare you, ye sots, assume unto yourselves the name of holy?

Methinks your cheeks should, knowing you to blame,
Out-blush the crimson of your gowns for shame;
You are more cruel than the crocodile,
That mangles Memphians on the banks of Nile;
That kills, with weeping tears, for hunger's need,
But you can smile, and murder for no meed.

Lux. Venerable fathers, this is unsufferable: if with audaciousness you thus dispense, hereafter never look to be reverenc'd, but to be scorn'd and laughed at.

Direct. Satan hath sure inspired him: bring forth the engine; support him up.

[*The stool of repentance brought forth, contrived in the fashion of a pulpit, covered over with black.*]

Litur. He, that lays hand on me, encounters death. [*Plucks forth a dagger.*

Direct. Hear then your sentence. Since you deny to be a penitent, we here confiscate all is yours, to be employ'd for pious uses; yourself within three days for to depart the land, and never to return, on pain of death: this is your doom, and now break up the court. [*Exeunt.*

Litur. O my mild judges, you shew your pity and your piety: your utmost wrath can't hurt my inward man, I there am still the same, and not exil'd.

Guilt, sorrow, shame, horror attend you still,
And let wild Atè lead you where she will.

Dipw. Heaven keep me stedfast to my principles. Is this a limb of the Presbytery?

Direct. Yes: but his merits make him fit to be lopped off, for it. Who could be infected worse than they are?

Dipw. You hear your sentence; will you depart the land?

Litur. No, I'll not forsake my native soil upon such slender grounds, I'll live a while in private: I know an Independent army will crop Presbytery in the bud, and break this bed of snakes, the only way that now is visible for to repair my breaches. O thou etern, the true almighty Jove, suffer not innovations to go on, to bring this kingdom to destruction! but why, alas, do I now talk of Jove?

For now, alas! no Jupiter is found,
But in all lands Pluto a god is crown'd.

[*Exeunt.*

ACT IV.

SCENE I.

Enter the two Elders, SARGUS *and* LUXURIO, *singing.*

Sarg. Now sable Night hath with her ebon robe
Darken'd the surface of this earthly globe;
And drowsy Morpheus, with his leaden key,
Lock'd up the doors of every mortal eye:
Come let us fall unto our wonted g mes;
Let us be blith, and nourish wanton flames.

Lux. What Lyncian eye discerns our lewd delight,
Cover'd with darkness of the cloudy night?
Why should we censure fear, or idle sound
Of human words, that are environ'd round
With marble walls? The wit of mortals can
Not find our wiles, past finding out of man,
And Heaven regards not the works of men;
Come let us boldly feast and frolic then.

Sarg. Come forth, ye creatures of delight,
And let us in embraces spend the night.

(Six Whores put forth on two beds, three on a bed; musick; they rise and dance with the two Elders.)

A SONG.

MEET, meet, and kiss,
And girt each other's waist,
And enjoy the lover's bliss,
Until the night be past.
Elders, that are holy men
All day, must sport at night.
So, so, to't agen,
'Twill heighten appetite.

Sarg. Those three are thine, these mine, let's to't
Like monkeys, or the reeking goat.
[*They ascend each on a several bed, and are drawn in.*

SCENE II.

Enter PRISCILLA *sola.*

Prisc. Methinks the hours fly not with winged haste as they were wont; or is't the expectation of my love, that makes the night seem tedious; my heart extremely throbs, methinks the walls seem as wash'd o'er with blood: 'tis my fantasy; thought, like a subtle juggler, makes us see things that really are not; there's something in me whispers fatal things, and tells me 'tis not safe to sleep betwixt my lover's arms to-night. Why, sure I dream, I was not wont to have these dubious fancies? I have begun to love him, and will now never desert his friendship until death: but thus I tamper poison for myself; but, were I sure to drink the baneful draught, I could not now go back:

For, when the flesh is nuzzled once in vice,
The sweets of sin make hell a paradise.

Enter DIRECTORY.

O! you are welcome, sir.

Direct. Worthy of all love's joys, hast thou not blamed my tardy stay? Thou art most certain, sure, thy husband is far off; if he should take me with thee, his jealousy and wrath might prompt him to strange actions.

Prisc. I have not the least fear of his approach.

Direct. Come then, my Ptixdra, and let us taste those joys thy husband is unworthy of.

ACT V.

DIRECTORY *and* PRISCILLA *put forth in a bed, both sleeping.*

Enter ANARCHY, *with a torch.*

Anar. TITAN to the Antipodes is gone,
To luminate another horizon:
'Tis now dead midnight; Morpheus, death's eldest brother,
Hover about this place, and charm the sense
Of these two creatures made of impudence:
Are they so shallow, to conceive that I
Am made of mimical pantomimy?

O woman, woman, who art compounded of all ill, I durst have pawned my soul, this wife of mine had harboured a soul as white as the Alpine snow; but she is ulcerous and deformed. Who knows how often they have met, and wallowed in their active sweats? What woman may be trusted?

Lust is a subtle Syren, ever training
Souls to destruction, by her secret feigning:
She is the prince of darkness' eldest daughter,
Wanting no craft, her cunning sire hath taught her:
'Tis like Medusa's tress; and, if it be
Twin'd in the body of man's living tree,
Man's heart of flesh converts, if he have one,
By secret vigour, to unliving stone.

Damn'd strumpet, have I ta'en you with your lecher?
African panthers, Hyrcan tygers fierce,
Cleonian lions, and Danonian bears,
Are not so ravenous, whom hunger pin'd,
As women that are lecherously inclin'd.

But I prolong their lives, and tire the ferryman with expectation.—Stay, it is not wisdom to cope with two that struggle for their lives.—These are the bonds of death. (*Ties them to the bed.*) So awake you lustful pair.
[*They awake.*

Direct. Ha!—we are undone.

Anar. Yes, Directory, ere winged time add one hour more to this declining night, thou shalt be numbered with the dead.

Direct. O my unhappy fate!

Prisc. Dear husband, spare our lives, and then inflict what punishment thou wilt.

Anar. O my fine Directory, camest thou

from Scotland hither to cheat us out of our religion, our lives, our king; and, covering thy ills with virtue's cloke, act even those crimes, which but to hear them named would fright the cannibals? And shall we not strive to circumvent thee?

Direct. I pray, hear me, sir.

Anar. Hath guilt emboldened so thy mind, that thou darest view my face, and speak?

Prisc. Sir, I confess, my crime cannot be expiated, but with blood; but, if mild pity harbour in your breast, I do implore your mercy.

Anar. Peace, vile strumpet; thou mayest as well attempt to scale the heavens, and ride on the sun-beams, as strive with talk to mitigate my fury, and stay the course of my revenge: but first, good Directory, I will stab you by the book, and torture you, not opening a vein.

Dumb-Show. *Solemn Musick.*

(One, representing Directory, *accompanied with a rabble in the habit of Elders, running as flying from soldiers, who pursue them with their swords drawn.)*

Did you behold the pageant? Great Babylon is fallen; an English army hath extirpated Presbytery, root and branch: the Elders may, in Scotland, court Susanna, here are too many Daniels to sift them: and now, sir, you must go, but not to Scotland; that's but purgatory; yet where you'll find many blue bonnets more, I mean to hell.—Thus I dismiss thy soul.—

Direct. Hold, sir, and ere you send my soul to wander in the invisible land, hear what I now shall utter. By heaven and earth, and him that made them both, I ne'er was guilty, not in thought, till this dire hour, of the defiling of your marriage-bed.

Anar. Dost think, dull fool, that all thy protestations, thy heav'd up hands and sighs, were they as numerous as the sand hid in the Baltick-sea, should raise my heart for to relent? No, in thy death England gathers life, whose happiness I wish. Thus for it work. [*Stabs him with a poniard.*

Direct. O! thou hast op'd a flood-gate, which will not close, till my heart-blood is drain'd.

Prisc. If thou wert born of woman, spare my life.

Anar. O thou luxurious strumpet, hath not thy guilt, or fear, bereft thy tongue of utterance? Methinks, thou should'st, when thinking on thy fact, convert to stone; and save my hand a labour to send thee to another world. There, strumpet. [*Stabs her.*

Prisc. O heaven!

Anar. So——How like you this? Phlebotomizing only can cure the fever in your blood. Why don't you mingle limbs! Get up and at it.

Direct. Like to a ship dismember'd of her sails, and cuff'd from side to side by surly waves, so doth my soul fare:

As that poor vessel, rests my brittle stay;
Nearer the land, still nearer cast away.

Presbytery in my fall receives its mortal wound, and ne'er must look in England to bear sway. O, O, I see in this the power of Providence;

Whose stronger hand restrains our wilful powers;
A will above doth rule the will of ours.

[*He dies.*

Anar. He's dead, but she remains with life. And wilt thou not accompany thy lecher, that he may man thee into Charon's boat?

Prisc. My soul disdains her habitation, and now will needs be fleeting. Know, sir, (for now I fear not all your fury,) I lov'd Directory as my own soul, and knew him oftener than yourself; for which may Heaven forgive me! For his sake I could wish to live, but now he's gone, what should I do on earth?

Death our delights continually doth sever;
Virtue alone abandoneth us never.

[*She dies.*

Anar. She's gone; farewell for ever. May Heaven forgive thy fault! I would not prosecute revenge so far, as wish thy soul destruction. What now remains for me? I must be gone far hence, ere Sol visit our horizon: let fortune do her worst.

Her frowns he fears not, nor her hott'st alarms,
That bears against them patience for his arms.

[*Exit.*

Semper iidem: Or, a Parallel betwixt the Ancient and Modern Fanaticks.

'In the latter Times, some shall depart from the Faith, giving Heed to se-
'ducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils.'——1 Tim. iv. 1.

London, Printed for Richard Lownds, at the White Lion, in St. Paul's Church-yard, over-against the little North-Door, 1661.

[Quarto; containing twenty-four pages.]

To the READER.

After the great disturbance, which the Fanaticks gave the City of London, and other parts of this kingdom, in January 1660, and the reading their pernicious pamphlet, intitled, 'A Door of Hope; or, A Call and Declaration for the Gathering together of the 'first ripe Fruits unto the Standard of our Lord King Jesus:' I began to reflect upon what I had many years since read, touching their predecessors, in our histories and chronicles; and, upon a re-perusal of them, I found much of what the worst of our modern Fanaticks have, in these late days, acted and attempted, to be strangely copied out to their hand, by their brethren in the former age: and this, for the most part, in so exact a parallel of particulars, persons, and circumstances, that I thought the publication of some of those histories in brief, with the tragical ends, which those sectaries received, as a just reward of their impiety and treason; might, if not deter the remnant of them, from holding such blasphemous opinions towards God, or ever attempting such treasons against the king; yet, at least, confirm good Christians, in a settled religion towards the one, and encourage good subjects in a perfect loyalty to the other.

In the year 1414, Henry the Fifth, king of England, keeping his Christmas (saith Stow) at his manor of Eltham, seven miles from London, received notice, that certain persons had conspired to have taken, or suddenly slain him, and his brethren, on the Twelfth-day at night; to wit, sir John Oldcastle, sir Roger Acton, and others: whereupon he sent to the Mayor of London to arrest all such suspicious persons, &c. and removed himself privately to Westminster, went into St. Giles's-fields at midnight, where divers were taken, &c. and, on the twelfth of January, sixty-nine of them were condemned of treason at Westminster; of which, on the morrow, thirty-seven of them were hanged in St. Giles's-fields, &c. And, shortly after, sir Roger Acton was apprehended; and, on the tenth of February, drawn, hanged, and buried under the gallows.

Sir John Oldcastle, some three years after, was taken by chance in the territory of the lord Powis, in the borders of Wales, not without danger and hurt to some that took him: nor could he himself be laid hold on before he was wounded, and was so brought up to London in a litter during the parliament, and there examined, indicted, &c. To which, he having made a resolute answer, was, for the aforesaid treason and other conspiracies, condemned to be drawn, and hanged upon a gallows, as a traitor, and to be burnt, as an heretick, hanging upon the same; which judgment was executed upon him on the fourteenth of December, in St. Giles's-fields; where many honourable persons being present, the last words he spoke were to sir Thomas Copingham, adjuring him, "That, if he saw

him rise from death to life again the third day, he would procure, that his sect might be in peace."

Tantâ prædictus fuit dementiâ, (says Walsingham,) *ut putaret se post triduum à morte resurrecturum.* This Oldcastle was grown so great a fanatick, that he persuaded himself, he should rise again the third day; as another saviour of his sectaries.

Now, if you would know of what particular sect these two rebel knights, and their adherents were, our chronologers will tell you, they were (according to the appellation of those times) Lollards, or Wickliffians, which may also be gathered from Mr. Fox's Acts and Monuments, where he says, his martyrs were, in some places, called 'Poor People 'of Lions;' in other places, 'Lollards;' in others, 'Turrelupins and Chagnards,' but most commonly 'Waldois.' And, in another place, he represents the picture of the burning and hanging of divers persons counted for Lollards in Henry the Fifth's time, which were of this gang; that is, all really Fanaticks, as plainly appears by their being all guided by the same fantastical spirit.

Mr. Fuller (arguing the case of this sir John, whether innocent or nocent, a saint or a heretick) at last resolves thus: 'The records of the Tower and acts of parliament, where-'in he was solemnly condemned for a traitor, as well as heretick, challenge belief.—Let 'Mr. Fox therefore be his compurgator, I dare not.' Thus Mr. Fuller, a frank ingenious pen.

The Lollards were so called, from one Walter Lollard, a German, the first author of this sect, who lived about the year 1315, and was infected with divers errors and heresies; which yet did not get much footing in Christendom, till such time as John Wickliff, curate of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, about the year 1380, did espouse their tenets, and augment their number: of whom Dr. Heylin, in his learned *Certamen Epistolare*, says thus; 'Though he held many points against those of Rome, yet had his field more tares 'than wheat;' and that, amongst many other errors, he maintained these:

1. That the sacrament of the altar is nothing else but a piece of bread.
2. That priests have no more authority to administer sacraments than laymen.
3. That all things ought to be in common.
4. That it is as lawful to christen a child in a tub of water at home, or in a ditch by the way, as in a font-stone in the church.
5. That it is as lawful at all times to confess unto a layman as to a priest.
6. That it is not necessary or profitable to have any church or chapel to pray, or perform divine service in.
7. That buryings in the church-yard are unprofitable and vain.
8. That holydays instituted by the church are not to be observed and kept in reverence; inasmuch as all days are alike.
9. That it is sufficient to believe, though a man do no good works at all.
10. That no human laws or constitutions do oblige a Christian.
11. That God never gave grace or knowledge to a great person or rich man, and that they in no wise follow the same.

To these, other authors add that he held:

12. That any layman may preach by his own authority, without license of the ordinary.
13. That the infant, though he die unbaptised, is saved, &c.
14. That all sins are not abolished by baptism.

Mr. Fuller, in his Church-History, liv. iv, p. 129, says in the margin, 'Wickliff guilty 'of many errors;' and proceeds to enumerate, as well the above-mentioned, as many more wherewith he stood charged, and was condemned by the council of Constance; in those times the supreme spiritual authority in the world.

Who sees not, amongst these, the principal tenets of our Anabaptists, Fifth-Monarchy-men, Levellers, and Quakers, now branched out from that seminary into particular sects? And that neither these Lollards nor Wickliffians were ever held for true Protestants, appears by this, that the oath which every sheriff of England took at the entering into that

office, as well in the time of queen Elizabeth and king James, as of the late king Charles of blessed memory, had this express clause in it, 'That he should seek to suppress all errors and heresies, commonly called Lollaries; and should be assistant to the commissaries and ordinary in church-matters.'

In the year 1428, father Abraham, a poor old man of Colchester, with John Waddon and William White, apostate priests and Wickliffians, were condemned and burnt for their heresies under king Henry the Sixth.

In the year 1535, 27 Hen. VIII, twenty-five hereticks were examined in St. Paul's church, London; whose opinions were: 1. That in Christ are not two natures. 2. That Christ neither took flesh nor blood of the virgin Mary. 3. That children born of infidels shall be saved. 4. That baptism of children is to no effect. 5. That the sacrament of Christ's body is but bread only. 6. That whosoever sinneth wittingly, after baptism, sinneth deadly and cannot be saved. Fourteen of these were condemned of obstinate heresy; a man and a woman of them were burnt in Smithfield; the other twelve were sent to other towns to be burnt.

In the year 1538, 30 Hen. VIII, four Anabaptists, three men and one woman, bore faggots at Paul's-cross; and soon after a man and a woman were burnt in Smithfield, for denying, that children ought to be baptized of necessity, or, if they were, then that they must be baptized again, when they come to age.

In the same year, John Lambert, *aliàs* Nicholson, a priest of Norfolk, fled out of England and became a Zwinglian, of whom thus Mr. Fox: 'Forasmuch as priests in those 'days could not be permitted to have wives, Lambert left his priesthood, and applied 'himself to the function of teaching, intending shortly after to be free of the grossers, 'and to marry;' &c.

After his return into England, he was accused of Zwinglianism, by Dr. Taylor: 'a 'man (saith Fox) in those days not much disagreeing from the Gospel.' Lambert appealed to king Henry the Eighth, as head of the church, who favourably consented to hear him at a day appointed, in Westminster-Hall; where the king, Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Barnes, with divers other bishops, and many of the nobility and king's council, were present. The chief article against him, then insisted upon, was the real presence in the sacrament, though he held several other tenets of Wickliff, as, that all Christian men were priests, that lay-men might preach, &c. And, after much time spent in hearing what he could say, the king at last asked him positively, "Dost thou say it is the body of Christ, or wilt thou deny it?" After some evasions, Lambert said at last, "I deny it to be the body of Christ." "Mark well, (said the king) for now thou shalt be condemned by Christ's own words: *Hoc est corpus meum;* This is my body."

After this, the king offered him pardon, if he would renounce his opinions: but, Lambert refusing, the king said, "Then thou must die, for I will not be a patron of hereticks;" and so commanded the lord Cromwell to read the sentence of condemnation against him, which he did out of a schedule; and Lambert was accordingly burnt in Smithfield, *anno* 1538.

'This Cromwell (says Mr. Fox) was at that time the chief friend of the Gospellers:' and here is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that Satan did here perform the condemnation of Lambert, by no other ministers than the Gospellers themselves, Cranmer, Cromwell, Dr. Taylor, and Barnes.

In the year 1539, 31 Hen. VIII, one Mandevil, Collins, and another, all anabaptists, were examined in St. Margaret's church; and, being condemned, were, on the third of May, burnt in the highway, between Southwark and Newington.

In the year 1549, 3 Edw. VI, archbishop Cranmer, with other bishops and doctors his assistants, condemned certain anabaptists; whereof some recanted, and bore faggots at Paul's-cross, and Colchester, &c.

In the year 1555, 3 Phil. & Mar. William Flower, of Snowhill in Cambridgeshire, a professed monk and priest in the abbey of Ely, left his order, took a wife, and turned Wickliffian; and, on Christmas-day, in the same year, being possessed with an high fa-

natick spirit, went to Westminster, where finding a priest, called John Cheltham, administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper to the people in St. Margaret's church, and being moved by God's Spirit, as he said, he pulled out his whiniard, or wood-knife, which he wore by his side, and grievously wounded the said priest in divers places, both of his head, arm, and hand; and, in all likelihood, would have slain him, if the people had not interposed and apprehended him.

This impious sectary did afterwards, as Mr. Fox relates, say in Newgate, "I cannot express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath shewed on me in this thing, which I repent not; and that he was compelled to it by the Spirit, &c. and sure of his salvation." For this most barbarous act, and most intolerable disturbance of the way then established, he was condemned and burnt. Yet Mr. Fox unwarily (to say no worse) concludeth, 'Thus endured this constant witness and faithful servant of God, William 'Flower, the extremity of the fire;' &c.

In the same year, 1555, Thomas Iveson, a carpenter, was condemned and burnt, for holding, among other Anabaptistical opinions, That the sacrament of baptism is a sign and token of Christ, as circumcision was, and no otherwise; and believed, that his sins were not washed away thereby, but his body only washed, for his sins are washed away only by Christ's blood. And, concerning the holy communion, he believed it to be a very idol, and detestable before God; and that all ceremonies used in the church, were superstitious and naught, &c.

Cornelius Bungay, a capper of Coventry, was also burnt in that city, for the same opinions, that Iveson held; saving, that for the most part each fanatick held somewhat peculiar to his own fancy.

John Maundrel, of Kevel in Wiltshire, cow-herd, was, in the year 1556, 4 Mar. condemned by the bishop of Salisbury, and burnt for divers heretical opinions obstinately held by him; who also did frequently disturb his parish-priest, whilst he was officiating in the church, as our modern Fanaticks now do, and just as they have a trick, to give nicknames to what they dislike; as steeple-house to the church, rag-of-popery to the surplice, grumbling-pipes to the organs, &c. and think they have sufficiently confuted them: so was this malapert cow-herd wont to call purgatory, the pope's pinfold, and never looked for any further confutation.

John Tankerfield the cook, August 26, 1555, being in the Cross-Keys inn, at St. Albans, preparing himself to be burnt for obstinacy in heretical opinions, demanded of the wine-drawer a pint of malmsey and a loaf, to celebrate the communion to himself, before he died, &c.; and having drunk up the wine, and eaten the bread, went to the place of execution, courageously; saying, 'I defy the whore of Babylon, I defy the whore of Ba-'bylon; fie on that abominable idol.' And with this (says Mr. Fox) he ended his martyrdom, and fell a-sleep in the Lord.

In the year 1557, William Bongiar, glazier, Thomas Bennold, tallow-chandler, and Robert Purchas, fuller, were burnt at Colchester in Essex; as well for affirming, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper was so far from being the holier, that it was rather the worse, for consecration; as for other fanatical opinions.

George Eagles, sirnamed, Trudge over the World, who, of a taylor, became a tub-preacher, was indicted of treason for assembling companies together, contrary to the laws of the land, &c. and for praying, that God would turn queen Mary's heart, or take her away. For which treason, he was drawn, hanged, and quartered, at Chelmsford in Essex, in the year 1557, 5 Mar.: this rebel Fanatick Mr. Fox is pleased, in one place, to call 'a blessed martyr of Christ;' and in another, 'a most painful traveller in Christ's Gospel.'

Hugh Latimer (says Mr. Fox) was the son of Hugh Latimer, of Thringston, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of right good estimation; at fourteen years old, he was sent to Cambridge, where, for a time, he was a zealous papist, &c. But, being affected with novelties, he began to seek occasions in his preachings, and other actions, to utter the same; scoffing at the rites and ceremonies of the church, and carping at clergy-

men's lives, wherein he had a singular talent. Wherefore, going up (says Mr. Fox) into the pulpit of St. Edward's church in Cambridge, upon the Sunday before Christmas-day, *ann.* 1529; he made a sermon of playing at cards, wherein he taught his audience, how to play at 'Triumph,' how to deal the cards, and what every sort did signify, and that the Heart was the Triumph; adding, moreover, such praises of that card, when it was Triumph, that, though it were never so small, yet would it take up the best Court-card besides, in the bunch; yea, though it were the King of Clubs himself, &c. Which handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied by him, that it not only declared a singular towardness of wit, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit; to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of perfect religion. He took occasion, under this disguise in this sermon, to inveigh bitterly against the religion then established; and compared the bishops and prelates to the Knaves of Clubs. He did so delight and bewitch the vulgar people, with jests and wantonness of speech, that the boys would follow him, and call him, 'Father Latimer,' and 'Apostle of England.'

He would often, in the pulpit, play upon the words *Pascere* and *Massere*, (which rhyme as well as Oliver's *Mumpsimus* and *Sumpsimus*,) complaining greatly, that *Massere* had driven out *Pascere*, and that *Pascere* could have no place for *Massere*; for that *Massere* was gainful, and *Pascere* was painful. And then he could cry out, and say, 'O good 'Pascere, who shall defend thee against *Massere?*'—With other such like stuff, fitter for a stage, than a pulpit: yet this drew the people infinitely after him, as all buffoonry is wont to do.

This Hugh had been, several times, accused for preaching heresy and sedition, especially, after the coming forth of the statute of six articles, *ann.* 1540, and did as often recant and abjure his opinions; but was, at last, deprived of his bishoprick of Worcester, by king Henry the Eighth, and sent prisoner to the Tower. But, after that king's death, he was released; and, in king Edward's days, at the instigation of the then protector, he publicly accused sir Thomas Seymour, lord-high-admiral, of treason, in a sermon at Oxford; by means whereof, sir Thomas was condemned in parliament, and executed the twentieth of March, 1549.

When queen Mary came to the crown, it was thought fit, in respect of the great mischief Hugh had done, by his licentious tongue in king Edward's days, and seditious behaviour against the queen's entrance, to call him, with archbishop Cranmer, and Nicholas Ridley, to a more strict account; and, after many conferences and examinations had, before Dr. White, bishop of Lincoln, Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and other commissioners; and many arguments and exhortations made to them, to recant their errors, principally those of Wickliff; yet they remained obstinate, and were burnt together, at Oxford, October 16, 1555; each of them making use of gunpowder, to dispatch himself quickly, as Mr. Fox observes.

Alexander Gouch, a weaver of shredded coverlets, being in the year 1551, and last of queen Mary, taken in a hay-loft at Grosborow in Suffolk, with Alice Driver, the wife of a neighbouring husbandman, where she was holding forth to him, (for Gouch was her disciple,) were carried prisoners to Ipswich; and afterwards, being brought to the assizes at Bury, Alice Driver, upon her examination, compared queen Mary then reigning, to Jezabel; for which, her ears were cut off. And upon her examination by doctor Spencer, chancellor to the bishop of Norwich, and others; she told them, "They were not able to resist the Spirit of God, which was in her;" and when they spoke of the blessed sacrament, and insisted upon the authority of the church; she demanded, "Where they found the word *church* written in the Scriptures?" and said positively, "she never read, nor heard, of any such sacrament there." For which, with other fanatical opinions, obstinately defended by her, and Gouch her mate; they were both burnt at Ipswich, in November, 1558.

John Tewksbury, a leather-seller of London, being infected with reading Tyndal's seditious books; especially, that intituled, 'The Wicked Mammon,' (which contained little else, but an odious invective against the bishops and prelates of the church,) grew to be so

obstinate in his opinions, that he was examined in open consistory, before Tunstal bishop of London, upon divers articles: as,

1. That the devil holds our hearts so hard, that it is impossible to consent to God's law.
2. That every one is lord of whatsoever another man hath.
3. That the Jews, of good intent and zeal, put Christ to death.
4. That Christ, with all his works, did not deserve Heaven.
5. We are damned by nature, as a toad is a toad by nature; &c.

Though he then maintained these with other errors, yet, the next session, he submitted himself; and in May, 1529, abjured his opinions; but, soon after, he returned to his vomit, and was burnt in Smithfield, in December next following.

Thomas Hawks, serving-man of Essex, a notorious Anabaptist, was convened before Bonner, bishop of London, his ordinary; as for other errors, so chiefly, for not permitting his young child to be baptized. He obstinately defended his child to be in no danger, if it should die without baptism: "I say (saith he) as St. Peter saith, 1 Pet. iii. Not the washing of water purgeth the filthiness of the flesh, but a good conscience consenting unto God." For which obstinacy, he was burnt at Coxhall in Essex, in the year 1555, and second of queen Mary.

Richard Woodman, of Warbleton in Sussex, ironmonger, being examined by Dr. Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, and other doctors, upon divers articles; Woodman affirmed positively, that he, forsooth, was sure, he had the Spirit of God, "and I can prove by places enough, (saith he) that Paul had the Spirit of God, as I myself and all God's elect have." No arguments, nor reason, could reclaim him from his errors; so that he was burnt at Lewes, in June, 1557.

In the year 1575, and seventeenth of queen Elizabeth's reign, the third of April, twenty-seven hereticks were condemned by the bishop of London and his assistants; for holding with the old Catharites, and new Anabaptists,

1. That Christ took not flesh of the substance of the blessed virgin Mary.
2. That infants of the faithful ought not to be baptized.
3. That it was not lawful for a Christian to take an oath.
4. And that no Christian may be a magistrate, or bear the sword; and the like.

Whereof four only did recant, and bore faggots at Paul's-cross, in sign of burning, if they had persevered obstinately in the same opinions.

The twelfth of June the same year, five persons were condemned in Paul's church by the bishops and clergy, for being of the sect of 'the Family of Love;' who escaped death by recanting that heresy at Paul's-cross, and detesting the author thereof, Henry Nicholas, and all his errors.

The seventeenth of September, 1583, and in the twenty-sixth year of the said queen, John Lewis, who named himself *Abdoit*, an obstinate Arian heretick, for denying the Godhead of Christ, and holding other detestable heresies, was burnt at Norwich. And, in the year 1589, and thirty-first of the said queen, one Francis Kett, a master of arts, born at Wymmondham in Norfolk, was condemned by Edmund, bishop of Norwich, for holding divers detestable opinions against Christ our Saviour; and was burnt near the city of Norwich.

The sixteenth of July, 1591, and thirty-third of Elizabeth, Edmund Coppinger and Henry Arthington (says Stow) repaired to one Walker's house near Broken-wharf, London; where, conferring with one of their sect, called William Hacket, of Oundle, in Northamptonshire, they offered to anoint him king: but Hacket, taking Coppinger by the hand, said, "You shall not need to anoint me, for I have been already anointed in heaven by the Holy Ghost himself." Then Coppinger asked him, "What his pleasure was to be done?" "Go your way both, (said he) and tell them in the city, that Christ Jesus is come with his fan in his hand, to judge the earth; and if any man ask where he is, tell him, he lies at Walker's house: and if they will not believe it, let them come and kill me, if they can; for, as truly as Christ Jesus is in heaven, so truly is he come to judge

the world. Coppinger said, it should be done forthwith; thereupon went forward, and Arthington followed: but, before he could get down stairs, they had begun below in the house to proclaim news from heaven of exceeding great mercy, that Christ Jesus was come, &c. They both cried, "Repent, England, repent;" as they passed along the streets: and being arrived in Cheapside, with a great concourse of people following them, they got up into an empty cart, where they read out of a paper, how Hacket represented Christ by taking a part of his glorified body by his principal spirit, and by the office of severing the good from the bad with the fan in his hand; and of establishing the Gospel in Europe: telling the people also where he remained, that they were two prophets (the one of mercy, the other of judgment) sent, and extraordinarily called by God to assist him in this great work, and were witnesses of these things, &c.

But Hacket, being apprehended, was brought to the Sessions-house in the Old-Bailey; where, for his said mad pranks, for irreverent speeches against her majesty, and for maliciously thrusting an iron instrument into the queen's picture, he had judgment; and, on the twenty-eighth of July, he was drawn from Newgate to Cheapside, all the way crying out, sometimes "Jehovah, Messias, Jehovah, Messias;" at other times, saying, "Look, look how the heavens open wide, and the Son of God comes down to deliver me." When he came under the gibbet, near the cross in Cheapside, he was exhorted to ask God and the queen forgiveness; but, instead thereof, he fell to cursing her, and began a most blasphemous and execrable prayer against the Divine Majesty of God. They had much ado to get him up the ladder, where he was hanged, and after bowelled and quartered.

The next day, being the twenty-ninth of July, Coppinger, having wilfully abstained from sustenance, (as was said) died in Bridewell; and Arthington was long reserved in the Compter of Woodstreet, in hope of his repentance.

This Arthington, during his imprisonment, wrote a book, intituled, 'The Seduction of Henry Arthington by Hacket, in the year 1592,' and dedicated it to the lords of her majesty's council; in which he discourses of two spirits that he had, the first from the time of his being a Protestant, to the death of Hacket; the second from that time forward. His first spirit he assured himself to be of the Holy Ghost, for that it was founded in the hatred of papists and papistry, whom he held for traitors; it moved him to follow sermons, and particular fasts and exercises; and, besides, he felt himself possessed, to use his own words, with a burning heat within him, and his love and affection greatly placed towards the preaching ministry, &c.

Thus he describeth his first spirit, which induced him by little and little to join with Hacket and Coppinger; and at last, to believe the one to be Christ, the other a prophet; as you have heard.

Of his other spirit he discourseth thus, I certainly knew myself to be reserved for salvation in Christ; yea, I did expostulate with God's merciful Majesty, after my fall with Hacket, whether I was a reprobate or no: and presently the Holy Ghost did assure my heart, that I was no reprobate; but that my case, in effect, was much like St. Paul's, &c. I was assured of my spirit by these tokens following: 1. By experience of God's providence in still preserving me. 2. For that God hath sent his Spirit into my heart to cry, 'Abba Father.' 3. For that God doth still increase my faith. 4. In that I knew my faith to be founded in the fruits of God's Spirit, &c.

This last spirit he knew to be of God, the other of Satan; which before he thought to be as much of God as this: and, in truth, he had as much assurance of the one as the other, but only by the mad persuasion of his own frantic brain. You may read more of these three grand sectaries in an old book, intituled, 'Conspiracy of pretended Reformation.'

Many other examples might be collected, out of our historians, of this fanatick spirit in former times; which never, till our late horrid rebellion, and anarchical confusion in government, was permitted to grow to so great a head. And from the consideration of these, which have, for the most part, been gathered out of Mr. Fox's 'Acts and Monuments,' we may justly charge that author with a great double injury. The first and prin-

cipal; in canonizing a great number of apparent fanaticks and sectaries into the list of Protestant saints and martyrs; it being evident to every impartial reader, even by Mr. Fox's own relations, that a very notable part of his sufferers were such; and if the records of those times were extant, and the examinations of those ancienter fanaticks freely perused, without question a far greater number of such mad saints might be discovered amongst them. Which I am so much the more inclined to believe on the authority of a learned writer, who lived very near those days, and thus expresses their character: "They were drunk (says he) with the pride of heresy, and put out of their right senses by the frenzy thereof:" which is just the periphrasis of a Fanatick. The other injury, which I find this author guilty of, is, his immoderate reviling, and sometimes falsely accusing both queen Mary, and the papists of those days, of greater severities and persecutions than they were really guilty of; though in some cases they certainly were too cruel and rigorous. Yet it was no more than what Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, her predecessors, did before her; and what queen Elizabeth, her successor, did after her.

For proof of this, I find one Greenwood, or Grimwood, of Hitcham, in the county of Suffolk, accused by Mr. Fox to be a perjured papist, and a great persecutor of his martyrs, and therefore had great plagues inflicted on him; and, being in health, his bowels fell out of his body by the terrible judgment of God. Now, for an evident conviction of this falsehood, one parson Prick, not long after the first edition of Fox's 'Acts and Monuments,' and in the twenty-seventh year of queen Elizabeth, took occasion to revile the papists in a sermon, as the custom was; and, in particular, told this story of Greenwood in the pulpit, and cited his author as infallible: but so it happened, that Mr. Greenwood, who was a good Protestant, was present at that very sermon, and never was so plagued; but soon after brought his action on the case against Mr. Prick, for calling him perjured person, to which the defendant pleaded not guilty; and this matter being disclosed upon the evidence, Wray, chief-justice, delivered the law to the jury, in favour of Mr. Prick; That, it being delivered but as a story (such it seems are too many of Mr. Fox's) and not with any malice or intention to slander any, he was not guilty of the words maliciously, and so was not found guilty: and judge Popham affirmed it to be good in law.

The exact particulars of this case you may find amongst the records of Westminster-hall of that year; and, in a case of like nature betwixt Brook and Montague, 3 Jac. it was cited by Sir Edward Coke, then attorney-general, and is briefly printed in the second part of judge Croke's Reports, published by the learned sir Harbottle Grimston, bart. speaker of the late parliament.

The PARALLEL.

Ancient.	Modern.
THOMAS Lord Cromwell, earl of Essex, and lord-keeper of the great-seal (son of a blacksmith of Putney, who was in his latter days a brewer) was first a servant to cardinal Wolsey, and afterwards a principal minister of state to king Henry the Eighth; and among other great offices which he had, he was vicar-general over all the spiritualty, though a layman, and sat divers times in the convocation among the bishops; by means whereof, and of his great power, and propension to schism and heresy, he ransacked, dissolved, and subverted many abbeys and religious houses; and, if he had lived, had a heart inclined to act greater mischiefs, both in church and state: but, on the nine-	OLIVER CROMWELL had, indeed, some advantage over his name-sake lord in the quality of his birth, but none in that of his profession; he being a brother too of the jolly brewhouse, though he far surpassed the other in the mystery of iniquity. In the late rebellion, raised against king Charles the First, of blessed memory, he began to set up a new trade, and was at first captain of a troop of sectaries; afterwards, by unheard-of policy, became general; and the better to serve his own ambitious ends, on the thirtieth of January, 1648, did most barbarously murder that good king at his own palace-gate; then made himself protector of an Utopian commonwealth, and on

Ancient.

teenth of July, 1540, he was arraigned and condemned of heresy and treason, and on the twenty-ninth of the same month, was beheaded at Tower-hill.

Hugh Latimer, son of a husbandman in Leicestershire, pretended to the office of the ministry, affected a drollish way of holding-forth in the pulpit, was a great enemy to bishops and clergy, and as great a patron of fanaticks; and, finally, was burnt at Oxford, the sixteenth of October, 1535.

William Hacket, of Oundle in Northamptonshire, proclaimed himself in London to be Christ Jesus, come with his fan in his hand to judge the earth; and was attended by Edmund Coppinger and Henry Arthington, his two false prophets, the one of mercy, the other of judgment; for which, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1590, he was hanged on a gibbet in Cheapside. Coppinger died a prisoner in Bridewell, and Arthington long after in Woodstreet Compter.

John Lambert, of Norfolk, a Zuinglian (in our modern dialect, a Fanatick) was accused of heresy, and had the honour to be tried by king Henry the Eighth, and many lords spiritual and temporal, in Westminster-hall; was found guilty and obstinate, and burnt in Smithfield, in the year 1538.

John Tewksbury, of London, leather-seller, obstinately held certain anabaptistical and heretical opinions; for which he was condemned and burnt in Smithfield, in December, 1529.

John Maundrell, of Kevel in Wiltshire, cow-herd, was condemned by the bishop of Salisbury, for obstinately holding divers heretical and fantastical opinions, and burnt in the year 1556.

William Tyndal, about the year 1527, wrote a seditious and invective book against the bishops and prelates of the church, and intituled it, 'The Wicked Mammon.'

John Lewis, an obstinate Arian heretick,

Modern.

the third of September, 1658, died full of murders, wickednesses, and treasons. His body lay inhumed at Westminster, till the thirtieth of January, 1660, when it was, by order of parliament, hanged at Tyburn, with Bradshaw and Ireton his accomplices; and, finally, buried under that gallows.

Hugh Peters, of like mean extraction, usurped the office of the ministry; was used by Oliver, as a fit instrument in the pulpit, to encourage rebels in their evil ways; had a great hand in spilling the royal blood; was no better a friend to the hierarchy, than other sectaries are; was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Charing-cross (the same sixteenth of October) 1660.

James Naylor, of Anderslow in Yorkshire, declared himself, at Bristol, to be the son of God, and king of righteousness; where he rode about, pronouncing his blasphemies, attended by Martha Simonds, Hannah Stranger, and Dorcas Erbury, representing the three Maries in the Gospel, John xix. 25. For which (instead of a thousand deaths, which he deserved) he had only his tongue bored through with a hot iron, at the Old Exchange, London, the twenty-seventh of December, 1656.

John Lambert, of Yorkshire, a great sectary, a partaker in Oliver's iniquities, had the honour to be judged by king Charles the Second, and his parliament, in the year 1660; was found guilty, but mercifully reprieved during their pleasure.

Praise-god Barebones, of London, leather-seller, was a great Anabaptist commonwealth's-man, a lay-preacher, and of a factious spirit; yet the mercy of the king and parliament has pardoned his errors, in hopes he may grow better.

Giles Prichard, of Islington in Middlesex, cow-herd, was, upon his trial at the Sessions-house in the Old-Bailey, found guilty of the rebellion, in January, 1660, and hanged in Cheapside.

William Prynne, in the year 1636, wrote the like, intituling it, 'The Unbishoping of Timothy and Titus;' the only person in this unhappy parallel, who has given large testimonies of his reconcilement to loyalty and reason.

John Fry, a member of the Long-parlia-

for denying the Godhead of Christ, and holding other blasphemous and detestable heresies, was burnt at Norwich, the seventeenth of September, 1583.

In the year 1414, sir John Oldcastle and sir Roger Acton, with other Fanaticks, plotted a desperate rebellion in St. Giles's Fields, against King Henry the Fifth; for which, thirty-seven of them were, in the same year, and in the same place, hanged.

Sir Roger Acton soon after was hanged, drawn, and buried under the gallows, for his detestable rebellion.

ment, held the like opinions, and asserted them in print; for which he was only dismembered, escaping further punishment, through the liberty of those evil times.

In January, 1660, Thomas Venner, Roger Hodgkins, and other Fanaticks, contrived a horrid insurrection in Woodstreet, London, against king Charles the Second, (whom God long preserve!) for which fourteen of them were hanged in the same month, and near the same place.

On the thirtieth of January, 1660, Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were drawn, hanged, and buried under Tyburn, for murder and rebellion.

The ancient and modern Fanaticks agreed exactly in these particulars: First, They pretended the motion and impulse of the Spirit for what they did. Secondly, They declared against kings and magistrates. Thirdly, Against payment of tithes. Fourthly, Against the whore of Babylon and popish clergy: only our moderns have gone farther, against even all kinds of clergy. Fifthly, Against swearing in any case; and they alleged Scripture for whatsoever they asserted. 'We will not, says "The Door of Hope," have 'any thing to do with the antichristian magistracy, ministry, tithes, &c. which are none 'of our Lord's appointment,---but false and Babylonish.' From such saints, and such martyrs, good Lord deliver our gracious king and all his kingdoms!

The five Years of King James, or, the Condition of the State of England, and the Relation it had to other Provinces. Written by Sir Fulk Grevill, late Lord Brook[1].

London: Printed for W. R. in the Year 1643.

[Quarto; containing eighty-four pages.]

HOWSOEVER every kingdom and commonwealth may be both well and upright governed, and that good men may be the means to support it; yet there can be no such commonwealth, but, amongst the good, there will be some evil persons. These, whether by nature induced; or through envy and ambition, to the intent to satisfy their ap-

[1] Lord Orford, relying more perhaps upon the authority of this title-page than on his own discernment, has made no scruple of including the tract now before us in the list of lord Brooke's works. Royal and Noble Authors, ii. 226. edit. 1804. But sir Edgerton Brydges remarks, that 'neither the style nor sentiments being 'agreeable to Sir Fulk Grevil's manner, and as he mentions not this treatise among his other writings, we meet 'with no confirmation of its being written by him.' Memoirs of English Peers, *temp. Jac. I.* p. 104. A very intelligent writer, in Harding's Biographical Mirror, exclaims, 'It is strange that the earl of Orford should 'have supposed this book the composition of lord Brooke. It has nothing of his style; and the mis-statements 'of facts, shew it could not be written by a man who held the high office of chancellor of the exchequer in the

petites, persuaded; do oftentimes enter into actions repugnant unto the felicity of good government and commonwealths, and by evil causers and perverse deeds, do secretly and underhand, seek to hasten and set forward the ruin and decay of the same. These things,

'reign of James the First. This book was evidently written by one of the Presbyterian saints for party pur-'poses; and was afterwards republished with additions, under the title of "The first fourteen years of King 'James, &c. 4to. 1651." *Biog. Mir.* ii. 3. The reader must be left to reconcile this account with the following advertisement, prefixed to the second edition.

"The Stationer to the impartial Reader, Gentlemen, or others.

"Reader,

"*Tempus omnia terminat*—'Time ends all,' and brings to sight variety of strange and several actions, as here is to be seen by this ensuing history. Many in these days which were then unborn, and divers then born, will hardly give credit to the truth thereof (for truth and reality hath been too much obscured) but now understand, by pains, care, and industry, these have been collected and preserved, which are now here for thy pleasure, content, and delight, published to the world. If thou desirest to know the authors and preservers of these most remarkable accidents, and publisher and divulger of this excellent narrative history, being the first fourteen years of King James, please to take notice, these came forth of the studies, closets, cabinets, of some secretaries of state and some others; men of no mean quality, as thou wilt perceive in the reading over. For you shall finde it had more progenitors than one or two, and the truth itself hath been the best nurse, and that careful gentleman, G. W. the worthy preserver of these and many more originals of such like nature and kind, which have lien, like to a torch unlighted in obscurity and darkness. In which distance of time, some have adventured to light as it were a rush candle, which hath given no profit or real light, but as a glow-worm to the beholder; and thereby truth hath been so much abused and slandered. Wherefore I have lighted up that torch to publick view, and to the judgment of the understanding reader, whereby he may by this torch-light walk through the whole, and discover all the policies, dissimulations, treacheries, witchcraft, conjurings, charms, adulteries, poisonings, murderings, blasphemies, and heresies: all which here you shall finde to have their just sentence and reward, except where the king's pardon comes. All this I say, being now brought upon

"This world, a stage whereon, that day,
A king and subjects parts did play:
And now by death is sin rewarded,
Which in life time was not regarded;
And others here take up the rooms,
Whilst they lye low in graves and tombs.

"Shewing forth, that our good God hath a revenging hand, and scourging whip to punish sin, and maugre earthly pardons; for God is a just God to punish sin, either in this world or in the world to come; where not only publick and common sinners, but also the close hypocrite and shameless ranter, with the horrid blasphemer, and inventor and upholder of heresies, shall finde their just reward. This following story is worthy of observation; for here is to be seen God's justice, with punishments upon wicked sinful wretches (both in judgement and equity) observe what was here begun with vanity and adultery, ends in shame, infamy, and misery. And were there now in these times such sentence and execution performed, as the then learned Lord Cook gave on that fomenter of lust, Mrs. Anne Turner; whose sentence was, to be hanged at Tyburn in her yellow tiffiny ruffs and cuffs, being she was the first inventor and wearer of that horrid garb. Were there now in these days, the like upon such notorious black spotted faces, naked brests and backs; no doubt but that ugly fashion would soon there end in shame and detestation, which now is too vainly followed: for never, since the execution of her in that yellow ruff and cuffs, there hanged with her, was ever any seen to wear the like. And for this history ensuing, let me answer them that say, what need this history to fling dirt on the dead? To them this answer is made,—a fool shot his bolt before he saw the bird, and that not for want of ignorance, for had this still lien obscure, unhappily it might have come out hereafter, as too many gleaning bastard pieces do, too often in these present times; and this piece might have had a new poison added to this copy, and so the truth of the story been quite altered; whereas it now goes neither with patch nor powder, nor new-fashion dress, as that careful, worthy, and learned licenser can shew; nor detracted nor added one line to the matter of the original; and if any gentleman, or man of quality shall make doubt, because in some two or three places a name is left out, we have done according to the original copy; and if they be desirous to see the originals, (some of which be signed with the king's own hand, and other some under divers lords, bishops and examiners) they shall have leave to see them; and so I leave the unbiassed reader to read and judge, and rest and leave it and thee to God.

MI. SCINTILLA." [*i. e.* Michael Sparke.]

The iniquitous proceedings which form the subject of this tract are treated of by all the historians of that period. Should any reader be desirous of knowing further particulars respecting the parties concerned, the following works may be consulted: Weldon's Court and Character of King James, 1650. 8°. Aulicus Coquinariæ, 1650. 12°. D'Ewes' Hist. of his own time. Codrington's Life of the Earl of Essex, in Harl. Misc. I. 216. Cabala, p. 53. 221. Athen. Oxon. ii. 92. Roger Coke's Detection of the State of England. 1719. i. 67. Winwood's Memor. iii. 453. Cases of Divorce, &c. iii. 159. State Trials, i. 350. Crawfurd's Lives, p. 402. Mallet's Life of Bacon, 8°. p. 65—72. Biog. Brit. edit. Kippis. art. *Devereux* and *Coke*. Harding's Biog. Mirror, ii. 3. Brydges' Memoirs of Peers, *temp.* Jac. I. p. 96.]

because they happen contrary, and beyond expectation, are so much the more remarkable, by how much they are sudden and unexpected. And from hence it cometh, that no state of government can be said to be permanent, but that oftentimes those, said to be good, are by little and little converted unto those that be evil, and oftentimes changed from worse to worse, till they come to utter desolation.

Neither is this alone proper to our commonwealth, but to all; nor to foreign kingdoms, but to our own. For, although his majesty, at his coming to the crown, found us vexed with many defensive wars, as that in Ireland, that in the Low-Countries, and almost public against Spain, auxiliary in France, and continually in military employments; although he found it lacerated and torn, with divers factions of Protestants, Papists, and others, from amongst whom sprung some evil men, that endeavoured to set into combustion the whole state; yet, nevertheless, he established a peace, both honourable and profitable, with all neighbour princes, and, by relation, through all Europe; so that neither our friends, nor our enemies, might be either feared or suspected.

After this general peace was concluded, and the working heads of divers Papists were confined to a certain course of life, that is, peace; they now petition for toleration, for releases of vexation, to have liberty of conscience; and, forsooth, because they cannot have these things amongst them, they contrive a most horrible and devilish plot by gun-powder, to blow up the parliament, even the whole state and command of this kingdom; and so, at one puff, to conclude all this peace, and by that means to procure an unruly and unseemly avarice of this settled government: and this not so much to establish their own religion, for which they pretended it, but to establish their own power and preheminence, and to raise some private families to greatness and dignity; that so, faction being nourished, and that jurisdiction established, they might with great facility suppress whom they please, and support their own state. Thus may we see, that settled governments do cherish in themselves their own destruction, and their own subjects are oftentimes the cause of their own ruin, unless God of his mercy prevent it.

Of the Domestic Affairs, and of the lascivious Course of such on whom the King had bestowed the Honour of Knighthood.

THIS evil being discovered by the lord Mounteagle, and overpassed; divers discontents happened, some between the civilians and common-lawyers concerning prohibitions; and, for that there was one Dr. Cowell who stood stiffly against the lord Cooke, divers discontents were nourished between the gentry and commonalty, concerning inclosure, and it grew out into a petty rebellion; which by the same was conjectured, not to happen so much for the thing itself, as for to find how the people stood affected to the present state, whereby divers quarrels and secret combustions were daily breaking out. In private families, one sided against another; and of these, Protestants against Papists; they thereby endeavouring to get a-head, and from small beginnings, to raise greater rebellions and discontents; shewed themselves heady, and speak publicly, what durst not heretofore have been spoken in corners. In outward appearance, Papists were favoured, masses almost publicly administered, Protestants discountenanced, dishonest men honoured, those that were little less than sorcerers, and witches, preferred; private quarrels nourished, but especially between Scottish and the English duels in every secret maintained; divers sects of vicious persons, of particular titles, pass unpunished or unregarded; as the sect of Roaring-boys, Boneventors, Bravados, Guarterers, and such like; being persons prodigal, and of great expence, who, having run themselves in debt, were constrained to run into faction, to defend them from danger of the law. These received maintenance from divers of the nobility, and not a little, as was suspected, from the earl of Northampton: which persons, though of themselves they were not able to attempt any enterprise, yet faith, honesty, and other good arts, being now little set by, and citizens, through lasciviousness, consuming their estates, it was likely their number would rather increase than diminish;

and, under these pretences, they entered into many desperate enterprises, and scarce any durst walk the streets with safety after nine at night. So, to conclude, in outward show, there appeared no certain affection, no certain obedience, no certain government amongst us.

Such persons on whom the king had bestowed particular honours, (either through pride of that, or their own prodigality,) lived at high rates, and, with their greatness, brought in excess of riot, both in clothes and diet. So our ancient customs were abandoned; and that strictness and severity, that had wont to be amongst us, the English scorned and contemned; every one applauding strange or new things, though never so costly, and, for the attaining of them, neither sparing purse nor credit; that prices of all sorts of commodities are raised, and those ancient gentlemen, who had left their inheritance whole, and well furnished with goods and chattels, having, thereof, kept good houses unto their sons, lived to see part consumed in riot and excess, and the rest, in possibility, to be utterly lost: the holy estate of matrimony most perfidiously broken, and, amongst many, made but a May-game; by which means, divers private families have been subverted, brothel-houses in abundance tolerated, and even great persons prostituting their bodies, to the intent to satisfy their appetites, and consume their substance, repairing to the city, and, to the intent to consume their virtues also, lived dissolute lives. And many of their ladies and daughters, to the intent to maintain themselves according to their dignities, prostitute their bodies in a shameful manner; ale-houses, dicing-houses, taverns, and places of vice and iniquity, beyond measure, abounding in many places; there being as much extortion for sin, as there is racking for rents, and as many ways to spend money, as are windings and turnings in towns and streets: so that, to outward appearance, the evil seems to overtop the good, and evil intentions and counsels rather prospered, than those that were profitable to the commonwealth.

Of my Lord of Northampton's Coming to Honour: the Cause of the Division between the Hollanders and the English; between the Scottish and English; between the English and Irish.

Now Henry Howard, youngest son of the duke of Norfolk, continuing a papist from his infancy unto this time, beginning to grow eminent, and being made famous heretofore for his learning, having been trained and brought up for a long time in Cambridge; by the persuasion of the king, changeth his opinion of religion in outward appearance; and, to the intent to reap unto himself more honour, became a Protestant: for which cause, he was created earl of Northampton, and had the king's favours bountifully bestowed upon him: first, the office of privy-seal, then the wardenship of Cinque-Ports, and, lastly, the refusal of being treasurer. This man was of a subtle and fine wit, of a good proportion, excellent in outward courtship, famous for secret insinuation, and for cunning flatteries, and, by reason of these flatteries, became a fit man for the conditions of those times, and was suspected to be scarce true unto his sovereign; but rather endeavouring, by some secret ways and means, to set abroad new plots, for to procure innovation. And, for this purpose, it was thought he had a hand in the contention that happened amongst the Hollanders and English, concerning the fishing; the Hollanders claiming right to have the fishing in the Levant, and the English claiming right: upon this contention, they fell from claim, to words of anger; from words of anger, to blows; so that there died many of them, and a star was left for further quarrel, but that it was salved by wise governors, and the expectation of some disappointed.

Nevertheless, the Papists, being a strong faction, and so great a man being their favourer, grew into their head's malice, and endeavour to make the insolency of the Scots to appear; who, to this intent, that they might be the more hated of the English, not contented with their present estate, would enter into outrages: some counterfeit the seal-manual, others taunt the nobility in disdain, and a third sort secretly contrive the English's death; whereby it happened, besides common clamour, that there were added secret

discontents of private persons, which caused jealousy to happen in those two nations. But his majesty, being both wise and worthy, foresaw the evil, and prevented it by proclamation; by which means, these clamours are stopped, and the injury and offences of both parties redressed. The Irish seeing these sores, and hearing of the misdemeanours, (for they have their intelligents here also,) begin to grow obstinate; and make religion a pretence, to colour their intentions; for which cause they stand out, and protest loss of life and goods, rather than to be forced from their opinion; being wavering and unconstant, rather thirsting for rebellion, to the intent to purchase their own liberty, than peace: every new alteration gives occasion of discontent, and causes new complaints to be brought to the king's ear, under pretence whereof, they grew contemptuous to their governors, and haters of the English laws. The captains and soldiers grew negligent for want of pay, the great men envying one another through private covetousness; and many insolencies, being suffered, cause there also, to be nourished, many misdemeanours, to the ruin of that government.

These things, being thus handled, administer occasion to the Papists to hope for some alteration and change. And that, as a body that is violent consumeth itself, without some special cause to maintain it; so these occurrences will be the cause of their own destruction. At this time, there was a leaguer in Denmark, and, shortly after, another in the Low-Countries; but, to what end their beginnings were intended, is yet unknown.

The Rising of the Earl of Somerset; his Favour and Greatness with the King; and his Parentage, and Discontent.

AMONG other accidents that happened about these times, the rising of one Mr. Carr was most remarkable; a man born of mean parentage[2], inhabitant in a village near Edinburgh, in Scotland, and there, through the favour of friends, was preferred to his majesty to be one of his pages; for he kept twelve, according to the custom of the French, and so continued it as long as he was in Scotland: afterwards, coming into England, the council thought it more honourable to have so many footmen to run with his majesty, as the queen had before; these youths had clothes put to their backs, according to their places, and fifty pounds a-piece in their purses, and so were dismissed the court.

This youth, amongst the rest, having thus lost his fortunes; to repair them again, makes haste into France, and there continued, until he had spent all his means and money. So that now, being bare in a strange country, without friends, or hope to obtain his expectation, he returns back for England, bringing nothing with him but the language, and a few French fashions; nevertheless, by the help of some of his countrymen, and ancient acquaintance, he was preferred unto lord Hays (a Scotchman, and favourite of the king's,) to wait upon him as his page. Not long after, that lord, amongst many others, was appointed to perform a tilting; who, bearing an affection to this young man, as well in respect he was his countryman, as that he found him to be of a bold disposition, comely visaged, and of proportionable personage, commixed with a courtly presence, prefers him to carry his device to the king, according to the custom in those pastimes used. Now when he should come to light from off his horse, to perform his office, his horse starts, throws him down, and breaks his leg. This accident (being no less strange than sudden) in such a place, causes the king to demand who he was? Answer was made, his name was *Carr*. He, taking notice of his name, and calling to remembrance, that such a one was his page, causes him to be had into the court; and there provided for him, until such time as he was recovered of his hurt. After, in process of time, the young man is called for, and made one of the bed-chamber to his majesty: he had not long continued in his place, before (by his good endeavours, and diligent service in his office) the king shewed extraordinary favour unto him, doubling the favour of

[2] [The parentage of Carr, or Kerr, was not mean: his father having had the honour of knighthood, and being otherwise of considerable power and influence in Scotland.]

every action in estimation, so that many are obscured, that he may be graced and dignified.

Thus 'the hand of the diligent maketh rich,' and the dutiful servant cometh to honour: he, of all others, either without fraud to obtain or desert to continue it, is made the king's favourite: no suit, no petition, no grant, no letter, but Mr. Carr must have a hand in it; so that great rewards are bestowed upon him by suitors, and large sums of money by his majesty; by which means his wealth increased with his favour, and with both, honours: for virtue and riches dignify their owners; being, from a page, raised to the dignity of knighthood.

After, his favour increasing with his honours, there was no demand but he had it, no suit but he obtained it, whether it were crown-lands, lands forfeited or confiscated; nothing so dear, but the king bestowed upon him, whereby his revenues were enlarged, and his glory so resplendent, that he drowned the dignity of the best of the nobility, and the eminency of such as were much more excellent. By which means, envy (the common companion of greatness) procures him much discontent; but yet, passing through all disadventures, continues his favour; and men, being drawn to applaud that which is either strange or new, began to sue him, and most to purchase him, to be their friend and assistant in court; so great and eminent was his favour.

Of the Breach that happened between the Earl of Essex and his Countess; her Hatred towards him; his Lenity; her Lightness; his Constancy.

Now, the cares of the vulgar being filled with the fortunes of this gentleman, it ministered occasion to pass to their opinions, concerning his worth and desert; some extol and laud his virtues, others the proportion of his personage, many his outward courtship, and most (as they stood affected) either praised or dispraised him; insomuch that, amongst the rest, the countess of Essex[3] (a woman at this time not greatly affecting her husband, and withal, being of a lustful appetite,) prodigal of expence, covetous of applause, ambitious of honour, and light of behaviour, having taken notice of this young gentleman's prosperity, and great favour that was shewed towards him above others, in hope to make some profit of him, most advances him to every one, commending his worth, spirit, audacity, and agility of body; so that her ancient, lawful, and accustomed love towards her lord begins to be obscured; and those embraces, that seemed heretofore pleasing, are turned into frowns, and harsh unseemly words usher her discontents unto her husband's ears.

The good earl carrying an extraordinary affection towards her, and being a man of a mild and courteous condition; with all honest and religious care, ready, rather, to suffer than correct these outrages, patiently admonisheth her to a better course of life, and to remember, that now all her fortune dependeth upon his prosperity, and therefore she offered more injury to herself, than hurt unto him: yet, nevertheless, she persisted, and from bare words, returned to actions, thereby giving people occasion to pass their censure of this disagreement: some attributing it to the inconstancy and looseness of the countess, others to the earl's travels, and that in his absence she continued most unconstant, of a loose life, suffering her body to be abused; and others, to make a shipwreck of her modesty, and to abrogate the rights of marriage; but most, because she could not have wherewith to satisfy her insatiate appetite and ambition, her husband living a private life.

For these causes, I say, she run at random, and played her pranks as the toy took her in the head, sometimes publicly, sometimes privately, whereby she disparaged her reputation, and brought herself into the contempt of the world; yet, notwithstanding, the earl retained her with him, allowed her honourable attendance, gave her means according to

[3] [Daughter of the earl of Suffolk, and betrothed to lord Essex at the age of thirteen.]

her place, and shewed an extraordinary affection; endeavouring rather by friendly and fair persuasions to win her, than to become rigid over her.

But these things little avail, where affections are carried to another scope; and those things, that, to the judgment of the wise, become fit to be used, are of others contemned and despised; so that almost all men speak of the looseness of her carriage, and wonder that the earl will suffer her in those courses: whereupon, he modestly tells her of it, giving her a check for her inordinate courses, shewing how much it both dishonoured him, and disparaged her, in persisting, in the eye of the world, after so loose and unseemly a sort; desiring her to be more civil at home, and not so often abroad; and thus they parted.

Of my Lord-Treasurer's Death. Of Mr. Overbury's Coming out of France: his Entertainment: he grows into Favour.

My Lord-treasurer Cecil[4] growing into years, having been a good statesman, the only supporter of the Protestant faction, discloser of treasons, and the only Mercury of our time; having been well acquainted with the affairs of this commonwealth, falls into a dangerous sickness; and, in process of time, through the extremity of the malady, dies: not without suspicion of poison, according to the opinion of some; others say of a secret disease, some naturally, and many not without the privity of sir Robert Carr: and the reason of their opinion was, because the king, upon a time, having given sir Robert the sum of twenty-thousand pounds, to be paid by my lord-treasurer, sir Robert Carr was denied it; upon which denial, there grew some difference between them. The king was privy to it after this manner. My lord, having told out five-thousand pounds, laid it in a passage-gallery: the king demands, Whose money that was? Answer was made by my lord-treasurer, "That it was but the fourth part of that which his majesty had given to sir Robert Carr:" whereupon, the king retired from his former grant, and wished sir Robert to satisfy himself with that, holding it to be a great gift. He, being thus crossed in his expectation, harboured in his heart the hope of revenge, which after happened, as was suspected: but it is not certain; therefore I omit it.

Upon the death of this gentleman, Mr. Overbury (sometime a student of the law in the Middle-Temple) was newly arrived out of France, who having obtained some favour in court beforetimes, because of some discontents, got licence to travel, and now, at his return, was entertained into the favour of sir Robert Carr. Whether it proceeded of any love towards him, or to the intent to make use of him, is not certain; yet, nevertheless, he puts him in trust with his most secret employments; in which he behaves himself honestly and discreetly, purchasing, by his wise carriage in that place, the good affection and favour not only of sir Robert, but of others also. In process of time, this favour procures profit, profit treasure, treasure honour, honour larger employments, and, in time, better execution. For, where diligence and humility are associated in great affairs, there favour is accompanied with both: so that many courtiers, perceiving his great hopes, grew into familiarity with him. The knight's expectations are performed, and his business accomplished, rather more than less, according to his wishes; so that, taking notice of his diligence to outward appearance, he gives him an extraordinary countenance, uniting him into friendship with himself; insomuch that, to the shew of the world, his bond was indissolvible, neither could there be more friendship used, since there was nothing so secret, nor any matter so private, but the knight imparted it to Mr. Overbury.

[4] [Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, who died on the 12th of May, 1612, about the age of 62.]

Of Mistress Turner's Life: how the Countess and she came acquainted. The Combination of the Earl's Death.

THE Countess of Essex, having harboured in her heart envy towards her husband even until this time, makes her repair unto mistress Turner, a gentlewoman that, from her youth, had been given over to a loose kind of life; being of a low stature, fair visage, for outward behaviour comely, but in prodigality and excess most riotous; by which course of life she had consumed the greatest part of her husband's means, and her own; so that now, wanting wherewith to fulfil her expectations and extreme pride, she falls unto evil courses; as to the prostitution of her body to common lust, to practise sorcery and inchantments, and to many, little less than a flat bawd. Her husband, dying, left her in a desperate state, because of her wants; by which means she is apt to enter into any evil accord, and to entertain any evil motion, be it never so facinorous. A doctor's wife, who was, during his life, her physician; and in that time she having been entertained into her company, his said wife by that means procured further acquaintance, being near of the said disposition and temperature, as *Pares cum paribus facilè congregantur:* from thence it happened, that she was suspected, even by her means and procurement before this, to have lived a loose life; for who can touch pitch and not be defiled? I say, having some familiarity with this woman, and now taking some discontent at her husband more than heretofore, by reason of her falling out with him, and his sharp answers (as she conceives) to her, repairs to her house, and there, amongst other discourses, disgorges herself against her husband, whereby the cause of her grief might easily be perceived. Mistress Turner, as feeling part of her pain, pities her; and in hope of profit, (being now in necessity and want,) is easily drawn to effect any thing that she requires: whereupon, by the report of some, it was concluded at this time between them to administer poison to the earl; but, not taking effect according to their expectation, the countess writes unto her to this purpose: 'Sweet Turner, as thou hast been hitherto, so art thou all my hopes of good in this 'world. My lord is as lusty as ever he was, and hath complained to my brother Howard, 'that he hath not lain with me, nor used me as his wife. This makes me mad; since of 'all men I loath him, because he is the only obstacle and hinderance, that I shall never 'enjoy him whom I love.'

The earl having overpassed this evil, and continued still in his pristine estate; procured not any affection, but more hatred and loathsomeness; so that it burst forth daily to my lord's great discontent, and draws her headlong into her own destruction.

Sir Robert Carr made Viscount Rochester; the Acquaintance between my Lord of Northampton and him, and the new Affection of the Countess.

THE King taking great liking to this young gentleman, to the intent that he might be no less eminent in honour, than he was powerful in wealth and substance, adorns him with the title of Viscount Rochester, and bestows the secretaryship of state upon him; so that his honour and his wealth make him famous to foreign nations. These things coming to my lord of Northampton's ears, having been a long time favourite in court, and now grown into years; and, by reason thereof, knowing the favour of the king to depend upon many uncertainties; and, although at this time he was the greater actor in state affairs, yet, if this young man continued his height of glory, all his dignity would either be abated, or overshadowed, and that he had not that free access to the king's ears, which he had wont to have; endeavoureth as much as in him lieth to make this courtier either to be wholly his, or dependent upon his favour; that so, having relation to him, he might make use of his greatness. And for this purpose he begins to applaud the wisdom and government of the viscount, his virtues, outward courtship, and comely carriage; and, to conclude, holds him a man of no less worth and desert, than any about the king.

Neither were these things spoken to private or particular persons alone, but even in the ears of the king; to the intent to confirm the king's favour towards him.

These things coming to this gentleman's ears, he takes it as a great favour from so great a personage, and therefore so much the more admires his own worth; raising his carriage above his wonted course, and in hope of better things, applauding every action performed by the earl; by which means there grows a kind of community between them, and there wants nothing but intercourse of speech for confirmation of acquaintance, and procuring further relation either to other. Time offers opportunity; the earl and he meet, and each changeth acquaintance with acquaintance of greater familiarity, so that many times letters passed between them in their absence, and courtly discourses, being present; by which means, on all hands, a confident amity is concluded.

In these times, the countess of Essex being a spectator of those, and perceiving this viscount to be still raised up unto honours daily, in hope of greater, is the more fired with a lustful desire; and the greater are her endeavours by the instigation of some of her friends to accomplish what she determined. For greatness doth not qualify, but set an edge upon lustful appetites; and, where the most means are to maintain it, there the greater affections are cherished.

The Course she takes to procure Affection: she combines with Doctor Forman; they conclude to bewitch the Viscount.

In these furious fits, she makes her repair to mistress Turner, and begins a new complaint, whereby she makes manifest an extraordinary affection towards this young gentleman, so that she could not rest without his company; neither knew she any means to attain her ends, there being no relation nor acquaintance between them. Whereupon mistress Turner, being still her second, and ready to put an evil attempt into execution, concludes with the countess to inchant the viscount to affect her; and, for this purpose, they fall acquainted with one doctor Forman, that dwelt at Lambeth, being an ancient gentleman, and thought to have skill in the magick-art. This man, by rewards and gifts, was wont to join with mistress Turner; who now, to the intent to prey upon the countess, endeavour, the best they may, to inchant the viscount's affection towards her. Much time is spent, many words of witchcraft, great cost in making pictures of wax, crosses of silver, and little babies for that use, yet all to small purpose. At length they, continuing in their sorcery, advised her to live at court, where she had free access without controul, though of small acquaintance with him, whom she most respected; nevertheless, shewing an affable countenance towards him, hoping, in process of time, to attain that she required. Time offers opportunity, and, amongst others, at length these two fall into league: the countess, being joyful of her prey, admires him, and uses all kindness that may be to intrap him: he, whether by these inchantments, or by the lightness of his own disposition carried, is as much besotted; numbering her amongst the best women, and doubling every action in his estimation, insomuch that he could scarce rest but in her company; whereupon their meetings grew frequent, and discourses pleasant, by these means inflaming the fire of a lustful appetite.

These things, having happened so well to her expectation, cause a great love towards this good couple, *viz.* doctor Forman and mistress Turner; soliciting them with letters, with money, and large promises, to continue still her friend: they willing to make use of their wealth, more than expecting any good they could accomplish by their art, persist amongst her employments. Mistress Turner makes trial for herself; by which means, many slights and accustomed tricks are practised, and now reported to return to the hurt of many: for, a woman's hands being once entered into the act of sin, she runs headlong to her destruction; turning those evil acts to evil ends, and endeavouring to purchase by that means profit and commodity.

How it was thought the Earl of Northampton had a Hand in the Business, who invites the Viscount to Supper. The Countess and he meet; Places of Meeting are appointed. The Earl made Chancellor of Cambridge.

It was vulgarly opinionated, that the countess of Essex, having sustained these discontents with her husband, acquainted her uncle, the earl of Northampton, of her affection especially towards the viscount; who weighing the profit that might redound to his own employments, if there were such affinity had between them, seemed to give a liking towards it; and endeavoured rather to further it, than at all to dissuade her, or give her that honest and good counsel to be dutiful to her husband, as was fitting. However, the first meeting that they had, wherein there was any conference, was at the earl's house, who invited the viscount to supper; and there finding the countess, they at their pleasure appointed meetings for further discourses. But, whether there was any one made privy to these things, it is not evident.

But from this time the countess and viscount continued their loose kind of life, and, as was commonly suspected, had further relation than was fitting, to the great disparagement of them both, and dishonour of so noble a house: what the issue of these things are, continues in obscurity, notwithstanding the earl of Northampton is much blamed, the countess defamed, and the viscount himself for his looseness suspected.

Now was this lord propounded at the regent-house to be chancellor of Cambridge: the scholars fall into divers opinions, and the Ramists propound the prince, to oppose him; this election passed on the earl's side; he refuses, but still flatters the scholars, makes the king acquainted with it, and though willing to undertake it, yet shewing an unwillingness, endeavoured rather to be urged to it, than receive it voluntarily: this was imputed, because of his opposing the prince, but the truth was to perceive, whether the scholars' affections were settled upon love and respect unto himself, or merely to depend upon his greatness. The king writes in his behalf to the vice-chancellor. They proceed to the new election; the earl again is chosen, his title sent him, and he in requital sends many and plausible letters; and, that they might be the more acceptable, being sent to scholars, wrote to them in Latin: it is intolerable the flattery that he used.

Overbury grows into Grace with the King; is made a Knight. The Intercourse between the Countess and the Viscount made known to Overbury.

After some continuance of time, Mr. Overbury grows eminent in court, as well by reason of the viscount's favour, as the good and careful diligence that he had in court-employments; so, that now comparing his worth with his wealth, he is had in more respect, and the honour of knighthood bestowed upon him, with the hope of better things: this, howsoever in itself it be not valuable, yet in speculators it striketh a doubt, especially in the viscount; for sovereignty and love can abide no paragon.

Things, that, at the beginning, proceed with modesty, are little or nothing regarded: but, when men grow old in such things that are hateful, they make every place alike with a blushless face, committing them to the open view. By this means Overbury came acquainted with this intercourse between the viscount and the countess; for now they, having had some time of familiarity and intercourse in remote parts, shame not to commit the sin of venery in the court, and that to the privity of sir Thomas; who both loaths and hates what he sees, avoiding rather than intruding himself to the knowledge of it; neither meddles he any way or other with it, but lets them alone in their vicious courses, and rather seems to be ignorant, than take any notice of it.

Nevertheless, he is employed to carry letters to and again between the countess and the viscount; some to Paternoster-Row; some to Hammersmith, and others to other

places of meeting, which were appointed between them; by which means, comparing both actions together, he entered into the secrets of this mystery, and became acquainted with more things than the viscount would have had him, from whence a kind of jealousy was carried towards him.

Of the second Complaint of the Earl of Essex. The Countess combines with Turner to bewitch him; it taketh effect. Forman's Death. One Gresham is entertained into the Business.

Now the earl of Essex, perceiving himself to be rather less regarded than any whit at all esteemed, enters into a new discourse with his lady, with many protestations both of his constancy and love towards her; but withal tells her of her looseness, of the report of the vulgar, and what a strange course of life she led, contrary to all piety and honesty; which stung the countess to the heart, and more increased and augmented her malice towards him; so that in a great fury she takes her coach, and repairs to her ancient acquaintance Mrs. Turner, who, according to her old custom, is ready to perform any evil act, and there they combine to bewitch the earl, and procure frigidity *quoad hanc*. For this purpose, Dr. Forman is consulted, for the procuring of means: pictures in wax are made, crosses, and many strange and uncouth things, (for what will the devil leave unattempted to accomplish their ends?) Many attempts failed, and still the earl stood it out. At last they framed a picture of wax, and got a thorn from a tree that bore leaves, and stuck upon the privity of the said picture; by which means they accomplished their desires.

This being done according to her expectation, she repairs to her house at Chartley, and thither the earl comes to her; but, whether he was more lusty than she expected, or what other accident happened, it is unknown; nevertheless, she grew jealous of her art, and falls into a great fear, that all their labour was lost, whereupon she wrote a letter to Dr. Forman to this effect:

'Sweet Father,

'ALTHOUGH I have found you ready at all times to further me, yet must I still crave 'your help; wherefore I beseech you to remember, that you keep the doors close, and 'that you still retain the lord with me, and his affection towards me. I have no cause 'but to be confident in you; although the world be against me, yet Heaven fails me not: 'many are the troubles I sustain, the doggedness of my lord, the crossness of my enemies, 'and the subversion of my fortunes, unless you, by your wisdom, deliver me out of the 'midst of this wilderness, which I intreat for God's sake.

'From Chartley. 'Your affectionate loving daughter,

'FRANCES ESSEX.'

This letter, coming to the hands of the old master, procures a new attempt; and now he goes and inchants a nutmeg and a letter: one to be given to the viscount in his drink, the other to be sent unto him as a present. These things being accomplished, he, not long after, died; leaving behind him some of those letters, whereby the countess had intercourse with him, in his pocket, which gave some light into the business, amongst which this same was one.

Dr. Forman being dead, Mrs. Turner wanted one to assist her; whereupon, at the countess's coming up to London, one Gresham was nominated to be entertained into this business; and, in process of time, was wholly interested in it. This man was had in suspicion to have had a hand in the Gunpowder-treason, he wrote so near in his almanack: but, without question, he was a very skilful man in the mathematicks, and, in his later time, in witchcraft, as now suspected; and therefore the fitter to be employed in those practices, which, as they were devilish, so the devil had a hand in them.

The Countess sends the Viscount this Letter, inchanted by Dr. Forman. Places of Meeting appointed; their intolerable Looseness, and Poets' Verses upon them. The Beginning of their Fall.

UPON her return she sends congratulations to the viscount, and, with those, the letter sent her by Dr. Forman. He reads it, and the more he reads it, the more is intangled: for no man knows the miseries that are contained in evil arts, and who can withstand the words of evil tongues? Whereupon he returns answer, and new places of meeting are assigned; amongst the rest, one at Hammersmith. In the mean time, the viscount makes dispatch of his business, leaving things half-done, half-undone; to the intent he might meet her, who had now staid for his coming above two hours; and, being met, they solemnly saluted each other, fall into divers discourses, and insinuating phrases, from words to deeds, and from speaking to acting the sin of venery. The countess having obtained what she desired, and the viscount caught in the net of adulation, the more he strives to be loosed, being caught the faster; lust, having, by this means, got liberty, being covered with greatness, (like a fire long concealed in a pile of rotten wood,) burst forth with all looseness and licentiousness. Places of more frequent and private meetings being concluded between them, and persons fitting for their purposes being acquainted with their proceedings; watchwords are given: all things, having relation to a certain end, make them more boldly and safely to accomplish that which both time and memory cannot demonstrate in former history.

Now these good parts, which seemed heretofore to be hopeful in the viscount, consume to cinders; and the corruption remains to brand him in the forehead for his ill living: his modesty becomes eclipsed, his behaviour light, his carriage unseemly in his place; nothing so costly, no tyre so uncouth, but at all costs and charges he obtains it for the increase of favour; new fashions are produced, that so he might shew more beautiful and fair, and that his favour and personage might be made more manifest to the world; and for this purpose yellow bands, dusted hair, curled, crisped, frizzled, sleeked skins, open breasts beyond accustomed modesty, with many other inordinate attires, were worn on both sides to the shew of the world; so that, for the increase of dishonest appetites, they were abundantly practised and praised.

Surfeiting thus upon pleasure, having been before accustomed unto hardness, causeth him to fall into all manner of forgetfulness; letting all things go to wreck, careless in attendance, neglecting state-affairs, ignorant of his own worth, and subjecting himself to the lustful appetite of an evil woman; accounting no time so well spent, nor hour deemed so happy, as when dalliance and pleasant discourses passed between them, either in words or writings; so that in him may be verified the old saying of the poet:

Non facili juvenum multis è millibus unum
Virtuti pretium, qui putat esse suum;
Fallit eum vitium specie virtutis & umbrâ
Cùm sit triste habitum vultuque veste severum,
Nec dubio tanquam fruge laudatur avorum.

Of thousand youths there scarce is one
That virtue valueth as his prize,
For vice deceives him, and alone
The shew of virtue blinds their eyes:
Although their countenance pensive be,
Their garments and their habits grave,
Yet all their fruit, doubtless, we see,
Is lust and glory that they crave.

These things lay him open to the ill affection of them that hate him, and lay the foun-

dation of his utter subversion; since the eyes of all men are upon such as are eminent; and as black upon white is soonest discerned, so evil conditions, and lascivious affections, are soonest perceived in such persons.

The Faithfulness of Sir Thomas Overbury unto the Viscount; the Advice he gave him, contemned. Favours are more bestowed upon him; made of the Privy-Council.

THIS course of life, being somewhat strange to those that were ignorant of these designs, gives new occasion of wonder and admiration, how he should continue still his favour; many things being left undone, others done to the half, insomuch that all must lie upon Overbury's neck; and this doth he honestly, and to the viscount's credit, attributing every action to his doing, although of him neglected: answers for him in his absence, hastens dispatches in his presence, furthers the requests of suitors; and, through the neglect and carelessness of the viscount, grows in greater credit and esteem; so that his carefulness, sufficiency, and diligence, makes him become eminent, and beloved both of the king and council.

Yet nevertheless he lessens his own worth, gives all the dignity to the viscount; enquiring how the people stood affected towards him, finds many complaints, and some injuries to be done unto him, who, being blinded with pleasure, overslips, or lets them pass with small respect: whereupon he takes occasion, at a time convenient, to utter these, or the like words unto him: "Sir, howsoever other things may pass either with small regard, or be smothered with honour and greatness, yet such things, as lay a man open to obloquy and contempt, can hardly be obscured in a person so public and eminent as your lordship is: which things are often esteemed to be in a man that outwardly seemeth light and effeminate, or inwardly wanteth the ballast of government to poise external actions. Of a truth, sir, be it spoken without offence, the court calls your modesty into question; and fears that these honours, that should be hereditary to noble personages, will be obscured with eminent evils, and blemished with levity and inconstancy." These, with many other discourses, having, at this time, past between them, sounded something harshly in the viscount's ears; as all good counsel becomes evil to those that are evil: and in a kind of anger, he flung from him, though undeserved; yet nevertheless all his countenance and favour was not wholly obscured, but that he might still enjoy that which he expected, which was hope of preferment.

More favours are bestowed upon the viscount, being called to be one of the privy-council; which honour, howsoever it was great, and more than was expected, yet, because he was young, one that to the opinion of the world was of no education, literature, and experience (besides those inordinate courses) brings him into further contempt of the world; so that every man would take the freedom of his language, and speak harshly of these proceedings: some condemning his course of life, others his insufficiency, because of his youth, and most his want of experience, by which means his greatness overtops his substance; and, as a ship without ballast, is tottered to and again to the terror of those that are in it, in a storm and high water; even so these honours, thus suddenly bestowed upon him before his due time, lay him the more open to the evil opinion of the envious, and, with some, do sooner hasten his ruin. For which cause, it behoves such as are thus drawn up merely by fortune, either to be possessed with such virtues aforehand, that thereby they might maintain themselves in their greatness, or else to expect a sudden overthrow at a time unexpected.

B. 2. Speeches of the Lady Elizabeth's Marriage with the Palsgrave: Conditions concluded upon. A. 1. The Prince takes Dislike at the Viscount. The Prince's Death; Rumours upon the same.

Now Prince Henry was living, and having some intelligence of the loose kind of life which the viscount led; and being something jealous of him, because of that he heard; doth utterly dislike him, forbears his company, and whether for that, or some other cause, (it is unknown,) falls flat at odds with him; not once giving him any countenance, or vouchsafing him his countenance.

Not long after, as it might be about the beginning of November, he fell sick, and continued so some weeks, or little more; the malady increasing (lying in his head) he dies. A man may say of this prince, as was said of Mecænas, both for wisdom and strength of body, there was not the like to be found among the English: The hope of England! Strange was the accident, and many the rumours that ensued upon his death. Some said, that a French physician killed him, others that he was poisoned; again, others thought that he was bewitched; yet no certainty could be found, but that he died a natural death. This accident filled all the kingdom with lamentations, and caused the wedding[5], that followed at Candlemas after, to be kept in sable. The funeral was performed in great state, and with more grief: much might be said, but I leave it. My purpose being only in brief to set out these matters to memory, that after-ages might see the evil of our times, where the greatest part of many courtiers' actions are to find out tricks, how to circumvent their fellow-servants; and some, if it were possible, to dispossess the king of his dignity, as hereafter shall be shewed: so many are the discontents that are cherished among them.

These domestic affairs having thus happened, and the death of the prince filling the court with sorrow, and the court being full of other employments, (by reason of the marriage that was to be had with the Palsgrave of the Rhine, and her Grace, who was now marriageable,) passed over the rest in silence. The match is concluded, and great expectation and provision for his coming over to perform the ceremonies of matrimony are made; at whose coming, many rumours are spread abroad: first, that the Spaniard took this to the heart, and therefore laid wait to do him some mischief by the way; that there was a ship of pocket-pistols come out of Spain, and that it was intended by the Papists to have made a massacre; and that Northampton did utterly oppose this match, for he was as great an enemy to the Dutch and Protestants, as ever Cecil was their friend; and that many priests were arrived, and such-like. Yet, nevertheless, it was accomplished with great pomp and state; all or the greatest part of the nobility being there present; a masque in the great banqueting-house; the gentlemen of the Middle-Temple, and others of Gray's-Inn: a third, besides three-days tilting, and running at the ring, the king, himself in person, with the young prince that now is king; besides many other pastimes, both stately and becoming the dignity of a king.

At this time there was a proclamation against fardingales, but to little purpose, for they rather increased greater, than diminished; for, where a thing is once grown into a habit, it is hardly to be restrained.

There was another proclamation, upon the former report of the coming of a ship of pocket-pistols out of Spain; that no man should carry a pistol in his pocket, nor any that should be less than a foot long in the barrel. About this time also the Papists were disarmed, and many strange rumours raised: which things, because they were uncertain, I omit to relate them, being rather pertinent unto state, than unto profit.

[5] [Of the princess Elizabeth; which was celebrated with a silly profusion of expence, two months after the pompous funeral of prince Henry had exceeded the charge of 16,000*l.*]

Ambassadors sent into Russia, Sweden, and other Provinces, for the Renewing of Friendship. Of the League in the Low-Countries. The Rumour of it.

MANY outrages having been, now of late, committed by the archduke upon the States, divers rumours are raised concerning the Leaguer, both strange, and almost universal; for there were parties, the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and a cardinal, to aid the archduke against the States. The foundation of this combustion was laid upon the sacking of a Protestant town in Brabant; whereupon, Grave Maurice drew out ten-thousand into the field, and some few blows happened; and it was suspected it would have grown further, and that there would have been a general opposition between Protestants and Papists; but, by means of the pope and the king, it was agreed, and went no further, but left a scar to give a new occasion.

The war of Denmark was also brought unto a happy end, and the king retained his right there: not long after the issue whereof, ambassadors were sent into Muscovy, to renew the league of friendship with the emperor, who now being brought low, by continual wars, was glad to entertain such a motion. Traffick is confirmed there with that nation, and, from thence, the same ambassadors went to Sweden, to conclude a league of friendship; the reason whereof was thought to be, for the ancient amity, that had been had, heretofore, between the king of that nation; from thence, they went to the duke of Cleves, and so to the emperor, with salutations.

The Suit of the Cloth-workers: my Lord of Rochester stands for them. The Complaint of the Countess; she sues for a Divorce.

NOW, this year, the Cloth-workers, being covetous of larger employments, petition the king and council, that there might go no more white cloth out of this kingdom, but that they might be all dressed and dyed here, before they went over; and the reasons of their petition were three:

First, That the Hollanders, making use of dressing and drying our cloth, almost doubled the value they bought it for; whereby, they were enriched, and we were impoverished.

The second reason, That whereas there was a multitude of poor in this kingdom, that wanted employment; if they might have the dying and the dressing of those cloths, it would find them work, whereby they might be relieved; and there was no reason, why any others should make benefit of that, which we might make good of ourselves.

Lastly, Whereas the trade of dressing of cloth began to decay, if now they might but have this, in process of time, it might be restored; and they might have as good skill to dress cloth, as the Dutchmen.

My lord of Rochester, my lord of Northampton, and my lord-treasurer,[6] that now is, were great agents in this business, and were thought to have been promised great sums of money, to accomplish it.

Now the countess begins new complaints, and finds her art to continue firm, and that, indeed, there was such frigidity *quoad hanc* accomplished, that her husband, the good earl of Essex, could not execute the office of a husband: she ups, and tells her friends, that she is still a maid, and that she had good cause to complain, since that, she having continued so long his wife, she in that space had never the fruition of that pleasure, that ought to be between man and wife; for which cause, she protested that she would never keep him company any longer, and desired a divorcement, because of his insufficiency.

This seemed strange unto the world, who took notice of the earl to be of an able body, and likely to have many children, and to undertake any exploit for the good of the commonwealth; indeed valuing this, to be but an idle and vain rumour, that was spread, as

[6] [Probably the earl of Suffolk.]

often happened, to see how such a thing would be liked in the world; and, therefore, let it pass with little notice.

In the mean time, there is a motion between Rochester and her, for a marriage; and, since it was so, that the world had taken notice of their business, now to make some satisfaction, they would consummate a wedding between them. This motion was well liked of, on both parties; but an obstacle remained. Her husband was alive, and the law would not permit her to have two husbands: whereupon, she grows the more eager of a divorce, that so she might have a new husband, (for women of her disposition delight in change,) and therefore renews her complaint. Advice is taken in the business, whether such a thing may be had, there being no cause of public adultery, or dislike of the husband: again, it was a question, whether the wife might sue a divorce, or not; for that the bill of divorcement was given to the husband, and not to the wife? Many such-like objections being disputed to and again, at last, it is concluded, that in case the earl was so unable, as she reported, to execute the office of an husband, and that, upon the search of twelve matrons, she appeared still to be a maid; it was lawful, that there might be a divorce, and the reason was twofold: 1. That there might be a frigidity *quoad hanc;* 2. That marriage was appointed for procreation-sake, for which cause, it was thought lawful to sue a divorce.

Upon this, they proceeded to the search; twelve matrons were impannelled, the day appointed, the search made, and the verdict returned, that she was a true maid. Who should bring this to the ears of the king, but my lord of Northampton; and so likewise to the world; who grows jealous of fraud, doubting either corruption or deceit? For it was vulgarly reported, that she had a child long before, in my lord's absence: whereupon, some say this, some say that, and most, that the countess was not searched, but that one of sir Thomas Monson's daughters was brought in to be searched in her place, and so both judges and jury deceived. But how true this is, is not credible: yet, nevertheless, they grant a bill of divorce; and now a separation being had between them, the earl, in a great discontent, leaves the court, and repaired to his house in Warwickshire, and there lives a private life.

The Motion of Marriage goes forward; Overbury's Opinion concerning it; he dissuades Rochester from it: the Breach between them; the principal Cause of it.

Now might there be a lawful discourse of marriage, since there was a lawful divorce, had it nevertheless been kept private, and only some particular friends made privy on Rochester's side; but Overbury's advice he requires amongst others, in this business, though to what end, it is unknown. Nevertheless, Overbury was utterly against it; and, being in serious discourse with him, concerning this subject, in the passage-gallery at Whitehall, entered into these or the like words, as was reported: "First, How much he stood obliged to him, for his countenance and favour, who, therefore, would speak nothing but what was truth. Then, How dutiful and ready he was to perform all his commands; from whence, he might easily perceive, that what he spoke was out of affection. And, lastly, That he had often endeavoured to avert his mind from these things; that both time and the envy of men might turn to his prejudice; taxing him, that he had made all this to become hurtful unto him, and converting the meaning of good intentions towards him, to his disparagement and loss. Notwithstanding, the viscount still pressed him on to pass his opinion, protesting great kindness, and to do nothing without his opinion: whereupon he lets him understand, that perceiving the common reports of the multitude, and weighing them with the greatness of his person, he found it to be no less hurtful to his preferment, than helpful to subvert and overthrow him. For who would, being possessed of so great possibility as he was, so great honours and large revenues, and daily in expectation of others, cast all away upon a woman, that is noted both for her injury and immodesty; and pull upon him the hatred and contempt of great personages, for so small a matter?

Then he willed him to consider with himself, the condition of the person whereof he spoke; the manner of her carriage from her youth, her present conversation, the many envies, dishonours, and dislikes that were attendant upon her; and besides, which is now the common report of the vulgar, and he should find them to be so many evils to attend her subversion and overthrow.

"It is not the nature of a wise man to make her his wife, whom he hath made his whore. Lastly, he willed him to expect no better requital at her hands, than which she had shewed to her former husband; and withal, to weigh the present condition that he was in, and to compare it with the future; now he had, as it were, but an inclination unto such a thing, neither were those things made evident, that after-ages would lay open; nevertheless, that he was taxed with incivility, levity, and indeed effeminateness; that, by the opinion of the wise, he was adjudged altogether unworthy of that honour, that was bestowed upon him. But, when these surmises should come by this his marriage to be made evident, what evils, before, were but suspected, should then be enlarged, and laid to his charge. Honour is not attended with voluptuousness, nor are the ruins of a rotten branch to be cherished, upon a new planted tree; but, if that he meant to be made famous, and to continue that with him, that now he freely enjoyed, his opinion was, that he should utterly leave and forsake her company, and to hold her as both hurtful and hateful."

These speeches drew on others; and the viscount, being a little nettled in his affection, grows somewhat harsh. And sir Thomas having been heretofore excepted at, with these kinds of contentions, grows so much the more careless, and answers word for word; so that from fair and friendly speeches, they grew to words of anger, and to cross each other. In conclusion, Overbury requires his portion due unto him, and so wills Rochester to leave him to his own fortunes, for that he could not endure these inordinate jangles, which he had accustomed towards him of late; and that, if there had been any thing said, that was either offensive to him, or to the disparagement of the countess, it was by his own procurement, and by reason of the good-will and affection that he bore to him: with these, and many such words, they parted.

Rochester and the Countess meet, and conclude the Death of Overbury: That Northampton had a hand in it, Causes why.

THE Countess having, before this, borne a deadly hate towards Overbury, because he had oftentimes before dissuaded the viscount, to abstain from her company; yet now, having disclosed unto her this speech, she becomes much more revengeful; especially, because he had taxed her, with the name of a whore: for truth is hateful to the evil, and what before she concealed, now breaks forth with fury. For concealing anger is much worse than open violence: persuading Rochester, that it was not possible, that ever she should endure these injuries, or hope for any prosperity, as long as he lived; he being the only man, that withstood his purposes, with many other persuasions; that he only of all men began to grow eminent, and who was the man so likely to step up after him, as Overbury? Insomuch, as these persuasions, together with his own conceived evil, procure the viscount to give a liking to her determination, and to put his hand into the fire, where he needed not; making himself accessary to that, which he had no occasion to put in practice at all.

There were some, that charged Northampton to have had a hand in these businesses, and to have uttered these and the like words: "That he wondered how the viscount could be so much affected to this man Overbury, that without him he could do nothing, as it were, making him his right-hand; seeing he, being newly grown into the king's favour, and wholly depending upon his greatness, must expect to come to ruin, when that man rose to preferment." Also he condemned Overbury for his boldness and peremptory sauciness, that checked and corrected the viscount for the love that passed betwixt the viscount and him, and opposed many of his designs and purposes: whereupon he concluded,

"That unless he did either curb his greatness, or abate his pride, he in time would be equal with him, both in power and greatness." Whether this proceeded out of fear of himself, or envy towards Overbury, or to collogue with his niece and Rochester, or to prevent the plagues of sir Thomas (who altogether distasted these niggling courses), it cannot be conceived, that these are the last words, that he spoke of this subject: that, for his own part, he knew himself clear of all offences against the state, and their family was so eminent in the commonwealth, that he could not hurt him. But, for Rochester, being made privy to all his designs, growing peremptory, and no whit tractable to his disposition; besides, likely to come to eminency and honour in the commonwealth; he finds it both necessary and fitting, for his safety, that he should be a means to dispatch him: whereupon the viscount (being led by the nose, as he thought, for the best) gives consent, and endeavours to put in practice what they have determined. Now on all hands they cast about how this might be effected and pass unregarded, so that they might sustain no loss or disparagement by the attempt.

Sir William Wade removed from the Lieutenancy of the Tower. Sir Jervase Yelvis preferred.

For this purpose alone it was thought that a quarrel was picked with sir William Wade, who was now lieutenant of the Tower, and had continued so a great while; but there were other causes objected. And first, he was thought too severe against the lady Arabella,[7] and gave some other prisoners too much liberty. Another was, that he, being now grown rich, began to grow careless, and neglected his office. But the very truth of the business was thought to be this: Sir Jervase Yelvis, being a Lincolnshire gentleman, having been brought up in a public life from his youth, trained in the study of the public-laws at Lincoln's-Inn, and ambitious of preferment, offered a sum of money for that honour and place; for, howsoever sir William Wade might be one way taxed for his too much desire of wealth, (which thing might be tolerable in him, being pressed with a great charge,) yet he was wise, honest, and discreet in his place, and discharged it with much more sufficiency, than he that succeeded him; but, according to the saying of the poet,

Quisquis habet nummos, securâ navigat aurâ;
Fortunamque suo temperet arbitrio.

Those men, that store of money have,
With prosp'rous wind shall sail;
And fortune plays unto their wish,
To speed they cannot fail.

By this means he is got into the lieutenancy, and for this cause sir William Wade is put out. Things, ordered after this sort, never proceed without envy; unless the persons, that enjoy such places, be very considerate, it is likely they will have a sudden fall: but what care men of power for such things? He, being established in his office, must recollect his money paid, by using some kind of extortion; and, to bear out this, be observant to such as preferred him; and so, by their countenance, he might use the greater liberty. For this cause he made the earls of Northampton and Rochester the

[7] [Arabella Stuart, the only child of Charles Stuart, fifth earl of Lenox, who was uncle to James the Sixth of Scotland, and great-grandson to Henry the Seventh of England. Her double relation to royalty, made her equally obnoxious to Elizabeth and James, by both of whom she was treated with most unmerited austerity. Her name is seldom mentioned by our historians, except as coupled with Raleigh's ridiculous conspiracy; yet (she was a very accomplished person, as appears from a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury,) printed by Mr. Lodge, and became a victim to the miserable state-policy of our first James. Hence Wither, in his *Vox Pacifica*, deprecates

"The prosecution of the royal blood
In Arabella:——guilty of no crime;
Except it were offensive to be good,
And to have had her being in *his* time."]

whole end of his actions, fearing more to displease them, than the king: a fit man for their purpose.

The Countess repairs to Mrs. Turner to inquire a Man out for her; makes Complaint of Overbury's Insolency; and discloses her Determination. Weston is nominated.

In the mean time, the countess thought it not enough to hear, nor to fret and fume, nor persuade and entreat my lord to undertake this dangerous enterprise; but to Mrs. Turner she must go, and there renew her complaints with tears (hardly found in a woman of her disposition), protesting she was never so defamed; neither did she ever think, that any man durst to be so saucy, as to call her 'whore' and 'base woman,' and that to Rochester, her only hopes, and with an impudent face; but Overbury, that negro, that scum of men, that devil incarnate, he might do any thing, and pass either unregarded, or unpunished. This moves pity in this pitiful woman Mrs. Turner, who frets as fast to see her fret, so that there is such storming between them, as is incredible. At length, as we see two clouds, after long strife in the air, which shall have the priority in place, join in one; so these two women, after they had fulfilled their frantic humour, join in this, to be the death of him. That must be the end: there is no malice like the malice of a woman; no submission, no entreaty, no persuasion could prevail, but he must die. Mrs. Turner sooths her with "Aye, that she would; and it is pity he should live to defame so honourable a lady, so well descended, to the utter disparagement of her house; and that, rather than he should pass with life, she would dispatch him herself." Words of course, in such cases, where people are carried away with heady malice, not with reason. Yet, for all this, coming to their right senses, they begin to weigh the matter, and that it was no small thing to kill a man, both in respect of conscience, and law; therefore they cast about which should be the best way to do it: at last they conclude, that to poison him was the only way, and that with least suspicion. But then the party that should do it was to seek; for he must be no ordinary man, but an apothecary, or physician, that might temper the poison rightly to take effect, according to their mind, and of long study. One Weston was named, that had some time been servant to Dr. Turner, and thereby learned such experience, that none was so fitting to accomplish this exploit to him. This man, now in the country, must be sent for; Mrs. Turner must work upon him to bring him to this exploit; for things of this nature must be carried with wisdom and discretion: for who will hazard his life for 'Had I wist?' Two-hundred pounds are proffered him; and he, of all men, undertakes it.

Overbury's great Favour. The Motion of the Council to send him Ambassador to the Archduke. He contemplates of it; and is persuaded by my Lord Viscount to refuse it.

These things notwithstanding, Overbury still grows into favour; and the council, still finding his diligence and sufficiency in his place, nominates him as a man fit to be sent ambassador into the Low-Countries to the archduke; making that a means to draw him up to great preferments. This comes to Overbury's ear, who, knowing my lord of Northampton to be his utter enemy, and growing jealous of Rochester, begins to contemplate what the meaning of this might be: thus between hope and fear, he stands amazed. To refuse would be to his great disgrace; to undertake it would be to the loss of his preferment. Standing in these doubts, the viscount, after so many jangles, comes to him and salutes him; and, after many discourses, falls into speech of the intention of the council concerning this ambassage, not so much to assist and encourage him to it, as to see how he stood affected: whereupon, finding him hammering upon his determinations, not be-

ing certainly determined to any thing, he joins with him, and utterly dissuades him from undertaking it: "For (saith he) your preferments and your expectations lie not among foreign nations; you are now in credit at home, and have already made trial of the dangers of travel: why then should you hazard all upon uncertainties, being in possession, as a man may say, of all that you may expect by this means already?" These speeches, what with the trust he put in the viscount, what with the doubtfulness of his mind, do in a manner confirm his opinion rather to leave it, than to take it. But, nevertheless, he gives him to understand, that it was no small thing to oppose the determination of the council, and to contradict the king's employment; for in either of these he must expect the displeasure of both, and be in danger to receive condign punishment.

But Rochester, to get these doubts out of his mind, with great protestation and long discourses, let him understand he had so much experience of his worth, and found him so faithful and diligent in employments, that he could as well miss his right-hand, as miss him; and that, in case any such danger should happen to him, yet nevertheless, if either his word, his letter, credit, or favour, could either mitigate, release, or relieve him, it should not be wanting to do him ease and pleasure.

Being led on with these hopes, he is in a manner drawn utterly to deny that, which was intended for his profit, and to give him a fit opportunity to excuse their malice towards him, as after happened according to the saying of the poet:

Ne quicquam crede, haud credere quicquam
——————— nam fronte polito
Astutum rapido torrent sub pectore vulpem.

Believe not thou scarce any man;
For oft a Phrygian face
Is smoothly cover'd with a smile,
But within seeks thy disgrace.

The viscount, seeing him at this time in so fitting a vein to be wrought upon, and so easily to be dissuaded from his purpose, shewed him much more favour than heretofore he had done; the better to confirm credence in him towards his persuasions, and to encourage him in his determination; and by this means he is utterly deceived, and grows confident to forsake it. In this mind the viscount leaves him, and betakes himself to his purpose.

The Countess, Earl, and Viscount meet. They determine of the Matter. The King is incensed against Overbury.

Sir Jervase, being now grown old in his office, and being acquainted with it, amongst other things, is sounded whether he stands faithful to his patrons, Northampton and Rochester; whereby it is found, that he would be pliant to any thing they would desire, but yet not made acquainted with this determination; nevertheless, it feeds them with hope to execute their purposes with better prosperity. For the lieutenant being their friend, and Weston, a man that had gotten the art of poisoning, entertained for the purpose, and with a resolute mind ready to effect it, made them neither suspect nor doubt any thing, only how they might get him to the Tower. For this purpose it is thought fit, that Rochester, having the king's ear, should be a means to possess the king with some misdemeanours that he had committed; that, thereby the king being incensed against him, and the refusal of the ambassage making evident the truth of these complaints, they need not doubt of any such matter: whereupon, my lord of Rochester, amongst other things, at a time convenient, lets the king understand how insolent Overbury was grown; "that he not only contemned him, but his majesty also; estimating this employment to be sent ambassador either too light a preferment for his deserts, or else intended to procure him further evil, and that he utterly disliked it, and determined to refuse it."

The king being possessed of these things, and by him, who to the judgment of the

world was his greatest friend, took displeasure at it; so that, by his countenance, one might have perceived his anger. For the frowning of a king is like the roaring of a lion, terrible to the spectators and hearers; so that now they doubted not of their expectations to get him into the Tower; where being a prisoner in the king's disgrace, under the protection of one who more esteemed their favour, than the king's displeasure, sequestered from his friends, no intercourse suffered to come unto him, but what came from the countess, Northampton, Rochester, and Weston, a fit agent to execute all manner of evils; why, to the judgment of the world, it is impossible that ever this evil should come to light. And thus, being ranked up in their own conceits, they run headlong to their own destruction: for, when there were but two persons privy to the act of murder, as in Cain and Abel, it could not pass unpunished, but that Cain must be marked with a perpetual mark of ignominy. How much less shall this go undiscovered, when there are so many privy to it?

Thus may we see that one sin another doth provoke,
And that murder is as near to lust, as flame to smoke.

Sir Thomas refuses the Ambassage; incurs the King's Displeasure: he is sent to the Tower. Weston is preferred to him. Gresham dies. Franklin is entertained into the Business. A new Speech of Marriage between the Countess and Rochester.

Sir Thomas Overbury and Rochester having, for some private occasion, fallen into a new breach at Newmarket, he returns very pensively to London: and now the time being come that he should give an answer, what he would do concerning this ambassage, he answered, "That he acknowledged himself much bound unto his majesty for many favours that he had bestowed upon him, as to prefer him to so great honour; but yet nevertheless, knowing himself of such a place unexperienced, how to execute it, and besides tied to many domestic businesses, desired to be excused. It seeming something strange and harsh, that he should neglect his own good, and by this means incur the displeasure of the king, and lose his expectations, makes some of his friends to wonder, and others to stand in amaze.

But in the conclusion, as he had justly deserved, by reason of his contempt, he is committed to the Tower, but not to be kept as a close prisoner; but, after, my lord of Northampton and Rochester, being both of the privy-council, and in great favour at court, send unto the lieutenant that he should keep him close prisoner; who afterwards received by word of mouth from sir Thomas Monson, that he should not suffer any letters, tokens, or other things to be delivered unto him.

Their expectation in this thing being accomplished, Mrs. Turner, by the instigation of the countess, becomes a great suitor to sir Thomas Monson, to have his letter to prefer Weston unto sir Thomas, to wait on him in the Tower; who hearing the name of the countess, and withal, understanding the great affection that was between her and Rochester, condescended, wrote, and sent him with the letter to sir Jervase in the Tower: he shewed it to sir Thomas, who, willing to deserve his patrons' chiefest favour, with the more readiness entertained him. As, when a man ignorantly treads upon a serpent, he is stung for his labour; so sir Thomas harbours in his own breast the author of his own destruction.

Now Gresham growing into years, having spent much time, and many foul prayers, to accomplish these things, at this time gathers all his baubles, *viz.* pictures in lead, in wax, in plates of gold, of naked men and women; with crosses, crucifixes, and other implements, wrapping them all up together in a scarf; crossed every letter in the sacred word, Trinity crossed, A. W. O. crossed. These were very holily delivered into the hands of one Weston, to be hid in the earth, that no man might find them; and so in Thames-street, having finished his evil times, he died; leaving behind him a man and a maid, the one hanged for a witch, the other for a thief.

After his death, with much writing, many entreaties and rewards, one Franklin was entertained into these actions; a man of a reasonable stature, crooked-shouldered, of a swarthy complexion, and thought to be no less a wizard than the two former, Gresham and Forman. This man was more employed to make poisons fit to be administered by Weston than otherwise; for he was excellent in that art, to mitigate or increase their strength; so that sometimes a poison should be a month before it worked. Verily evil actions shall never want evil actors; and, in all ages, physicians, apothecaries, druggists, and cashiered serving-men fallen into want, have still been the agents in such enterprises. Tiberius's physician, Spado an apothecary, and Ligdo, Drusus's servant, are made agents to be his poisoners. Nero's bond-man must kill him; Piso's captain under Germanicus must poison him; and by the help of a woman, poisoner of Cowe, a town in Greece, who was so skilful, that she conveyed poison into his hair, to kill himself; a centurion to Maximus must poison him, Alexander's physician, Antipater, and Aristotle must be the authors of his own death. And here Franklin, a kind of physician, Weston a servant to sir Thomas, sir Jervase Yelvis, who is (as hereafter you shall hear) privado to the earl and viscount; and the countess and mistress Turner are made instruments to kill and dispatch sir Thomas Overbury: so that it hath been almost in all ages, and in all such outrages found, that either such persons or women have been actors in such attempts.

Overbury, being thus confined in the Tower, and accounted amongst them as a friar, a dead person in the law, in whose breast many secrets were contained, being still fed on with hope of preferment and liberty, lest he should disclose what he knew. They, at their will and pleasure, carouse full healths of sin and abomination, and freely discourse of a marriage to be consummated between the countess and Rochester; that so, being tied in this bond of matrimony, and joined in affinity with my lord of Northampton, more trust might be had in him, and better use might be made of his honour and greatness.

Now there is none to support him, no man to dissuade him; his looseness with the countess gauls his conscience, and that it might be the more offensive to him, and make him the willinger to consent unto this motion, he is still pressed with it, and that it is both unfit and unseemly: whereas on the other side, if they marry, it will be both lawful, and honourable, and commendable, and the ears of the vulgar will be then stopped, and none dare be so bold as to touch it. This carries show of truth, so that, what with his former affection, what with his present offence that he conceives at these courses, he concludes the marriage. Times are appointed to confer, how impediments might be avoided, and what should be fitting to be done in this behalf.

How the Lieutenant came acquainted with the Business, and is encouraged to persist by Northampton. Rewards promised him. He examined Sir Thomas to find out his Affection. Most think of Religion: some think towards the Countess.

It is now high time to enter into this action, and the countess means to be the first; who, for this purpose, went and got a glass of blue water, two inches long: this, being wrapped in a paper, she delivers to Weston's son with instructions, that he should go to the Tower, and deliver it to his father. He doth so; who (having his matter aforehand put into his head) at supper-time takes the same in one hand, and part of sir Thomas Overbury's supper in the other hand; and whom should he meet withal, but sir Jervase Yelvis, the lieutenant? So he demanded of him, with a kind of caution, "Whether he should give it him now?" The lieutenant stops, and asked him, "What?" To which Weston answered, "Sir, you know what is to be done." This made him stand in amaze, and doubt the worst: whereupon he calls Weston into examination, and makes him confess all his intention; from what grounds, and of whom he received it, and partly the cause of it. He now, being made a slave to greatness, and having laid out much money to purchase his place, for fear to lose the one, and to offend the other, lets Weston go;

with this caution, to omit it for that time: whereas a wise man, rather than he would have run himself headlong into perdition, would have discovered, and have made this a means to have manifested his faithfulness in his office.

But what shall we say to a man lost? The next day he is sent for to the lord of Northampton. There, after many long and large discourses, at length the earl discloses to him his intention concerning Overbury; and, with those things, mingles many of his insolencies: first, of his obstinacy against the viscount, his insolency against the countess, his opposition almost against all good men, and that, for the causes of such a thing happening, there being none to look after him, it would pass unregarded, or unrespected; but withal gives him many cautions, how he should manage himself in the business, letting him understand what manner of man he was; a scholar, and one that had an excellent tongue and wit; a traveller, experienced in the course of the world; and, besides that, favoured the contrary faction, and as great a politician as any was this day in England: therefore, in regard he ought to be the more wary, both who came to him, and who went from him, and, above all, that no letters pass to and fro. These, and many such like other speeches, having past between them: (for the earl was two hours, by his own confession, prompting him with cautions and considerations, that he might be the readier to act his part in this adventure hewas to deal in.) Lastly, he concludes, that above all he should insinuate with him, to see how he stood affected to these proceedings, and what words he uttered from a heart full of thirst with grief and sorrow, that must either speak or burst; and his service and diligence herein shall be rewarded with a thousand pounds.

Whether it was the greediness of the reward, or the foolish desire he had to give content to the earl and viscount (they being his only favourers), or some other hope still unknown; yet he by this means is brought to his own destruction, and so gives consent to conceal that which was intended. At his coming back, he repairs to sir Thomas Overbury, under pretence to comfort him in his sorrow, and adviseth him to be more lightsome, and not to consume himself with grief: by this means entering into further discourse, secretly insinuates into his intentions. Sir Thomas, having a good opinion of him, and supposing all was done out of faith and honesty towards him, having by this means learned what he could of him, writes unto the lord of Northampton a letter to this effect:

'My especial good Lord,

'HAVING undertook my prisoner, according to your instructions, after long silence, as 'standing between hope and fear, he takes his Bible; and, after he had read upon it, and 'by it protested his innocency, upon further conference concerning the countess, he said, 'that he had justified her already, and that he could do no more than what he had 'done: "But, for himself, alas! (saith he) what will they do with me?" I answered, '"So reason you, as you shall make no question hereafter of your pureness:" and I left 'him in some sense, to work upon him. As I was going, he concluded, "That, in the 'generality, she was so worthy, that she might be a wife, in particular, for my lord of 'Rochester; he would not say it, lest my lord should condemn him, for weighing his 'worth."

'At my next coming to him, I found him not in sense, but fury. He let fly at you, 'but was respective to my lord of Rochester, whose part he taketh altogether. I see the 'event, I desire it may be safely covered. What my service may do you in this, or any 'thing else, I will be faithful to your lordship, and so I rest,

'JERVASE YELVIS.'

These, and many other things, being inserted into this letter, were sent unto the earl; which he read, and in reading laughs and smiles at the simplicity of the one, and ignorance of the other: nevertheless, in outward appearance, he applauds all the actions of sir Jervase, but especially to my lord of Rochester; holding him both a discreet and wise man, and that his services, and honest dealing in this employment, deserve everlasting praises with after-ages.

More Poisons are sent from the Countess. Sir Thomas Monson is suspected to have a hand in the Business. Overbury grows sickly, and jealous of his Diet: no Access is suffered to him.

WESTON, having received twenty-four pounds of his allowance, and yet nevertheless nothing accomplished according to the countess's expectation, is checked by mistress Turner for delaying it: whereupon he gets into his hands certain poisons, *viz.* rosacre, white arsnick, mercury sublimate, cantharides, red mercury, with three or four more several poisons, tempering them with his broth and his meat, according as he saw them affected; increasing and diminishing their strength, as he was instructed by his ancient friend master Franklin. Besides these, tarts and jellies are sent by the viscount and countess, to sir Thomas Monson, as from thence by the hands of one Simon, master-servant unto sir Thomas, to be delivered to Weston, and so to Overbury; every of which tarts and jellies were poisoned with a several poison.

These courses caused sir Thomas Monson to be suspected of this act, and to have a hand in it: first, in respect he preferred Weston to his service: secondly, poisoned tarts and jellies went out of his house: and, lastly, for that he did not discover these things; his men only having access to the Tower, and that to speak with Weston. Now his salt, his meat, his drink, and whatsoever he eats, is mingled with poison; and (for the increase of his torment) is increased or diminished, as they saw sir Thomas Overbury affected.

By this means he begins to grow extreme sickly, having been heretofore accustomed to very good health; insomuch that he can scarce stand or go, what with the pain of his body, and the heat. Yet, nevertheless, being a strong man, he stood it out a long time; till, at length, he began to grow jealous of his man Weston; for his malady increased or diminished, as he affected: but yet some physick he desired, and at his special instance and request, (and not without some gratitude, as was thought,) one Paul de la Bell, an apothecary, by the advice of doctor Marvin, brought a bath to cool his body, with advice to be sparing of his diet; for that he suspected that his meat was not wholesome. Surely this did him much good, and preserved his life longer than they expected, insomuch that they misdoubt some fallacy or fraud; and therefore send new letters to the lieutenant, to have a special care that none may be suffered to see him, or speak with him: for evil men are full of needless fears; and now there is such special watch had over him, that none of his men might be permitted so much liberty as to speak with him out at a window; and the reason being asked? Answer was made, that the lieutenant had commandment from the council that it should be so.

Thus the good gentleman passed away his tedious and sorrowful days with many discontents; being filled with pains and grief, without friends and comforters, ready to be vexed and tormented upon every occasion, and consuming and languishing away without any common society, that was allowed to the meanest prisoner in the house. In this man we may see the misery of such as fall into the hands of popish Catholicks; for, by Northampton's means, was this strictness shewed towards him. Here will we leave him languishing in sorrow, and lamenting his misfortune.

The Marriage between the Viscount and the Countess published: questioned, whether it might be lawful. A Nullity obtained to make it lawful. My Lord of Essex repays the Portion. The Viscount made Earl of Somerset.

TIME can no longer conceal these secret meetings, but they must at length come to light. The marriage between the viscount and the countess is published: this is strange to the world, and so much the more strange, by how much three such great and eminent persons

as the earl of Essex, the countess, and the viscount were interested in it. And now, according to the common course, every one speaks as he stands affected; some boldly, others sparingly; some call her a loose woman, and pity the good earl of Essex, and say that he had sustained more wrong than ever any English peer had done: first, to suffer disgrace by the prince, now by his wife. Others blame her with words harsh and unseemly; a third sort, Rochester; and that it is pity, but that she should prove as bad a wife to him as ever she was to the earl of Essex: then, if Overbury had been at liberty, this had never happened. Others, that were more stayed and judicious in their opinion, foresaw the ruin and downfall of Rochester by this means; but none durst speak of it. For who will put his finger into the fire, unless he be compelled? Nevertheless, to stop the mouths of the vulgar, this marriage is called into question, whether it may be lawful or not, because her husband was then living? For this cause, the bishops of this land were divided. By the opinion of some she might, by the opinion of others she might not: my lord of Canterbury, London, and many others were utterly against it; but Winchester and Ely stood stiffly it might, provided a nullity might be had; for by that means the former marriage should be utterly determined.

A nullity was obtained; and, upon the grant of that, it was ordered, that my lord of Essex should repay the portion that he received with her at his marriage, that so, to the shew of the world, it might be said, there had been no marriage between them. This, afterwards, was called into question, and thought a mere trick of Northampton, to discharge some of the greatest of the clergy, and to discountenance our religion: it left a foul scar, and gave a foul occasion to the adversaries to speak broadly, where they had liberty, and of some even in our kingdom.

This order being sent to my lord of Essex, he forthwith prepares for the repayment of five-thousand pounds, for so much he had received with her: and, for this purpose, he sold and felled divers woods at Adderston, and near thereabouts. His grandmother, the countess of Leicester, helped him much, or else he should have been constrained to sell much land to pay it; verily, a hard course, having sustained so many injuries.

The king, nevertheless, continues his favour towards Rochester; and, that he might be as eminent as the best, he is installed earl of Somerset. Thus favours are heaped upon him, though he little deserved them: and the countess, what she desireth, is still to be a countess, but called after another name, that is, countess of Somerset. Many are the chances that happen in the world, some good, some bad; and those things, we least suspect, do soonest happen to divert us.

At this time, my lord of Somerset little thought to have been laid in the Tower, and made heir of Overbury's bed-chamber: but, by this, we may see, that all things are in the hands of God.

The Marriage comes to Overbury's ears. He prophesieth his own Death. He falleth into a Relapse. He writes to the Earl to remember his Promise. Answer is sent him with white Mercury, instead of a medicinal Powder. His Death. The State of his Body after his Death. The Rumour that is spread of him. The Author's Lamentation.

Now, although Sir Thomas Overbury was kept private, and that no man might have access to him; yet the news of this marriage comes to his ears, and presently, upon hearing of it, he tells the messenger, that he had almost as good have said, to-morrow he should die, for he was sure now not to live long: and, thereupon, falls into great lamentations, as well in regard of the earl of Somerset, that he had so cast away his fortunes, as of himself, for that now he more suspected his life, than ever heretofore. Whereupon he falls into a relapse; and his malady increased every day more and more upon him, whether weakened with grief, or for want of liberty, or through abstinence; it is not unknown, that the poison had more power over him, than ever heretofore; insomuch that he could scarce contain himself, by reason of his extreme languishing away, as a man in a consumption; but with

much more extremity: so that now, being in this extremity, he thinks it high time to put Somerset in mind of his promise. And, for this purpose, he writes a letter to this effect:

'Right noble and worthy Sir,

'THE former accustomed favours, and absolute promise, concerning my present delivery, 'have caused me at this time, by these lines, to solicit your lordship, and to put you in re-'membrance of the same; not doubting, that your honour is at all forgetful of me, but 'only, by reason of my imprisonment, (being possessed of a dangerous disease) would, 'for my body's safety, partake of the felicity of the open air. In which case, if your 'lordship please to commiserate my present necessities, and procure me my speedy de-'livery; I shall not only stand so much the more obliged, but also acknowledge you the 'defender and preserver of my life.'

These lines, being subscribed, were sent to Somerset, and delivered into his own hands. The messenger returns answer, 'That presently he could not accomplish what he required, 'but willed him not to doubt, for shortly he should hear of his deliverance.' Thus, being fed with hopes, he takes new comfort to him. In the mean time, Weston repairs to Mrs. Turner for more of his pay, being in want. Answer was made, 'That as soon as he had 'ended his employment, he should not fail to receive it; but, before then, he must not 'expect any thing.' Whereupon he returns, and enters into new designs: for, in all this time, that is, from the one-and-twentieth of April, until the beginning of September following, in the year 1613, sir Thomas had held out. While he was thus puzzling himself, to bring this to perfection, Somerset sent him a letter to this effect: 'That, as yet, the 'court was busy about important business, and the king's ear was not at leisure to enter-'tain any motion; but, as soon as he could find opportunity, he would not fail to speak in 'his behalf. In the mean time, to ease the pain of his malady, he had sent him a sove-'reign powder, either to be eaten, or drank:' which powder was rank poison. This feeds him still with hope, but brings him small comfort.

Now Weston had found out an unknown apothecary, and with him concludes, for twenty pounds, to administer a clyster, wherein should be put mercury sublimate: the youth was to come to dye it. Weston prepares it, and persuades Sir Thomas that it will be much for his health; whereupon, about the fourteenth day of September, he brings the said apothecary, to execute his office, assists him therein; and, by the infusion thereof, he falls into a languishing disease, with a pain in his guts: the next day after, with extremity of pain, he gave up the ghost.

After his death, Weston receives the rest of his pay, and dispatches the unknown apothecary into France. After, it was given out, that sir Thomas lived a base, loose life in the Tower, and not according to that strictness as became a prisoner; but being suffered to have too much liberty, he run into excess of lasciviousness, so that thereby he got the pox, and thereof died.

This went for current amongst some; amongst others that were ignorant, some little respect was had to it; but to others, that sought narrower into the matter, they found it far otherwise: for De la Bell (the apothecary before spoken of) having relation to him, a little before his death, reported, he was changed in his complexion, his body consumed away, and full of yellow blisters, ugly to look upon; and, it appeared by a letter my lord of Northampton wrote unto Rochester, to pick a thank, that there was found in his arm a blister, and upon his belly, twelve kernels raised, not like to break; each as broad as three-pence, and as big as a small button; one issue upon his back, whereupon was a plaister, from his shoulder downward, of a dark tawny colour, strange and ugly to behold: he stunk so intolerably, as was not to be borne withal; being thrown in a loose sheet into his coffin, and buried without knowledge or privity of his friends upon Tower-hill. At last he concludes, that God is gracious in cutting off ill instruments before their time.

Some of the factious crew had a purpose, if he had got out, to have made some use of him: from whence may be gathered, how that Northampton held Protestants factious, and suspected sir Thomas to have further knowledge of his secrets, than he would have had

him; which was the cause, as was thought, besides the former evils, that hastened his end, and caused him to be taxed with so great infamy, as to die of the pox. This passed current, and the mischief lies concealed. Who dare speak of it; two such great men having their hands in it?

Thus we may see, good and bad men come to miserable ends; and oftentimes those, that are virtuous, do soonest suffer disgrace and contempt. This man, before he came to court, was brought up in all gentlemanlike qualities: in his youth, at Cambridge; after, in the Middle-Temple, there instructed in the qualities becoming a gentleman; by the entreaty of my lord-treasurer, sir Robert Cecill, preferred to court, found favour extraordinary; yet hindered of his expectation by some of his enemies, and, to shift off discontents, forced to travel, and therein spent not his time, as most do, to loss; but furnished himself with things fitting a statesman, by experience in foreign governments, knowledge of the language, passages of employment, external courtship, and good behaviour, things not common to every man. Notwithstanding, such are the imperfections of our times, he is brought into ignominy and contempt, and all those good qualities are obscured, by the disgraceful reproaches of a dissolute woman. What shall we then say, since that vice and virtue do both end in misery? He is most happy, that liveth most private: for, according to the saying of the poet,

Vitam, animas, operam, sumptus, impendimus aulâ,
Præmia, pro meritis, quæ retributa putas?
Aula dedit nobis rescripta votata papyro,
Et sine mente sonos, & sine corde manus:
Paucos beavit aula, plures perdidit; sed & hos quoque ipsos, quos beavit, pendebit.

Our lives, our souls, our wealth we spend,
In court to purchase praise;
But what reward it in the end
For our deserts repays?
Their vows and protestations deep,
Not press'd in paper, but in wind;
Their sounds of words do lull asleep,
From body forc'd, not from the mind.
Hands there we join, but not our hearts,
Whereby it happeneth few are blest;
And many thousands that resort
Unto the court, by it are lost.
And of those few that blessed are,
We often see they fall again;
Their blessed days they spend in care,
And after, end their lives in pain.

The Complaint for want of Treasure. The King sets many Lands to Fee-farm. The Death of the Lord Harrington. The Death of his Son.

GREAT sums of money being disbursed upon her grace's wedding, and daily employments for others; some for Ireland: the lord-treasurer, wanting there to defray ordinary expences, (some for the king's own use, and some for other occasions), causes a great complaint for want of treasure. Officers at court go unpaid; and many of the king's servants receive not their wages at set times; so that the king is forced to set many of his lands to fee-farm, and the four deputy treasurers, with some few others, have the passing of them. Now my lord Harrington obtained a patent for the making of brass farthings; (a thing that brought with it some contempt, though lawful; for all things lawful are not expedient:) who, being enjoined to go into the Low-Countries with her grace, by the way lost

his life. His son succeeded, both in honour and patent; and enjoyed them not long, before he died. Within a short time after, the hopefullest gentleman of that name, more fit for employments, than for private life, and for a statesman, than a soldier. He had been at Cambridge, there reputed for a great scholar; he travelled into Italy, Venice, and France; he employed his time, for the most part, in study, whereby he made himself apt for great matters. But yet it pleased God, even then, when he was in his greatest hope, to cut off his days. He gave all that he had to the countess of Bedford, his sister; defeating her neither of the land, nor the right of the barony; esteeming her to be worthy of much more than he had to leave. He made a worthy and godly end. These things, coming so thick one after another, left no time for men to dream of Overbury's death.

The Earl of Somerset's Conscience accuseth him. Northampton's Speech to him. He becometh a Neuter in Religion. The Earl of Northampton's Course.

ANULLITY being thus purchased, he dignified, as is said; and, the match concluded about Candlemas, 1614, they marry with much joy and solemnity; a masque being performed at Somerset's charge, and many rumours pass without any respect. All these things notwithstanding, a guilty conscience can never go without accusation; pensiveness and fulness do possess the earl, his wonted mirth forsakes him, his countenance is cast down, he takes not that felicity in company as he was wont to do, but still something troubles him. Verily, it is a dangerous thing to fall within the compass of a guilty conscience; it eateth and consumeth the soul of a man, as rust doth iron, or as beating waves hollow the rocks; and though these things are not made public, yet, nevertheless, Northampton observed it in him: having so admirable capacity, he could make use of all things; wherefore, knowing his disease, *viz.* his mind gauled with murder, and knowing the earl tractable, as he desired, he enters into more familiar discourse with him. For, when the mind of a young man is corrupted with evil, he runs headlong into sin without stay or fear; wherefore, amongst many other discourses, this falls between them: That, in case the death of sir Thomas Overbury should come to light, they were then in a most dangerous state; and the next thing they must expect is loss of life, goods, lands, honours, their names to be made scandalous to the world, and, to conclude, to be branded with an ignominious death: neither was there any way left for to escape this, but either by making their own fortunes so great, that they might oppose all accusations; or else, being Catholicks, to endeavour, that, in defending them, they again might assist their cause, in case that any matter came against them. This carrying some show and likelihood of truth, and, indeed, his case being desperate, if ever it should come to light, he concludes to combine with Northampton in whatsoever he should undertake, and, in conclusion, became a neuter in religion; whereupon, to the intent he might set up further evils on foot, besides those before remembered, he begins to rip up the ancient quarrel between the Welch and the English, who now murmur at some discontents; and, to the intent to hearten on the Irish, sends letters thither by the hands of one Hammon, a poor man, unto such whom he knows to be faithful in the Romish religion, and thereby confirms them in their opinion; assuring them that God will still provide one or more to protect his church, and that now the greatest favourite in England would stand for them: upon which letter, the Irish grew obstinate, (as I have said,) and altogether neglect the service of God, and utterly deny the oath of supremacy, protesting loss of life and goods, rather than to be forced to so damnable a thing.

Now we see there the church utterly forsaken, none to hear divine service: the discipline of their own church established, and the Irish in general expecting a day to have their liberty and freedom in religion. The same man, returning this news, is also sent into Yorkshire, with a black staff, and a knob upon the end; within which knob, letters are conveyed from place to place, as well for appointing assemblies, as meetings for mass, and

entertaining of priests. Now might a man go to mass in divers places of the city; and who were so publicly favoured as priests? Their number increase, their priests are entertained, confession in many places publicly practised; and although it was contrary to the law, yet, greatness countenancing them, it was little regarded. In the mean time, quarrels went forward between the Scotch and English; continual complaints, and the suit of cloth-workers, with hope of obtaining their request; not so much because of the profit, as to raise up a discontent between the Dutch and them. These courses caused divers men to pass divers opinions, and many men to pass their opinion as they affected either parties.

The Rumours of the Spanish Fleet. A Proclamation against Spanish Money. A Leaguer in the Low-Countries. The public Rumours against my Lord of Northampton. He exhibits a Bill in the Star-Chamber against the Publishers. They justified by my Lord of Canterbury's Speech. The Death of my Lord of Northampton: his Funeral; his Will. The Names of those that succeeded him in his Offices.

NOT long after, it was rumoured abroad, that the Spaniard had drawn out a navy of ships of an hundred sail, but to what purpose no man knew. Many suspected for England, because they were come so far upon those coasts; others said, for the use of the mariners to accustom them to sea; but most of all were of opinion, that these were but shadows, and that the Spaniard was to have taken advantage of the time. Howsoever, upon this there followed a proclamation against Spanish money, that their money should not go current in England; which caused many to suspect worse than the worst, and some said one thing, some another. Upon the neck of that, come wars in the Low-Countries; some say against the Palsgrave, others against the state. The Scots begin to fly out in rebellion, and are suppressed. The wild Irish in Ireland begin to stir, sometimes thirty, sometimes forty, sometimes three-hundred, fly out and stand upon their guard. These things minister occasion of wonder to the ignorant, and many of them, who knew the truth of things, knew not what to say to it. Priests come into the kingdom by tens, fifteens, twenty at a time, and have free access; so that my lord of Northampton, being warden of the Cinque-Ports, begins to be called into question. Some say he hath a hand in those things; others say, he lets priests have their free access, and that in Bloomsbury, amongst his own buildings, they have free harbour; others say, that, through his countenance, thither any man might go to public mass. Besides, many other intelligences, brought from beyond the seas, draw him further into suspicion, and the king begins to withdraw his favour from him; wherefore he exhibits his bill against such as defamed him, into the Star-Chamber. Some are, for this cause, committed to the Tower; others to Newgate, others to the Fleet, till they come to their answer. And, in the end, openly in the Star-Chamber he is accused for suffering priests to have free access into Yorkshire, under pretence of his office; for countenancing them; for sending letters to and again to encourage men in their opinions, and many other such like things.

And, when my lords came to pass their voices, my lord of Canterbury, amongst the rest, made a speech to this effect: 'That, although many have been the rumours and reports that had passed in these times, some of them shut up for uncertain truths and flying fables, then entertained for approved truths; yet, nevertheless, such things are grounded upon reason, and for which, men of upright consciences have some occasion to speak: to have such either lightly valued or punished, was rather injustice, than any way beseeming the equity of that court. But, in truth, these, whereof we now speak, are grounded upon some cause; and my lord's own letters make evident, that he hath done some things both against his own conscience and meaning, merely to attain unto honour and sovereignty, and to please the king.' And with that he pulls out a letter, written from my lord to cardinal Bellarmine, to this effect:

'That, howsoever the condition of the times compelled him, and his majesty urged him 'to turn Protestant; yet, nevertheless, his heart stood with the Papists, and that he would 'be ready to further them in any attempt. This and much more being read, to some 'purpose, he proceeded, and shewed how that those things were not merely uncertain, but 'even the actions that followed them did justify them to be true. For there were never 'known to be so many priests to come over into this kingdom in so short a time, as of late 'there had done; neither could he assure himself that my lord was true-hearted unto the 'state. Also he harboured such about him as would undertake to write in defence of the 'Gunpowder-treason.'

This and much more being said, about the latter end of Easter-term, in the year 1614, my lord (being hereat much discouraged), after the court broke up, took his barge, went to Greenwich, and there made his will, wherein he published himself to die in the faith he was baptized; made some of his servants his executors, and others he bestowed gifts upon: his fair house he disposed to my lord-chamberlain, his lands to my lord Theophilus Howard; retired back to his house at London, and, before Midsummer-term following, was dead.

Many were the rumours that were raised of this man, after his death: that he was a traitor to the state; and that he was not dead, but carried beyond sea to blind the world; and the reason was, because he would be buried at Dover, and not at London.

Others say, that if he had lived, he would have been the author of much stir: many disliked him, and (as was reported) even the king himself towards his latter end, which made him to fall into these courses: but, truly, he was a notable politician, and carried things more commodiously for the Papists, than ever any before him. His funeral was kept privately at Rochester, where he desired to be buried, (because it was the chief port-town of his office,) without any state, to outward appearance. My lord-treasurer, that now is, succeeded him in his treasurership. My lord of Somerset is made chancellor of Cambridge. My lord Zouch, warden of the Cinque-Ports. My lord of Worcester, some short time after, lord-privy-seal. These succeeded him in his offices.

The Clothworkers obtain their Petition. The old Charter of the Merchant-Adventurers is seized into the King's Hands. The Dutch grow discontented at it. The Doubtfulness of Somerset's Mind. He sues for his Pardon; obtains it. My Lord-Chancellor refuseth to seal it. Falls into Suspicion. Begins to be neglected.

THE Clothworkers still persisting in their suit, and having such strong friends to stand for them, and alderman Cocking, a rich merchant, to back them; they at length obtained what they desired, and proclamation goes forth, 'That no more white cloth shall go over 'undyed, or undressed:' and, for this purpose, the old charter of the Merchant-adventurers is seized into the king's hands; so that the company fall to decay. Now the Dutchmen they begin to murmur against the English, and make proclamation there, 'That no 'man shall buy any such cloths as come over so dressed and dyed.' Whereupon the English make a new proclamation, 'That no man shall transport wool out of the kingdom.' These things fed some with hope of some further troubles; yet, nevertheless, it is so ordered by the council, that all things are pacified; and some quantity, amounting to a certain number of white cloths, are suffered to be transported, (as well to give content to the Hollanders, as satisfaction and employment to some young merchants that had entered into this trade,) by which means these clamours are a little stayed: yet, nevertheless, great impression of envy is between these two countries.

Now, one of the greatest friends that Somerset had, being dead, and himself still jealous of his safety, he begins to cast about how he might avoid the danger of the law: for his intelligencers gave him notice of many desperate words, that were uttered concerning Overbury's death. Whereupon, finding the king in a good humour, he moves him to this

effect: 'That whereas it had pleased his majesty to commit many things into his charge, 'and some of them proving something too weighty for him to undergo, it was so, that 'ignorantly he run himself into a *præmunire*, whereby he had forfeited to him both his 'lands, goods, and liberties; and that he came now to surrender them all up into his ma-'jesty's hands, unless it pleased him, of his wonted favour towards him, to grant him par-'don for that, and many other offences that he had ignorantly committed.' The king, still bearing a good affection towards him, bade him draw out his pardon, and he would sign it; whereupon he makes his repair to sir Robert Cotton, and entreats him to look him a pardon, the largest he could find in former precedents. So he brings him one, that was made by the pope to cardinal Wolsey; the effect of which was, 'That the king, of his 'mere motion and special favour, did pardon all and all manner of treasons, misprisions 'of treasons, murders, felonies, and outrages whatsoever, by the said sir Robert Carr, earl 'of Somerset, committed, or hereafter to be committed;' with many other words, to make it more ample and large, according to form; which he caused to be drawn and ingrossed, and brought it unto the king. The king signs it: at length it comes to my lord chancellor's hands; he peruses it, and refuses to let it pass the seals. My lord asks the reason. Answer was made, "That he could not justify the doing of it, but that he should incur a *præmunire*, as well as himself." This struck Somerset to the heart, and then he was in greater doubt, than ever he was before; for still he is stung with fear to be touched with Overbury's death; and so very pensively returns to Whitehall, and there remains.

The king coming to London, my lord-chancellor acquainted him with the pardon, and shewed the king what danger he had incurred, in case he had sealed it. The king, perceiving the truth of the business, (suspecting some greater matter, than he knew of,) withdraws his countenance from Somerset; who now wanting virtue to support his greatness, without the king's favour, falls into the contempt of many; and those, that are his enemies, neglect him, and do, as it were, deride his manner of carriage; by which means he runs headlong into his own perdition, as shall be hereafter shewed.

My Lord-Chancellor is sued in the Star-Chamber, for being within the Compass of a *Præmunire*. The King goes to Cambridge. A Breach about *Ignoramus*. My Lord Coke stands against my Lord-Chancellor. The King graces Sir George Villiers, and bestows great Honours upon him. Somerset's Courses to conceal Overbury's Death. His Covetousness; his Insolency. He is crossed by Villiers. The Report of the Vulgar.

In this year (1614) the king, by the entreaty of Somerset, determined to go to Cambridge, and there was entertained with great solemnity; but, amongst the rest, there was a play, called by the name of Ignoramus[8], that stirred up a great contention between the common lawyers and the scholars, insomuch that their flouts grew unsufferable; but at last it was stayed by my lord-chancellor, and the explaining of the meaning.

About this time it happened, that divers citizens having recovered certain sums of money in the King's-Bench, and thereof having had judgment against the party, the defendant, he, nevertheless, exhibits his bill into the Chancery, to have relief of the plaintiffs at the common-law; having already had judgment of the same matter, there stands out, and disobeys the king's process. Whereupon a writ of contempt issues against them; they are taken, committed to the Fleet, and there continue in their obstinacy: nevertheless, not long after, upon some advice, they exhibit their bill into the Star-Chamber against my lord, pretending, 'That he ought not to intermeddle with any matters that were already 'determined at the common-law, and whereof a judgment had been passed; and this was

[8] [This was a humorous comedy written in Latin by Geo. Ruggles, A. M. of Clare-hall, and performed (according to Langbaine) "with extraordinary applause before the majesty of king James." It was afterwards translated by R. C. (Robert Codrington) of Magdalen College, Oxford.]

'ordained by the statute of 4 Hen. IV. c. 23, whereby it was enacted, 'That judgment 'given in the king's court, shall not be examined in Chancery, Parliament, or elsewhere, 'until it be undone by attaint, or error;' &c. Now, my lord having laid them fast upon a bill exhibited before him, and judgment being already given, that therefore my lord had incurred a *præmunire*, and humbly prayed relief in this case; many were the opinions of lawyers concerning this matter. Some stood on my lord-chancellor's side; some said the poor men had injury, and that they might justify what they had done; and, amongst many, my lord Coke stood out very stiffly, 'That my lord-chancellor could not justify 'that action.' And thus it stood still in question, whether my lord be in a *præmunire*, or no?

My lord of Somerset, continuing still in his loose courses, and utterly neglecting that severity that ought to be in a man of his place, besides the former suspicions and jealousies, gives occasion of others also, whereby the king doth more and more fall into dislike; there being at this time about the court a young gentleman, that, not long before, had arrived from his travels out of France: his name was Villiers, a Leicestershire gentleman, and of an ancient house; who, as well in respect of carriage, as of his countenance, was more remarkable than many others. On this man the king casts a particular affection, holding him to be the properest and best deserving gentleman of England; whereupon he entertained him into favour, bestowed a thousand pounds upon him, and afterwards adorned him with the title of knighthood. And now he begins to grow every day more eminent than other; greater honours are bestowed upon him, as, the dignity to be knight of the Garter, and master of the horse; places not common to every person, and so much the more remarkable, because they are bestowed upon him, being so young in years: his wisdom is commended of the wisest, and his expectations greater, than many that went before him.

This stings Somerset to the heart, to see another step to his place; he more fears his subversion and downfall: wherefore he goes about to circumvent danger; and for this purpose sends into France, to make away the apothecary, that administered the physick that killed sir Thomas; endeavouring to get in all letters and writings that had passed concerning the business, and disgracing and discountenancing all such as at any time once spoke of the death of Overbury; to the intent that it might be concealed and kept close: but what God will have disclosed, shall never be concealed. Messengers are sent from place to place; he being a privy-counsellor, and in favour, his warrant passes current, so that in all places, trunks, chests, boxes, studies, diaries, and such houses, wherein he suspected any letters, or other matters that appertained to that mischief, lay hid, were broken open and searched; to the intent that they might bring some writings to my lord; yet nevertheless many, and more than were dreamed on, of those letters, came to my lord of Canterbury's hand, and my lord Coke's; so that those courses make him rather more suspected, than any whit at all eased his grief.

At home in his office using extraordinary covetousness and parsimony, he thereby heaped up to himself great store of money; and would not undertake any enterprise, unless he was well rewarded for his pains; every new occasion and occurrence, that came to his hands, brought him in also a fleece of money. Offices in court in his gift were not bestowed without money, the king's letters not purchased without money, no pardon without money; so that he was as great a bribe-taker, as his mother the countess of Suffolk, and many rumours and hard reports were spread on him for the same: yet nevertheless he still continued his favour (in despite, as a man may say, of his opposites,) even unto the greatest dignity, which caused him to be as proud as covetous, and to commit as many insolencies, as he had received secret bribes. He thought it no matter to lean on the cushion in public to check some of the nobility; and amongst the rest to make a flat breach with my lord of Canterbury, a grave and reverend gentleman, one of the pillars of this kingdom, and that could discern the follies of this young man. Thus, admiring of his own worth, he works his own subversion, and by these insolencies plucking more evils upon his head, and daily adding more enemies, to those that before he had deserved.

These things laid him open to the envy of the greatest; and sir George Villiers, seeing his exceeding covetousness, having now the ears of the king, would oftentimes cross his expectations, (as it is credibly reported,) and deceive him of many a bribe which he hoped for; doing those things voluntarily, and for thanks, which my lord would not have spoken of without much money. These courses laid him open to the contempt of the vulgar also. And now all men, according to their custom, began to exclaim of his great extortion. Thus may we see him falling.

Overbury's Death called into question. Weston sent for; and, by my Lord Coke examined, stands out: upon my Lord of London's persuasion, confesseth all. The Earl and Countess attached: they deny the Deed. Sir Thomas Monson committed to the Tower. Sir Walter Raleigh and the Countess of Shrewsbury set at liberty. The Death of the Lady Arabella. The Conviction of the Earl and Countess: the Manner of their Arraignment, and the many Rumours that were spread upon these Things.

THE death of Overbury having now lain concealed about two years, and the earl's insolence growing every day greater than other, procures him many more enemies, as is said: yet there was no man that was so hardy, for fear of the king's displeasure (he carrying a very good affection still towards him) to make him acquainted with it, or bring it to the trial of the law. At last, for divers are the rumours how it was discovered, one was, that sir Thomas Overbury's man petitioned my lord Coke; and the substance of the petition was, to let his lordship understand that whereas his master had been committed to the Tower by the consent of Northampton and Somerset, and there languished to death unnaturally; that, if it pleased his lordship to call one Weston before him, he might gather that out of him that might discover the whole plot and practice. Others say, that my lord of Canterbury, having conceived (as is said) some dislike against Somerset, and willing to make himself gracious with the king, possessed sir Ralph Winwood with the business; one that was preferred to be secretary under my lord of Somerset, and to assist him; and lets him understand the whole matter, as hath been related; and that many letters came unto his hands, and presumptions therein that it should be true: and there remained a trunk in such a place, wherein many writings are contained, that would make evident the truth. Sir Ralph, being willing likewise to become more eminent with the king, possessed him with the business; and, proceeding upon a confident ground, a warrant was sent to my lord Coke to prosecute the matter. Others say, that by the loss of a letter it was disclosed; and divers opinions there were, how it should come to light, it having been kept close so long: for things of this nature, when they are so long concealed, bring more wonder. But, howsoever it was made known, my lord Coke, by virtue of his warrant, sent for Weston to come before him; and examined him upon divers articles concerning this subject, and persuaded him, entreated him, and threatened him to tell the truth. Weston stood out, and would not. Thus he persisted, for a week or fortnight: many men urged him to it; accusers were brought before him, and deposed upon their oaths, 'That whatsoever was objected against him, was true:' this little prevailed.

At last, my lord of London went to him, and, by his persuasions, he tells all: how Mrs. Turner and the countess came acquainted; what relation she had to witches, sorcerers, and conjurers; that Northampton, Somerset, Franklin, the Monsons, and Yelvis had their hands, in that business: whereupon, they were all apprehended; some sent to the Tower, others to Newgate. Having thus confessed this evil, being convicted according to the course of law, he was had to Tyburn to be hanged; and there sir Hidles and others, imagining this to be but a fable, and that he was hired to accuse those persons, (for who, almost, would have believed it?) examine him at the gallows; and, upon his examination, he justified what he had done; to the great wonder of all those that stood by and heard it.

After him Mrs. Turner, after her Franklin, then sir Jervase Yelvis,[9] upon their arraignments of the facts, were found guilty, and hanged; all very penitent and sorrowful for what was done.

To write the particulars of their arraignments, confessions, and the manner of their deaths, is needless, being common. Now the countess and the earl are attached, and committed to protection; one to the dean of Westminster, the other to the sheriff of London; and according to the course of such cases, there are great reports raised, watch and ward kept more than ordinary, and the guard more observant. This makes the king stand amazed, and to imagine there is no truth in men: he grows more jealous of himself than heretofore, because his only favourite, and that, as it were, in his bosom, should be entrapped in such an evil: and the tongues of the vulgar began to talk. Some say, that Northampton and Somerset had combined with the Spaniard, for a sum of money, to deliver them up the navy; and that sir William Monson, vice-admiral, should have done it the next spring: that the king, and the whole state, should have been poisoned at the christening of the countess's child, for she was then with child: and many more the like rumours were spread, not worth relating; to the intent to incense the people the more against them, and to make the matter more heinous and grievous to the world. At this time the lady Arabella died: a matter more remarkable than was observed, and gave some occasion of speech to many, but yet, nevertheless, passed over in silence.

These hurlyburlies being grown somewhat calm, and the minds of men a little settled, the countess, and others authorized for that purpose, were examined; and my lord Coke was the man that pressed the evidence against them, which, as it was thought, procured some great enemies: twenty-two articles were objected against them. Somerset pleaded ignorance, and that these objections were mere tricks to entrap him, and set the king against him: the same answer was in the countess, and that it might rather proceed out of envy, than for any just cause. They cause it to be given out, that their accusations were wrongful; and none were accused, but such as were the greatest favourites to the king, so that there was much ado to little purpose. At last, when they heard that Weston, Turner, Franklin, and Yelvis were all hanged, and that they had confessed the matter; the countess, being brought before the council, confessed the whole truth: but Somerset stood to it still, that he was not an agent in it, and that these accusations did nothing touch him, and therefore he ought to be excused.

Nevertheless, his lands and goods were committed to custody, part to my lord-treasurer, and part to others, to the king's use. The money, plate, and jewels, which he had heaped up together, amounted, by report, unto two-hundred-thousand pounds, his lands nineteen-thousand pounds *per annum*, and the king bestowed many of them upon the prince. There was little speech of this, in respect that both person and matter, wherein he was an agent, were both envied and facinorous; neither was there any that pitied him, but most said, "That he had but his just deserts, for the injuries and wrongs that he offered unto Essex."

The arraignment was put off; and, in the mean time, sir Walter Raleigh was set at liberty. This man had continued in the Tower now almost ten years a condemned person, for a plot intended against his majesty at his first coming in: he bore a great envy against Somerset, because he had begged his lands of the king, and got them into his possession; giving him many taunts, during the time he was in the Tower. These two accidents happening beyond expectation (the one being the especial favourite of the king, the other a condemned man; the one imprisoned, the other set at liberty;) gave great occasion of speech and rumour; and so much the more wonder and admiration, because of Raleigh's wit and policy.

And this year also the countess of Shrewsbury, who was committed for being privy to the escape of the lady Arabella, was set at liberty, and the earl, her husband, died; leaving the greatest part of his land unto his daughters. During all this time, (that is, from

[9] [See his confession in the Fifth Volume of this Work, page 546.]

Michaelmas-term, unto the short vacation, between Easter and Trinity-term,) the arraignment was put off: some attributed the cause to be, because the countess was with child, and, in the mean time, was delivered of a daughter; some, that further proofs of uncertainties might be brought in; others, to give them longer time to consider on the matter, and that it was a great favour. I say, these rumours being published amongst the people, at length, the king authorized my lord-chancellor to be high-steward of England for the time being, and joined eight of his judges with him for his assistance, *viz.* the four judges of the King's-bench, my lord-chief-justice of the Common-pleas, justice Nichols, my lord-chief-baron, and others of the barons, with power to call Somerset and the countess before them; to shew cause why they should not have sentence of death passed upon them for this offence committed, both against the laws of the land, and against the king, his crown and dignity. So, upon the twenty-fourth of May, in this year 1616, there being a seat royal placed at the upper end of Westminster-hall, a little short of the King's-bench, and seats made round about it, for the rest of the justices and peers to sit on; and a little cabbin built close by the Common-pleas, for the prisoners, when they came from the Tower, to be put to rest them in; they proceed to the trial after this manner. As soon as my lord-high-steward, with great state, came into Westminster-hall, with his assistants the judges, divers lords and gentlemen attending, and four serjeants-at-arms before him, ascending a little gallery made of purpose to keep off the crowd, he takes his seat, and the rest of the assistants and peers, according to their places. This being done; after silence proclaimed, one of the heralds-at-arms reaches the high-steward's patent, and delivers it to the clerk of the crown to read it: after, sir Ralph Coningsby reaches him his staff, and is there present, according to his place, to give attendance.

After the patent read, and proclamation for silence, and that the accusers should come in; the prisoners were sent for by the clerk of the Exchequer, whose office it was to attend the prisoners. This being done, and the prisoners placed at the bar, sir Henry Fanshaw reads the indictment, to which the countess pleaded 'Guilty,' and confessed the fact: but Somerset pleaded 'Not guilty,' and had time from ten of the clock to clear himself. Much was said, but to little purpose. At last the peers, having conferred of the matter, return their verdict, laying their hands upon their breasts, and swearing by their honours, (for they do not make an oath as ordinary jurors do,) that he was 'guilty' of the murder and poisoning of sir Thomas Overbury: whereupon, my lord-high-steward pronounced sentence of death against him; and so he was had back to the Tower, where he remaineth at the mercy of the king. This man may justly say as pope Barbarossa said, when he was put from the popedom:

Qui modò summus eram, lætatus nomine, præsul,
Tristis & abjectus, nunc mea fata gemo.
Excelsus solio nuper versabar in alto,
Cunctaque gens pedibus oscula prona dabant;
Nunc ego pœnarum fundo deculcor in imo,
Vultum deformem, pallidaque ora gero.
Omnibus è terris aurum mihi sponte ferebant,
Sed nec gaza juvat, nec quis amicus adest.
Sic varians fortuna vices adversa secundis
Subdit, & ambiguis nomine ludit atro;
Cedit in exemplum cunctis quos gloria tollit,
Vertice de summo mox ego papa cado.

Lo, here I am, that some time took delight
in name of pope;
Now, being sad and abject, do bewail
my fate and hope.

Of late preferr'd, I did converse with state-
ly pomp and grace,
And every nation to my feet their
ready kisses place:
But now in dungeon deep am thrown, of pains
in mortal fear,
A countenance pale, a body lean, deform'd
with grief I bear.
From all parts of the earth they brought me gold,
without constraint;
But now no gold, nor precious stones, nor friends
can ease my plaint.
So variable fortune is, so nice
to great attempts,
So subject and so doubtful too, so ad-
verse in events,
That Atys with our name doth play, as with
a tennis-ball;
For, being lifted up with fame, the great-
er is our fall:
Let this example be to such, whom for-
tune doth advance,
That they, as I by popedom fell, may fall
by like mischance.

For we cannot read of any that ever was so great a favourite as Somerset; neither the Spencers with Edward the Second, nor the earl of Warwick with Henry the Sixth, nor the duke of Suffolk with Henry the Eighth, as this man was with the king; neither was there any that ever came to so sudden and unexpected a fall.

They therefore, that do but rightly consider this discourse, shall find in it three things worthy observation: first, That neither honour, nor wealth, are any certain inheritance, but occasion (unless God be merciful unto us) for the devil to pick a quarrel against us, to bring us to infamy. Secondly, That God never leaves murder (though never so closely carried) unpunished. Lastly, That there were never known, in so short a time, so many great men to die with suspicion of poison and witchcraft; *viz.* first, my lord-treasurer, the prince, my lord Harrington, his son, Overbury, and Northampton: besides these, (which are no less than six) others within three years and an half; and the two Monsons,[10] which yet remained untried.

Sir Francis Bacon's Speech at the Arraignment of the Earl of Somerset.

It may please your Grace, my lord-high-steward of England, and you, my lords the peers; you have here before you Robert earl of Somerset to be tried for his life, concerning the procuring and consenting to the impoisonment of sir Thomas Overbury (then the king's prisoner in the Tower of London), as an accessory before the fact.

I know your hopes cannot behold this nobleman, but you must remember the great favours which the king hath conferred on him, and must be sensible, that he is yet a member of your body, and a peer as you are, so that you cannot cut him off from your body but with grief; and therefore you will expect from us, that give in the king's evidence, sound and sufficient matter of proof, to satisfy your honours and consciences.

[10] [The mention of *two* Monsons occurs only in this place, as stigmatized persons; and this insertion may have arisen from the general inaccuracy with which the tract is written and printed.]

As for the manner of the evidence, the king our master (who, amongst his other virtues, excelleth in that virtue of the imperial throne which is justice) hath given us command, that we should not expatiate, nor make invectives, but materially pursue the evidence, as it conduceth to the point in question.

A matter, that, though we are glad of so good a warrant, yet we should have done of ourselves: for far be it from us, by any strains or wit of arts, to seek to play prizes, or to blazon our names in blood, or to carry the day otherwise than upon sure grounds; we shall carry the lanthorn of justice, which is the evidence, before your eyes upright, and to be able to save it from being put out with any grounds of evasion or vain defences, that is our parts, and within that we shall contain ourselves; not doubting at all, but that the evidence itself will carry that force, as it shall need no advantage, or aggravation.

First, My lords, the course that I will hold in delivering of that which I shall say, for I love order, is this: first, I will speak somewhat of the nature and greatness of the offence, which is now to be tried; not to weigh down my lord with the greatness of it; but rather contrariwise to shew, that a great offence needs a good proof: and that the king, howsoever he might esteem this gentleman heretofore, as the signet upon his finger, (to use the Scripture-phrase,) yet, in such a case as this, he was to put him off.

Secondly, I will use some few words touching the nature of the proofs, which in such a case are competent.

Thirdly, I will state the proofs.

And lastly, I will produce the proofs, either out of examination and matters of writing, or witnesses *vivâ voce.*

For the offence itself, it is of crimes next unto high-treason the greatest; it is the foulest of felonies. It hath three degrees of stages. First, it is murder by impoisonment: secondly, it is murder committed upon the king's prisoner in the Tower: thirdly, I might say, that it is murder under the colour of friendship; but that it is a circumstance moral, and therefore I leave that to the evidence itself.

For murder, my lords, the first record of justice which was in the world, was judgement upon a murder, in the person of Adam's first-born Cain: and though it was not punished by death, but with banishment, and a mark of ignominy, in respect of the primogenitors, or the population of the world; yet there was a severe charge given, that it should not go unpunished.

So it appeareth likewise in Scripture, that the murder of Abner by Joab, though it were by David respited (in respect of great services past, or reason of state,) yet it was not forgotten.

But of this I will say no more, because I will not discourse. It was ever admitted and ranked in God's own tables, that murder is of offences, between man and man, next unto high-treason, and disobedience to authority; which sometimes have been referred to the first table, because of the lieutenancy of God in princes the greatest.

For impoisonment, I am sorry it should be heard of in our kingdom. It is not *nostri generis, nec sanguinis peccatum.* It is an Italian comfit for the court of Rome; where that person, that intoxicateth the kings of the earth, is many times really and materially intoxicated and impoisoned himself. But it hath three circumstances, which makes it grievous beyond other matters: the first is, that it takes a man away in full peace, in God's and the king's peace, that thinks no harm, but is comforting of nature with refection and food; so that, as the Scripture saith, 'His table is made a snare.' The second is, that it is easily committed, and easily concealed; and, on the other side, hardly prevented, and hardly discovered. For murder by violence, princes have guards, and private men have houses, attendants, and arms; neither can such murder be committed, but *cum sonitû,* with some overt and apparent acts, that may discover and trace the offenders: but, for poison, the cup itself of princes will scarce serve, in regard of many poisons, that neither discolour nor distaste. It comes upon a man when he is careless, and without respect; and every day a man is within the gates of death. And the last is, because it con-

cerneth not only the destruction of the maliced man, but of every man; *Quis modò tutus erit?* For many times the poison is prepared for one, and is taken by another; so that men die other men's deaths, *Concidit infelix alieno vulnere,* and is, as the Psalmist calleth it, *sagitta nocte volans,* 'the arrow that flieth by night;' that hath no aim nor certainty: and therefore, if any man shall say to himself, "Here is a great talk of impoisonment, but I am sure I am safe; for I have no enemies, neither have I any thing another man should long for." Why, that is all one, he may sit next him at the table that is meaned to be impoisoned, and pledge him of his cup: as we may see in the example of 21 Hen. VIII. that, where the purpose was to poison one man, there was poison put into barm or yeast, and with that barm-pottage or gruel was made, whereby sixteen of the bishop of Rochester's servants were poisoned; nay, it went into the alms-basket likewise, and the poor at the gate were poisoned. And therefore, with great judgment, did the statute made that year, touching this accident, make impoisonment high-treason; because it tends to the dissolving of human society: for whatsoever offence does so, is, in the nature thereof, high-treason.

Now, for the third degree of this particular offence, which is, that it is committed upon the king's prisoner; who was out of his own defence, and merely in the king's protection, and for whom the king and the state were a kind of respondent: it is a thing that aggravates the fault much: for certainly, my lord of Somerset, let me tell you this, that sir Thomas Overbury is the first man that was murdered in the Tower of London, save the murder of the two young princes, by the appointment of Richard the Third.

Thus much of the offence, now to the proofs.

For the nature of proofs, you may consider, that impoisonment, of all offences, is the most secret; even so secret, as that if, in all cases of impoisonment, you should require testimony, you should as good proclaim impunity.

Who could have impeached Livia by testimony, for the poisoning of the figs upon the tree, which her husband was wont to gather with his own hands? Who could have impeached Parasetis for the poisoning of the knife she carried with her, and keeping the other side clean; so that she herself did eat of the same piece of meat that they did, whom she did impoison?

These cases are infinite, and need not to be spoken of the secrecy of impoisonment; but wise men must take upon them in these secret cases Solomon's spirit, that, when there could be no witnesses, collected the act by the affection. But yet we are not at our cause, for that, which your lordships are to try, is not the act of impoisonment, for that is done to your hands: all the world by law is concluded to say, that Overbury was poisoned by Weston: but the question before you is of the procurement only, and, as the law termeth it, as accessory before the fact; which abetting is no more, but to do or use any act or means, which may aid or conduce to the impoisonment.

So that it is not the buying, nor the making of the poison, nor the preparing, nor confecting, nor commixing of it, nor the giving, or sending, or laying of the poison, that are the only acts that do amount unto the abetment; but if there be any other act or means done or used, to give opportunity of impoisonment, or to facilitate the execution of it, or to stop, or divert, any impediments that might hinder it, and that it be with an intention to accomplish and atchieve the impoisonment; all these are abetments and accessories before the fact. As, for example; If there be a conspiracy to murder a man, as he journeyeth on the way, and it be one man's part to draw him forth to that journey by invitation, or by colour of some business; and another takes upon him to dissuade some friend of his company, that he is not strong enough to make his defence; and another hath a part to hold him in talk, till the first blow be given: all these, my lords, without scruple, are accessories to the murder, although none of them give the blow, nor assist to give the blow.

My lords, he is not the hunter alone, that lets slip the dog upon the deer, but he that

lodgeth him, and hunts him out, or sets a train or trap for him, that he cannot escape, or the like. But this, my lords, little needeth in this case; for such a chain of acts of impoisonment, as this, I think, was never heard nor seen.

And thus much of the nature of the proofs.

To descend to the proofs themselves, I shall keep this course:

First, I will make a narration of the fact itself.

Secondly, I will break and distribute the proofs, as they concern the prisoner.

And, thirdly, according to the distribution, I will produce them, or read them to use them.

So that there is nothing that I shall say, but your lordship shall have three thoughts or cogitations to answer it.

First, When I open it, you may take your aim.

Secondly, When I distribute it, you may prepare your answers without confusion.

And, lastly, When I produce the witnesses, or the examinations themselves; you may again ruminate, and re-advise to make your defence.

And this I do, that your memory and understanding may not be oppressed or overladen with length of evidence, or with confusion of order: nay more, when your lordship shall make your answer in your time, I will put you in mind, where cause shall be, of your omission.

First, therefore, sir Thomas Overbury, for a time, was known to have great interest and strict friendship with my lord of Somerset, both in his meaner fortunes, and afterwards; insomuch that he was a kind of oracle of direction unto him; and if you will believe his own vaunts, (being indeed of an insolent and thrasonical disposition,) he took upon him, that the fortunes, reputation, and understanding of this gentleman, who is well known to have an able teacher, proceeded from his company and counsel. And this friendship rested not only in conversation and business at court, but likewise in communication of secrets of state: for my lord of Somerset, exercising at that time, by his majesty's special favour and trust, the office of secretary provisionally; did not forbear to acquaint Overbury with the king's pacquets and dispatches from all parts of Spain, France, and the Low-Countries; and this not by glimpses, or now and then rounding in the ear for a favour, but in a settled manner. Pacquets were sent, sometimes opened by my lord, sometimes unbroken, unto Overbury, who perused them, copied them, registered them, and made table-talk of them, as they thought good. So, I will undertake, the time was, when Overbury knew more of the secrets of state, than the council-table did; nay, they were grown to such inwardness, that they made a play of all the world besides themselves, so as they had cyphers and jargons for the king and queen, and great men of the realm; things seldom used, but either by princes, or their confederates, or at least by such as practise and work against, or at least upon princes.

But understand me, my lord, I shall not charge you with disloyalty this day; and I lay this for a foundation, that there was great communication of secrets between you and sir Thomas Overbury, and that it had relation to matters of state and the great causes of this kingdom.

But, my lords, as it is a principle in nature, that the best things are in their corruption the worst, and the sweetest wine maketh the sourest vinegar; so fell it out with them, that this excess, as I may say, of friendship ended in mortal hatred, on my lord of Somerset's part.

I have heard my lord-steward say sometimes in Chancery, that 'frost and fraud end 'foul;' and I may add a third, and that is the friendship of ill men, which is truly said to be conspiracy, and not friendship. For it fell out, about a twelvemonth, or more, before Overbury's imprisonment in the Tower, that the lord of Somerset fell into an unlawful love towards that unfortunate lady, the countess of Essex, and to proceed to a marriage

with her. This marriage and purpose did Overbury mainly impugn, under pretence to do the true part of a friend, for that he accounted her an unworthy woman.

But the truth was; Overbury (who, to speak plainly, had little that was solid for religion, or moral virtue, but was wholly possessed with ambition and vain-glory,) was loth to have any partners in the favour of my lord of Somerset, and especially not any of the house of the Howards; against whom he had always professed hatred and opposition.

And, my lords, that this is no sinister construction, will appear to you, when you shall hear, that Overbury made his brags to my lord of Somerset, that he had won him the love of the lady by his letters and industry. So far was he from cases of conscience in this point.

And certainly, my lords, howsoever the tragical misery of this poor gentleman, Overbury, might somewhat obliterate his faults; yet, because we are not upon points of civility, but to discover the face of truth before the face of justice, for that it is material to the true understanding of the state of this cause, Overbury was naught and corrupt; the ballads must be mended for that point.

But to proceed: When Overbury saw, that he was like to be possessor of my lord's grace, which he had possessed so long, and by whose greatness he had promised himself to do wonders; and being a man of an unbounded and impudent spirit, he began not only to dissuade, but to deter him from the love of that lady, and, finding him fixed, thought to find a strong remedy; supposing that he had my lord's head under his girdle, in respect of communication of secrets of state; as he calls them himself, 'Secrets of nature;' and therefore dealt violently with him, to make him desist; with menaces of discovery, and the like. Hereupon grew two streams of hatred upon Overbury: the one from the lady, in respect that he crossed her love, and abused her name, which are furies in women; the other of a more deep nature, from my lord of Somerset himself, who was afraid of Overbury's nature, and that, if he did break from him, and fly out, he would wind into him, and trouble his whole fortunes. I might add a third stream of the earl of Northampton's ambition, who desires to be first in favour with my lord of Somerset; and, knowing Overbury's malice to himself, and to his house, thought that man must be removed and cut off: so as certainly it was resolved and decreed, that Overbury must die.

Hereupon they had variety of devices to send him beyond the seas, upon occasion of employment.

That was too weak: and they were so far from giving way to it, that they crossed it: there rested but two ways of quarrel, assault and poison. For that of assault, after some proposition and attempt, they passed from it, as a thing too open and subject to more variety of shame: that of poison likewise was an hazardous thing, and subject to many preventions and caution, especially to such a working and jealous brain as Overbury had, except he was first fast in their hands; therefore the way was first to get him into a trap and lay him up, and then they could not miss the mark: and, therefore, in execution of this plot, it was denied that he should be designed to some honourable employment in foreign parts, and should underhand, by my lord of Somerset, be encouraged to refuse it; and so, upon contempt, he should be laid prisoner in the Tower: and then they thought he should be close enough, and death should be his bail: yet were they not at their end; for they considered, that if there were not a fit lieutenant of the Tower for their purpose, and likewise a fit under-keeper of Overbury. First, they should meet with many impediments in the giving and the exhibiting of the poison. Secondly, they should be exposed to note an observation that might discover them. And, thirdly, Overbury, in the mean time, might write clamorous and furious letters to his friends; and so all might be disappointed. And, therefore, the next link of the chain was, to displace the then lieutenant Wade, and to place Yelvis, a principal abettor in the impoisonment; to displace Carey, that was under-keeper in Wade's time; and to place Weston, that was the actor in the impoisonment. And this was done in such a while, that it may appear to be done, as it were, in a breath.

Then, when they had this poor gentleman in the Tower close prisoner, where he could not escape nor stir, where he could not feed but by their hands, where he could not speak or write but through their trunks; then was the time to act the last day of his tragedy.

Then must Franklin, the purveyor of the poison, procure five, six, seven several poisons, to be sure to hit his complexion. Then must Mrs. Turner, the lay-mistress of the poisons, advise what works at present, and what at a distance. Then must Weston be the tormentor, and chase him with poison after poison, poison in salt meats, poison in sweet meats, poison in medicines and vomits; until, at last, his body was almost come, by use of poison, to the state of Mithridates's body, by the use of treacle, and preservatives, that the force of the poisons is blunted upon him; Weston confessing (when he was chid for not dispatching him), that he had given him enough to poison twenty men.

And, lastly, because all this asked time, courses were taken by Somerset, both to divert all the true means of Overbury's delivery, and to entertain him with continual letters; partly with hopes and protestations for his delivery, and partly with other fables and negotiations; somewhat like some kind of persons which keep in a tale of fortune-telling, when they have a felonious intent to pick their pocket and purses.

And this is the true narration of this act, which I have summarily recited.

Now, for the distribution of the proofs, there are four heads to prove you guilty; whereof two are precedent to the impoisonment, the third is present, and the fourth is following or subsequent: for it is in proofs, as it is in lights; there is a direct light, and there is a reflexion of light, and a double light.

The first head or proof thereof is, that there was a root of bitterness, a mortal malice or hatred, mixed with a deep and bottomless mischief, that you had to sir Thomas Overbury.

The second is, that you were the principal actor, and had your hand in all those acts, which did conduce to the impoisonment, and gave opportunity to effect it; without which, the impoisonment could never have been, and which could seem to tend to no other end, but to the impoisonment.

The third is, that your hand was in the very impoisonment itself; and that you did direct poison, and that you did deliver poison; and that you did continually hearken to the success of the impoisonment; and that you spurred it on, and called for dispatch, when you thought it lingered.

And, lastly, that you did all things after the impoisonment, which may detect a guilty conscience, for the smothering of it, and the avoiding of punishment for it, which can be but of three kinds.

That you suppressed, as much as in you was, testimony; that you did deface, destroy, clip, and misdate all writings that might give light to the impoisonment; and you did fly to the altar of guiltiness, which is a pardon of murder, and a pardon for yourself, and not for yourself.

In this, my lord, I convert my speech unto you, because I would have you alter the points of your charge, and so make your defence the better.

And two of these heads I have taken to myself, and left the other to the king's two serjeants.

For the first main part, which is the mortal malice, coupled with fear, that was in you, to sir Thomas Overbury, although you did palliate it with a great deal of hypocrisy and dissimulation, even to the very end. I will prove it, my lord-steward, the root of this hate was that which cost many a man's life, that is, fear of discovering of secrets; I say, of secrets of a dangerous and high nature, wherein the course that I will hold shall be this:

I will shew that a breach and malice was betwixt my lord and Overbury, and that it burst forth into violent threats and menaces on both sides.

Secondly, that these secrets were not of a light, but an high nature, I will give you the elevation of the pole: they were such, as my lord of Somerset had made a vow, that Over-

bury should neither live in court, nor country; that he had likewise opened himself so far, that either he or himself must die for it; and of Overbury's part, he had threatened my lord, that whether he did live or die, my lord's shame should never die; but that he would leave him the most odious man in the world. And, further; that my lord was like enough to repent where Overbury wrote, which was in the Tower of London. He was a prophet in that; so there is the highest of the secret.

Thirdly, I will shew you, that all the king's business was, by my lord, put into Overbury's hands; so as there is work enough for secrets, whatsoever they write them; and, like princes confederates, they had their cyphers and their jurgons.

And, lastly, I will shew you, that it was but a toy to say the malice was only in respect he spoke dishonourably of the lady, or for doubt of breaking the marriage, for that Overbury was coadjutor to that love, and the lord of Somerset was as deep in speaking ill of the lady, as Overbury. And, again, it was too late for that matter; for the bargain of the match was then made, and past: and if it had been no more than to remove Overbury, for disturbing the match, it had been an easy matter to have landed over Overbury, for which they had a fair way; but that would not serve.

And, lastly, *Periculum periculo vincitur;* to go so far as an impoisonment, must have a deeper malice than flashes; for the cause must have a proportion in the effect.

For the next general head, or proof, which consists in the acts preparatory, or middle acts; they are in eight several points of the compass, as I may term them.

First, There were divers devices and projects to set Overbury's head on work to dispatch him, and to overthrow him, plotted between the countess of Somerset, the earl of Somerset, and the earl of Northampton, before they fell upon the impoisonment; for always, before men fix upon a course of mischief, there will be some rejection: but die he must, one way or other.

Secondly, That my lord of Somerset was principal practiser (I must speak it) in a most perfidious manner, to set a train and trap for Overbury to get into the Tower, without which, they durst not attempt the impoisonment.

Thirdly, That the placing of the lieutenant Yelvis, one of the impoisoners, was done by my lord of Somerset.

Fourthly, That the placing of Weston, the under-keeper, who was the principal impoisoner, and the displacing of Carey, and the doing all this within the while of fifteen days after Overbury's commitment, was by the means and countenance of my lord of Somerset. And these were the active instruments of the impoisonment; and this was a business the lady's power could not reach unto.

Fifthly, That because there must be a cause of this tragedy to be acted, and chiefly because they would not have the poisons work upon the sudden, and for that the strength of Overbury's nature, or the very custom of receiving the poisons into his body, did overcome the poisons, that they wrought not so fast; therefore Overbury must be held in the Tower, as well as he was laid in; and as my lord of Somerset got him into the trap, so he keeps him in, and abuses him with continual hope of liberty; but diverted all the true and effectual means of his liberty, and makes light of his sickness and extremities.

Sixthly, That not only the plot of getting Overbury into the Tower, and the devices to hold and keep him there, but the strange manner of the close keeping of him, (being in but for a contempt,) was, by the device and means of my lord of Somerset; who denied his father to see him, denied his servants that offered to be shut up close prisoners with him, and, in effect, handled it so, that he made him close prisoner to all his friends, and exposed to all his enemies.

Seventhly, That all the advertisement the lady received from time to time, from the lieutenant, or Weston, touching Overbury's state of body and health, were ever sent nigh to the court, though it were in progress; and that from my lady, such a thirst and listening he had to hear that he was dispatched.

Lastly, That there was a continual negotiation to set Overbury's head on work, that he

should undertake to clear the honour of the lady, and that he should be a good instrument towards her, and her friends; all which was but entertainment. For your lordships shall see divers of my lord of Northampton's letters, (whose hand was deep in this business,) written, I must say, in dark words and clauses; that there was one thing pretended, and another thing intended: that there was a real charge, and somewhat not real; a main drift and dissimulation: nay, further, there are some passages, which the peers, in their wisdoms, will discern, to point directly at the impoisonment.

The Vindication of that Hero of Political Learning, Nicholas Machiavel; the second Tacitus. [MS.]

NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL is cried down a villain, though many think he deserves a better title.

Who intends to express a dishonest man, calls him a Machiavilian; they might as well say, he was a Straffordian, or a Marlborian: thus men embrace the first apparitions of virtue and vice, and let the substance pass by untouched.

He was not only an Italian, but a courtier.

He was secretary to the state of Florence, of which he wrote an excellent and impartial history.

He lived in the days of pope Alexander the Sixth, being familiar with his son Cæsar; and what those princes were, is sufficiently known: no times were fuller of action, nor shewed the instability of worldly honours more, than the occurrences that happened in Italy in his time.

Now from a man wholly employed in court-affairs, when it was thought a madness to look beyond second causes, worse things might have been with better reason expected, than these so bitterly condemned; which are indeed but the history of wise impieties, being before imprinted in the hearts of ambitious pretenders, and by him made legible to the meanest understandings: yet, he is more blamed for this fair expression, than they are that daily commit far greater impiety, than his or any pen else is capable to express.

Most of the estates of Italy did in his time voluntarily, or were compelled to change their masters; neither could that school teach him any thing more perfectly, than the way to greatness; nor he write a more acceptable treatise, than Aphorisms of State.

He saw the kingdom of Naples torn out of the house of Anjou, by Ferdinand; and the people kept in tyranny both by the father and the son.

He saw the no less mad, than disloyal ambition of Lodowick, duke of Milan, who took the government upon him, out of the hands of young Galeas, with as much treachery and cunning, as Francis Sforza, father to Galeas, had done from the duke of Orleans.

He beheld Charles the Eighth, king of France, brought into Italy, by the said duke of Milan, to keep the people at gaze, whilst he poisoned his nephew, who was to expect the dukedom, when he was of age.

He saw the descent of Charles winked at by pope Alexander the Sixth, in hopes to raise a house for his son Cæsar, out of the ruins of some of the princes, in which he was deceived; for the French king made himself master of all Italy, entered Rome twice, put the holy father, to take sanctuary, in the castle of St. Angelo, and to subscribe to such conditions, as the victorious king was pleased to prescribe him; upon which his holiness came out,

and though Charles, in show of reverence, did kiss his foot, yet he took his son Cæsar for hostage, to secure the performance of his promise, (though he covered it with the name of ambassy,) ever to reside with the king, in token of amity.

And after Cæsar made his escape, the holy father, contrary to his oath, made a league against the French king.

He was an eye-witness of an amity, contracted between the vicar of Christ and his known enemy, the Turk; with whom he agreed, for money, to poison his brother, who was fled into Christendom, for fear of his brother Bajazet, then reigning, and was under the pope's protection at Rome: he saw the French king lose all Italy, within the small time he had gained it.

He saw both pope Alexander and his son overthrown, by one draught of poison, prepared by themselves for others; of which the father died presently, but the son, by reason of youth and antidotes, had leisure to see what he had formerly gotten torn out of his hands, and he forced to fly to his father-in-law, the king of Navarre, in whose service he was murdered.

He was an observer of ambitious practices of princes; of the domestical impiety of the pope, who was corrival with his two sons, in the love of his own daughter, the lady Lucretia, whom they all three enjoyed; which bred such a hatred between the brothers, that Cæsar being jealous that the other had a greater share in her affection, killed him one night, and threw him into Tyber.

He observed that men in soft raiment might be found at court, but their consciences seared and hard.

He saw how princes never kept their promises so exactly, as not to fail, when they see a greater profit falling out, another time, by breaking them.

Is not falsehood and deceit their true dialect, nay, cozenage, reduced into so necessary an art amongst them, so that he, that knows not how to deceive, knows not how to live? Let any one judge, that reads their stories.

Breach of faith in private men is accounted dishonourable and damnable, but kings claim a larger character, by reason of their universal commerce; and as ambassadors ought to be excused, if they lie abroad for the good of their country, because they represent their masters' persons; with far greater reason, then, may they do it, that employ them.

Many governments are like natural bodies; outwardly they shew a comely structure, but search into the entrails, from whence the original and true nourishment proceed, and there will be found nothing but blood, filth, and stench.

His fortune is to be commiserated, that he in particular should bear the infamous marks, which belong to the vilest statesmen in general.

It was his profession, to imitate the behaviour of princes, were it never so unseemly; nay, religion itself cannot condemn the speculation of ill, in ministers of state, without laying herself and professors open to all injury.

What are chronicles, but registers of blood, and projects to procure the spilling of it? The princes, there named, put in red letters, yet none blames them that write them.

Who could advise better than this Florentine, a member of the Roman church? And he is in that regard to be less blamed, for discovering the wicked practices of ambitious men, because he had as much converse with the pope, then in being, as any man, and with whom all impieties were as familiar as the air he breathed in.

If any can pretend a just quarrel with Machiavel, they are kings; for as it is the ordinary course of light women, to find fault with the broad discourse of that they maintain their power by; so statesmen may best blame the publication of those maxims, that they put in practice, with more profit and security.

If the unjust steward was commended for his worldly wisdom; what doth he say more of Cæsar Borgia, than that he was a politic tyrant? And if, without leave of the text, he proposes him, for an example, yet it is of ill; and who is more fit to be a pattern of, or to villainy, than one of the same coat?

If the lives of Lewis the Eleventh, or the Fourteenth, were examined, it will be found they acted more ill than Machiavel wrote, or for aught is known, ever thought; yet the first has wisdom inscribed on his tomb, and the last is cried up for a great statesman. And did not they always kiss their crucifix, after the doing of a dishonest thing, (pronouncing a sentence or two, that discovered the complexion of their hearts,) they might have passed for as honest men, as their wise ancestors, or any princes in their times, who now lie quiet in their graves; a favour this man is denied, by ignorant and ungrateful posterity.

He being to make a grammar for the understanding of tyrannical government, is he to be blamed, for setting down the general rules in it?

He instructs wise princes to dispatch their ungrateful actions by deputies, and those that are popular with their own hands.

Upon how great disadvantage should a good prince treat with a bad, if he were not only familiar with the paths of wickedness, but knew other ways to shun them, and how to undermine the treacherous practices?

He hath raked the truth too far, in many things, which makes him smell as he doth in the nostrils of ignorant people; whereas the better experienced know it is the wholesome savour of the court, especially where the king is of the first head.

He would have men prepared to encounter the worst of men; and therefore he resembles him to a man driving a flock of sheep, into a corner, and did there take out their teeth, and instead, gave each of them a set of wolves' teeth; so that, whereas one shepherd was able to drive a whole flock, now each sheep had need of a particular shepherd, and all little enough.

He was of an honourable family born at Florence, and the writer hereof, being, about the year 1642, at Florence, made what inquiry he could after his reputation, and found that he left a good name behind him, as of a pious, charitable, sincere, good man, as any in that city.

By JAMES BOEVEY, Esq. at Cheam, in Surrey.[1]
Anno Salutis 1693.
Ætatis 71.

[1] Cheam, in Surry.
On the North wall, on a fair marble monument, is this inscription:
In memory of
James Bovey, Esq.
who was buried near this place,
January the 13, 1695.
And also of
Margaretta, his wife,
buried August the 3d,
1714,
In the 76th Year of her Age.
Vide Aubr. Antiq. Surrey, vol. ii. p. 115.

N. B. The Copy of this Discourse, which was in the Harleian Library, being imperfect, we have been obliged with that which is here printed, (being the author's original MS.) by Peter Thompson, Esq. the worthy high-sheriff of Surrey.

The Coat of Arms of Sir John Presbyter.[1]

Printed in the Year 1658.

[Folio; containing one page.]

HE bears, Party per Pale indented, God's glory, and his own interest; over all, honour, profit, pleasure counterchanged; ensigned with a helmet of Ignorance, opened with Confidence befitting his degree, mantled with Gules and Tyranny, doubled with Hypocrisy over a wreath of Pride and Covetousness: for his crest, a sinister hand, holding up a solemn league and covenant, reversed and torn: in a scroll, underneath the shield, these words for his motto, *Aut hoc, aut nihil.*

This coat-armour is dupalled with another of four pieces, signifying thereby his four matches.

The first is of the family of Amsterdam: she bears for her arms, in a field of Toleration, three Jews' heads proper, with as many blue caps on them.

The second is of the house of Geneva: she bears for her arms, in a field of Separation, marginal notes on the Bible false quoted.

The third is of the country of New England: she bears, for her arms, a prick-eared Preachman, perched upon a pulpit proper, holding forth to the people a schismatical directory.

The fourth and last is Scotland: she bears in escutcheon the field of Rebellion, charged with a stool of repentance.

[1] [A time-serving skit upon the Presbyterian faction. From the following titles of tracts published about this period, sir John would appear to have been a favourite subject of sarcasm.

'The nativity of sir John Presbyter, calculated by Christopher Scale-Skie, 1645.' 4to.

'Last will and testament of sir John Presbyter, 1647.' 4to.

'Infamous history of sir Simon Synod and sir John Presbyter, 1647.' 4to.

'Dialogue betwixt sir Geo. Booth and sir John Presbyter, 1659.' 4to.

It may be proper to remark that *Sir John* was a clerical appellation, used originally in a respectful sense, but which afterwards became appropriated, by the 'canting crew,' to scurrility and abuse.]

The Lord Bishop of Rochester's Letter to the Right-Honourable the Lords-Commissioners of his Majesty's Ecclesiastical Court.[1]

[Containing one folio page.]

My Lords,

I Most humbly entreat your lordships' favourable interpretation of what I now write: that since your lordships are resolved to proceed against those who have not complied with the king's command in reading his declaration, it is absolutely impossible for me to serve his majesty any longer in this commission. I beg leave to tell your lordships, that though I myself did submit in that particular, yet I will never be any ways instrumental in punishing those my brethren that did not: for as I call God to witness, that what I did was merely on a principle of conscience; so I am fully satisfied, that their forbearance was upon the same principle. I have no reason to think otherwise of the whole body of the clergy, who upon all occasions have signalized their loyalty to the crown, and their zealous affection to his present majesty's person, in the worst of times. Now, my lords, the safety of the church of England seeming to be exceedingly concerned in this prosecution, I must declare I cannot, with a safe conscience, sit as judge in this cause, upon so many pious and excellent men; with whom (if it be God's will) it rather becomes me to suffer, than to be in the least accessary to their sufferings. I therefore earnestly request your lordships to intercede with his majesty, that I may be graciously dismissed any further attendance at the board; and to assure him, that I am still ready to sacrifice whatever I have to his service, but my conscience and religion.

My Lords,

[1687.] Your Lordships' most faithful and humble servant,

R———.

[1] [This letter may be said to have terminated the existence of the ecclesiastical commission; for, after it had been read, they adjourned for six months, and scarcely ever met afterwards. *Vide* 'the Life of Thomas 'Spratt, Bishop of Rochester, Lond. 1715,' 8vo; and 'Johnson's Lives of the Poets,' article Spratt.]

Vox Populi: Or the People's humble Discovery of their own Loyalty, and his Majesty's ungrounded Jealousy.

London, printed *Anno* 1642.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

ALTHOUGH the charms of rhetorick have stained your majesty's declarations, answers, proclamations, speeches, and messages, with all the gall and opposition, that possibly could be infused, to exasperate us into the nature of bad subjects; yet are we resolved to depart from nothing, that may oblige and court your majesty to continue our gracious king.

Your evil counsellors have tempted your majesty, in all they could, to divide your individual person from your regal authority; and we have vowed, in the presence of God, with all the power and industry we have, to keep them inseparable: which being inconsistent with the malignity of that council, which daily joins itself closer to your majesty, and divides us; we are necessitated to employ that power, for the separating that malignity from your majesty, which else will be the ruin of us all, both king and people.

That there is malignity, the strong siding for the lord Strafford, and for the votes of popish lords in parliament; the difficult yielding to such good acts as began to establish our peace, and adventuring to question the same, at your majesty's return from the North, by a query of the freedom of this parliament; the many attempts for dissolving us; the late and slow disarming of the papists; the enticing many worthy men of quality to petition against established votes, to the great disturbance and dishonour of both the houses, and then incensing them to sacrifice the peace and liberty (if not the lives) of themselves, and the whole kingdom, to their inconsiderate revenge; and, lastly, the uniting all those into one army, by an illegal commission of Array; do abundantly testify to all men's consciences, (but such whom passion, and not malice, hath carried from us, we hope wisdom and religion will restore unto us). Besides, what malignity hath been wanting in shameful reproaches, provoking scoffs, false constructions, prejudicate censures, scandalous libels, treacherous plots, both at home and abroad; in slugging all proceedings, that tend to the safety of England or Ireland; in making cheap the repute of parliaments; and, lastly, both in the invitation and consent of deserting the houses, to attend and countenance your majesty's strange distance from your parliament, and taking up of arms against it?

We would not accuse your majesty; our hearts abhor it; nor will our laws suffer it, unless they speak and proceed to extremities, although your majesty endeavour much to be thought the sole agent. But, as our laws instruct us, we accuse such counsellors and instruments of regal commands, without which the regal office cannot stand; though we do not instance in all the particular authors, the causes of all things being found but with difficulty: for such as dare do ill, will not want so much self-love, as to conceal it; having the lives, and livelihood, of them and theirs at stake, to bribe their secrecy, until such time as they grow bold in wickedness, and discover themselves; or He, that seeth in secret, brings them forth to be rewarded openly.

And in this loyal care of your sacred person, and tender respect of your princely honour, finding that (besides the daily discourse of successive dangers, which seemed to be countenanced by your majesty, and of unsupportable grievances past and present, both in church and state, with the slow and difficult reparations of either,) the people had also strengthened a jealousy, from the intercourse of letters between the pope and your majesty, then prince, in Spain; from your preferring the embraces of a Catholick, before a Protestant, to be the consort of your royal bed and bosom; from the increase of papists, priests, jesuits, and a papistical clergy, and ceremonies throughout the land; and the general decrease, and several persecutions of Protestants, and faithful preachers; from the common boast, even of papists themselves, that you were of their religion, and that all your majesty's most secret counsels were first known to them; from the sharp and eager proceedings against Scottish Protestants, and slow proceedings against Irish papists and rebels; and, lastly, from the earnest reprieve of priests or jesuits at first, and afterwards of six priests and jesuits; and high accusation desperately prosecuted against six members of our houses of parliament: that your majesty had certainly given up your faith to the see of Rome. So that, being also inflamed by the rebellious and prodigious massacres of Ireland; there remaining no oaths, nor execrations, sufficient to satisfy jealous people from princes, that once give up their belief to that see; which allows no oaths, nor faith, to be kept to such, whom they shall pronounce hereticks, as they do us; and imposeth a conscientious obedience, secrecy, and assistance to all their dismal stratagems: we resolved (without publishing the disease) as a sovereign remedy, to settle the militia, and thereto counselled your majesty.

But what is counsel, if not followed? And what are your majesty's acts without counsel? Surely, if your majesty's acts out of parliament are guided, and are not authentic, but by advice of your majesty's attorney, judges, or privy-counsellors, and they have power to declare so; shall the great council of parliament go less, that give to all them being, and includes them? Or shall the orders of any of their courts be legal, and shall not those of the parliament be much more?

In this advice, therefore, and resolution of the militia, which your majesty used, when there was no need; we yet most humbly and earnestly, in this extreme need and necessity of the subject, persist, until your majesty remove the just occasions of fears, and accord to a sufficient cure of jealousies, by putting the people's safety into the people's own hands: whose jealousies are no whit abated by your majesty's absence from parliament, and raising of contrary forces, and sending of several menaces, and returning to your old counsels; and the papists cheerful interesting themselves in, and rejoicing at all your proceedings, they all appearing like so many several omens of the people's return to their old ceremonies, and to their old grievances, or worse; nor can we suffer those, who, by the counsel of the nation, have done faithful service to the nation, to perish for their faithful service.

The acts of sir John Hotham, and the rest employed for the militia and the navy, had general commands and instructions to authorize them, and have had particular approbations to confirm them; they must not suffer, and we live; nor shall so great a sin make our nation odious to God and man, if we can help it. It is not the allegation of a minor part of parliament can abuse the wiser and more religious sort of your subjects; since all men know, that each man's vote is of equal power and freedom in parliament, and the voices of a few cannot out-echo a great many: whatsoever, therefore, is there concluded, cannot be but by plurality of voices, which truly makes the parliament; and the dissenting party makes up the faction, if they persist; or, if it should so fall out, that the major part (through neglect, or confidence in them remaining) absent themselves, then are their votes no less included in the persons remaining, than the votes of the whole kingdom in the fulness of parliament. If any be deterred from this freedom, it argues guilt, or cowardice; either of which should pronounce such a one unworthy a trust of so great importance, none being called to the bar, but such as speak directly opposite to the published, or concluded orders of the house, or wilfully to move sedition, by distracting the sense of the house, to the great hinderance, and dangerous delay of more necessary affairs; or else the consciences of men (convinced with their reasons and propositions) would soon engage the major part in their behalf, and not against them. Which thing likewise may be said of those multitudes coming with congratulations to confirm such, as freely discharge their duties; it being the duty of all to speak the sense of the major part of the people, and such confirmations are but the tokens of it; and if this were not so, we run the greater hazard in your majesty's displeasure, than the dissenting party in the dissenting of their equals.

We do avow all our proceedings to be, by the law of God, the integrity of our own consciences, and the law of the land; the interpretation whereof, whether it be fitting to be delivered up unto your majesty's arbitrament, and such as your majesty will advance thereunto, or to remain in parliament, (wherein the liberty and votes of subjects are preserved) your majesty may judge; or which of these your people will consent to.

As for arbitrary power (which only is incident to kings and princes, who, setting up their will for law, forsake the benefit of counsel), it cannot possibly, in any kind, be a just aspersion on a parliament, which is itself a council, the greatest council, and the very proper foundation of all laws of the kingdom.

We do confess, in this your majesty's absence and dissent, we find a want of that harmony, which should make all our orders as well pleasant and delightful, as good and profitable; and we grieve no less for your majesty, who, in this remoteness, divest your royal person of all that glory and authority, which should accompany your royal actions.

What should your majesty pretend any fear, when your undaunted courage left such a testimony to the contrary, in your passing with so small attendance through the city; and dined there, even then, when the news of Ireland had gauled the memory afresh of former plots, and the zeal of people struck into flame for the dangers of parliament, and were imbittered with the remembrance of hardly-escaped burthens of monopolies and ship-moneys, Court of Honour, Star-Chamber, High-Commission, and the Canons? Or what could less partake of fear, than such a desperate assault of the privileges of parliament, in your own most royal person, with such an uncouth sort of attendants, the very day before?

And as there was no sign of fear in your majesty, so was there no cause of fear from us, or from any your majesty's subjects; to whom (had we entertained the least disaffection, or disloyalty) there wanted not opportunity, in any of those times, to have endeavoured our own ends; but so far were we from any such attempt, (as the malignant persons do falsely belch upon us,) that we not only calmed the minds of people, but brought them to undergo those charges towards the English and Scottish armies, which those malignant persons had brought upon your majesty. Having therefore these great testimonies of love and loyalty, what can your majesty fear or suspect? Unless you could yet retain a resolution to consent, or be an actor in some more horrid design, that could provoke your people beyond all what is past, to forget their resolutions of affection and allegiance to your majesty; but sure, your royal presence will discuss all fears and jealousies, which your continued absence cannot but foment.

We all have sworn allegiance to your sacred person, as king; we did not the same, when you were prince, nor is it longer of force unto your royal father, that then was king. When your majesty recedes from your kingly office, you are so far absent from the object of our allegiance: there is no difference of benefit to him that hath eyes, and to him that hath none, if light be wanting. All our oaths depend upon the oath your majesty hath taken. O then return unto your parliament, and so unto your people; return unto your parliament, and so unto your lawful power; return unto your parliament, and so unto your state and glory; where, when your royal assent hath confirmed those necessary privileges, which may keep whole the consciences and estates of your most loyal subjects, all this our body falls into atoms, and your majesty alone remains in glory, to be beheld the preserver of those privileges, which all our long and faithful endeavours have consulted with your majesty.

An Epistle to Charles the Second, King of England, and to every individual Member of his Council. Presented to them in pure Love and Good-will, that they might consider of the Things herein contained, before the King was crowned, or had taken his Oath; forasmuch as a Necessity from the Lord was laid upon the Penman of the said Epistle, in order thereto, who is known to divers People, by the Name of Christopher Cheesman.

From the Town of Reading, in Berkshire, the 15th of the second Month, 1661.

GIVE ear, O king, and hearken to counsel; let thy heart be inclined to understanding, and diligently consider the things that concern thy everlasting peace, and the well-being of all people, under thy government. And oh, you counsellors of the king, know you this, that the God of Israel, who governs in the heavens and in the earth, hath appeared in these nations, in the absence of the king, and since his father's days, to bring to pass his great work, in performance of his promises, and returning the captivity of his people; who have been, many ages past, most cruelly afflicted and oppressed, under Pharaoh's hard task-masters, who have exercised authority over their consciences. But, now, the Lord God is come to deliver his Israel, in the Spirit, by the hand of the great prophet, that Moses prophesied of, saying, 'The Lord your God shall raise up a Prophet, 'like unto me; one from among your brethren; him shall you hear in all things. And 'whosoever shall withdraw his ear from hearing that Prophet, shall be cut off from 'among the people.' This is the Prophet, O king and council, that is worthy to reign, and by the hand of this Prophet will the Lord bring to pass the purposes of his heart, and will set up justice and righteousness in the earth; and whoever they be, that will not bow down and hearken to this Prophet, whether king, councils, parliaments, armies, synods, or others, shall assuredly be destroyed, and cut off from among the people. For this great Prophet, of whom Moses spoke, is the Only-begotten of God, the Christ, the Saviour, 'the Light of the world, that enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world.'

This is he, O king and council, that the Lord God hath raised up in these nations, since thy father's days, and in thy absence, and he alone is worthy to reign; not synods, nor hireling ministers; and thousands there be within thy dominions, O king, that have received this great Prophet and true Light, and a good understanding thereby, (glory, glory to the Lord God for evermore!) and now are making war with the nations in righteousness, and in particular, with thee, O king, and with thy council; not with sword, nor spear, nor plottings, nor combinations, to hurt thee, O king, or any of thy family or people, nor any ways seeking to remove thee from thy crown and dignity; but, with the Spirit of God, striving to establish thy throne in righteousness, and to crown thee with everlasting honour and dignity.

And know this, O king and council, that the people and servants of the Lord do not strive against flesh and blood; neither are their weapons carnal, but spiritual, and mighty, through God, to make war with the Man of Sin in all his appearances and forms of governments, whether Presbytery or Episcopacy, or any other Anti-christian form, which must all be thrown down in this day of the Lord's mighty power, wherein he hath made bare, and will, yet more and more, make bare his arm; and his power and authority shall be

known against the hierarchy of Antichrist, in the utter destruction thereof. The Lord will dash to pieces all the powers and authorities of the earth that stand in his way, or any way seek to uphold the kingdom and authority of the Beast, and of the false prophet which is full of darkness. And the Lord God will bring in his kingdom of righteousness, which he hath begun to set up, and the same will finish; though it be to the everlasting destruction of all earthly potentates and people, that stand in opposition thereto.

Therefore, O king, take heed what thou doest, in this thy day, and power. And, O council of the king, take heed lest you counsel the king, either to swear, or to go about to establish, or set up the kingdom of Antichrist, under any form whatsoever, whether Episcopacy, or Presbytery, or any other; for assuredly, if you so do, it will be the utter destruction both of you, and your king. And again I say, O king and council, take heed: for your enemy, and the enemy of man's salvation, is very active in this day, and will not cease tempting of you, both within and without, to make you instruments to obstruct the work of the Lord, to whose temptations if you yield, the Lord will dash you to pieces; and so you will become as miserable as those that are gone before you.

And, O king, in the fear and dread of the Lord, prize thy time, and the Lord's mercies towards thee, and thy family; for they have been very great, in this day of thy visitation, wherein the Lord hath not been wanting to thee, but hath sent his servants, time after time, to counsel thee, and to forewarn thee, of the sore judgments that are hastening upon these nations, for the wickedness thereof.

And the Lord God hath been striving with thee, not only by his Spirit, in his ministers and servants; but his witness, in thine own conscience also, since he hath set thee upon thy father's throne.

And myself (as one of the least, to whom the Lord hath shewed mercy, in bringing me into the good land, wherein every one that is faithful, receives of the fruits and increase thereof, and drinks of the pleasant streams that therein run, which more refresh than all the increase of earthly treasure) do now, in obedience to the motions of God's Spirit, and in his fear and dread, give-in my testimony before thee, O king, and before thy council, for the Lord God, though King of kings, yet not obeyed by the people, out of his fear, and teachers of these nations, and for his truth, that is fallen in the gates; and, for his people, though harmless and just, yet more oppressed than any other people in the nations, by reason of the hireling ministry, which teach the people to err, and are enemies to God's truth and people.

Know this now, therefore, O king, that if thou wilt not regard the Lord God's striving with thee, by his servants, nor hearken to, nor return at the reproofs of God's witness, in thy own conscience; then the Lord will withhold his servants from thee, and his Spirit from striving with thee, and give thee up to hardness of heart; and then thou wilt be ruled by blood-thirsty men, enemies to God's truth and his people, who will cause thee to do such things, which, may be, was once far from thy heart to do; and then the Lord God, who respects no man's person, will smite thee and them, with a very terrible overthrow, and utter ruin and destruction; as he hath done, to those that have gone before thee, who would not hearken to God's servants, nor return at his reproofs.

For known be it to thee, O king, God did not remove those men from the throne of government, in these nations, for their well-doing, but for their evil; for their unrighteous and unjust actions, because they governed not for God: and therefore, as the kingdoms of the earth are the Lord's, so he disposeth of them, as he pleaseth. He plucks down the governors therein, whose actions proclaim them traitors to their Lord and Master, who entrusted them, and sets up others, to try them also, whether they will obey and do his commands, and the things that he delights in: *viz.* mercy and justice, true judgment and righteousness; and the contrary he denies, with the workers thereof, from the highest to the lowest. And so, when that wicked and perfidious generation of men would, by no means, be reformed; then the wrath of the Lord was kindled, and his decree went forth against them; and so they were dashed in pieces, even like a potter's vessel: it was their wickedness caused them to fall, and nothing else, for they still obstructed the Lord's work;

and yet he bore with them a long time, and would not that any should break them to pieces, but disappointed all plottings and combinations against them, from time to time; and also counselled them, by his ministers and servants, which he sent unto them, and did warn them of the evil that fell upon them, long before it came, and reproved them of their evil deeds, and, divers times, suffered their own servants to take their power from them, and then they lay under shame and contempt for some time, and then restored to government again: but still they went on, in their evil practices, being covetous, self-seeking men, having a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof; they were great oppressors and hard-hearted men, and imprisoned the ministers and servants of the Lord, and maintained an idle, dronish, idolatrous, hireling, tithe-taking ministry in the nations; and suffered them to persecute, oppress, and afflict the most precious ministers and servants of God, whose estates they took away, and whose bodies they imprisoned, and some of them most cruelly abused in prison, even unto death.

Mark, therefore, O king; had the Lord been pleased with such things, then, doubtless, thou and thy party had never returned to govern in these nations, any more; if the Lord had seen good, that oppression and grinding the faces of the poor, and maintaining a hireling ministry, and forcing the people of God to pay tithes, and persecuting and imprisoning of God's ministers and servants, should have continued in these nations; then those men, which he removed to bring thee in, might have been fit instruments for such a work, and no need for thee to have been brought in, in so eminent a manner, to do the work, with which, the Spirit of the Lord was burdened and grieved, from day to day; and for which, his wrath broke forth against those men, whose names now rot in perpetual infamy.

Therefore, doth it not concern thee, O king, and thy council, to consider what you are doing? For the Lord is the same now, as ever he was, and regards not king, councils, parliaments, armies, Protectors (so called), or any one more than another, otherwise than they are found in the path of righteousness, mercy, and true judgment.

Therefore, awake, awake, O king; with thy council stand up, and see whereon the basis of thy kingdom stands, lest thy crown and dignity fall in the dust in these great overturnings; for verily, verily, there is yet a greater overturning than has been, that will suddenly come upon these nations. In which overturning, O king, thou, and thy party, if you proceed as you have begun, must be the very subject-matter of the day, and must drink the very bottom and dregs of that cup, which all persons that have miscarried in government for divers years past, have tasted of; for the Lord has tried you many years, by sore and grievous affliction; and now hath restored you, that all people and nations may see what you will do: and thou, O king, and thy party, hast begun to set up and maintain that false ministry and worship, and idolatrous practice, and vain sports, (for which the wrath of God broke forth, about twenty years since, against thy family,) that is to say, Episcopacy; with all the abominations, both in worship and practice, which it brings along with it, notwithstanding the light that shines in this day of the Lord's mighty power, and this glorious day of visitation, wherein the Lord hath admitted you to stand for trial. And know this, O king, thy father and his party deceased, never saw such a day, nor received so much mercy, (as thee, and thy party that now survives, have done,) but were, in the dark and cloudy day, folded up under the hireling ministers, and had not the ministers of Christ, the Light of the world, sent unto them, with message after message, as to thee, and thy party, hath been done; counselling thee, O king, and thy council, to fear God, and to work righteousness: and the ministers and servants of the Lord have been faithful unto thee, O king, in every thing, and in this thing in particular; that is, thou limit not the Spirit of God, in forcing all to worship God, after the manner of the nations and heathen, nor to maintain a hireling ministry; for, where there is such a thing done by authority, there must of necessity follow great ignorance, and gross darkness will soon cover the face of such a nation; for a forced uniformity in matters of God's worship, and the hireling ministry, are not of God, but of the Devil; not of Christ, but Antichrist; and such a ministry I do affirm, and shall maintain, was the cause of thy father's fall: for the hireling

ministry, at that time, had their hearts full of war, and were divided; and so ministered death unto the people on both sides. And if thou, O king, shalt suffer religion to be established by a law, and shalt force people thereunto, it will be thy utter ruin; and thou wilt as assuredly miscarry in government, as any that hath gone before thee.

And this I declare to thee, in tender love and pity towards thee, and likewise exhort thee in the fear and dread of the Lord God, that thou swear not at all: for, if thou dost, thou breakest the command of Christ Jesus, the Light of the world, who is the Wisdom of God, (by whom princes rule, and the kings of the earth decree justice,) who said, 'Swear not at all.' Consider, O king, what advantage is swearing to the just man? Will he be the more just for swearing? Or, is the command of Christ of none effect? Nay, O king, the just man need not swear, thereby to add to his integrity; nor doth the unjust man any ways abate or destroy the deceit or hypocrisy of his wicked heart, whereby he may become more just by swearing. Therefore, O king, if thou canst not do justice and right, for the people over whom God hath made thee chief ruler and magistrate without swearing, thou wilt never be able to do it by swearing. Nay, O king, but on the contrary, for thee to swear that thou wilt maintain such religion, or do such and such justice for the people, puts thee into an absolute incapability to do justice; forasmuch as that thou refusest that wisdom, by which kings decree justice, as aforesaid; that is, Christ Jesus, the Wisdom of God, who said, 'Swear not at all;' and so said his apostle James. And, under the old Covenant, an oath was an end to all strife; but Christ the Oath of God, and New Covenant, said, 'Swear not at all;' and Christ the New Covenant is the Prophet, that Moses prophesied of, and said, 'Whosoever would not hear him, should 'be cut off from among the people.'

Therefore, O king and council, 'swear not at all;' neither establish religion by a law, to force an uniformity thereunto, nor maintain a hireling ministry; for such a thing was the overthrow not only of thy father, but of all that have followed after, till thyself, by the mighty hand of God, wert set in the place where now thou art. The parliaments, protectors, and armies, were all swearers, and high pretenders to religion in the form, but nothing in the power; but persecuted all the upright in heart, who were in the power, but out of their form; so I say, those governors who have miscarried in government did busy themselves very much in matters of God, touching the consciences of other men, whereof they had nothing to do; but, in the mean time, neglected the witness of God in their own particulars, and so were mindless and careless of their duties, as civil-magistrates, professing themselves wise, and exalting themselves into the temple of God, wherein they had not to do, save in their own particulars. They became fools even in the management of their civil-affairs, and so laid a sandy foundation; and, like foolish builders, continued building thereon, till such time as their building did fall; and great was the fall thereof. And all this did proceed from the hireling ministry, which hath in all ages brought forth the same fruits; being still fawning upon, and tampering with the great men of the earth, and kings and councils, and parliaments, and all men in authority, to establish religion, and to settle their maintenance; and then, as the prophet saith of them, 'He that will not 'put into their mouths, they presently make war against him:' and this hath been the state and condition of this nation and others.

And therefore, O king and council, be wise, and learn by other men's harms, who (not contenting themselves in their places, to do the work set them about, but leaving their own work undone,) did intermeddle and busy themselves about God's work, and the consciences of men, of which Christ alone is Lord: and for this hath the Lord dashed them to pieces, one after another, since thy father's days; first the Parliament, then Protector (so called), and Protector again; then the Parliament; then Army, and Committee of Safety (so called), then Parliament again; against all which the Lord hath appeared in much severity, and hath removed all out of his way, and hath brought thee and thy party into their place and authority, to try you. Take heed, I say, therefore, O king and council, of running against this rock; for, if you do, you will assuredly be dashed to pieces, as they already are: for false worship and false ministers must down, and all that take part with

them, and, till that time, there will never be peace on earth; for it is the false ministry that divides the people, and causes them to run into factions and divisions, and that sets people at variance one with another.

The false ministry, O king, that is the evil tree which brings forth bad fruit: and, indeed, they can do no otherwise, for they are not of God, but of the evil-one. It is clearly so, O king: for the tree was to be known by his fruit, and he is now grown so big, and his fruit so numerous, that one may run and read of what sort the tree is; and they, that see it not to be the evil tree, are very near the pit of everlasting destruction.

Thou wast a child, O king, in thy father's days, and knewest not to what perfection this evil tree was then grown; but withdraw thyself a little into thy private chamber, and there inquire of the Ancient of Days, and ask counsel at the oracle of God, the light in thine own conscience, and therewith compare the doctrine of Christ, who is the Word of God, and is very near thee, even in thy heart, and in thy mouth; and thou wilt then see, hear, and understand, what Christ and his Apostles say, and the Prophets before them, concerning the false prophets and the false ministers.

C. C.

The Rebels' Catechism: Composed in an easy and familiar Way; to let them see the Heinousness of their Offence, the Weakness of their strongest Subterfuges, and to recall them to their Duties both to God and Man.

'Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they, 'that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.'——Rom. xiii. 2.

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[Quarto; containing twenty-two pages.]

To the Christian Reader.

READER, thou must not look for all things new, in a point so agitated, so thoroughly discussed and canvassed as this hath been. It is well if they who come behind both in time and knowledge, add any thing, though it be but little, unto those before them. All, I shall promise thee in this short discourse, is, that I have contracted, into a narrow compass, what I found scattered and diffused in many, and those larger tracts; which I have offered to thy view in a more easy and familiar way than hath been formerly presented. And something thou shalt meet with here, which thou hast not found in any other discourses of this argument, besides the fashion and the dress. These are the most prevailing motives I can lay before thee, to tempt thee to the studying of this Catechism, which, if it shall confirm thee in thy duty unto God and the king, or reclaim thee from thy disaffection unto either of them, it is all I aim at; and so fare thee well.

January 25, 1643.

Question. WHO was the first author of rebellion?

Answer. The first author of rebellion, the root of all vices, and the mother of all mischief (saith the book of Homilies) was Lucifer; first, God's most excellent creature, and most bounden subject, who (by rebelling against the Majesty of God) of the brightest

and most glorious angel, became the blackest and foulest fiend and devil; and, from the height of heaven, is fallen into the pit and bottom of hell.

2. *Q.* How many sorts of rebellion are there?

A. Three most especially: that is to say, the rebellion of the heart, the rebellion of the tongue, and the rebellion of the hand.

3. *Q.* What is the rebellion of the heart?

A. The rebellion of the heart is a rancorous swelling of the heart, against the authority and commands of the supreme power under which we live: which, though it be so cunningly suppressed and smothered, that it break not out either into words or deeds, yet makes a man guilty of damnation, in the sight of God. And this is that of which the Wise-man tells us, saying, 'Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought; for a bird of the 'air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter.' Eccles. x. ver. 20.

4. *Q.* What is the rebellion of the tongue?

A. The rebellion of the tongue is a malicious defaming of the person, actions, parts, and government of those sovereign princes to which the Lord hath made us subject, of purpose to disgrace them amongst their people, to render them odious and contemptible, and, consequently, to excite their subjects to rise up against them. Of this, it is, whereof the Lord God commanded, saying, 'Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people;' Exod. xxii. 28. acknowledged for a divine precept by St. Paul, Acts xxiii. 5. See, to this purpose also, that of Solomon, Prov. xxiv. 21, where it is said, 'It is not fit to 'say unto a king, Thou art wicked.' And, if it be not fit to speak evil to him, assuredly it is as unfit to speak evil of him. And, finally, of this it is, that Aristotle the philosopher tells us, saying, Ὁ κατηγορων τὸν ἀρχοντα, εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑβρίζει. 'He, that speaks evil of 'the magistrate, offends against the commonwealth.' But I must let you know, withal, that though this of the tongue be a distinct species of rebellion, and so judged in law; yet many times this, and the other of the heart, are but the ground and preparations to the rebellion of the hand, or actual rebellion, as they call it commonly. And this appears most plainly in the story of Absalom, whose heart first swelled against his father; for being so difficult in restoring him to his court and presence, upon the murder which he had committed on his brother Amnon; 2 Sam. xiv. 24, 28. and his tongue found the way to disgrace his government, which he accused of negligence and injustice, to the common people, 2 Sam. xv. 2, 3, &c. before he blew the trumpet, and took arms against him, and made him flee with some few servants, from the royal city, ver. 14. But here we take it not for a preparation, but for a species distinct, as before was said.

5. *Q.* Why do you call the swellings of the heart, and the revilings of the tongue, by the name of Rebellion; considering, that the law, which punisheth rebellion with no less than death, doth take no cognisance of men's thoughts; and that when Gervase Shelvey, of Sandwich, said lately to a gentleman of that town, "That, if the king came thither, he would shoot the rogue;" for which, he was imprisoned by the mayor now being: it was resolved by the high court of parliament, that these words were but a misdemeanour, and so he was released again?

A. The House of Commons, which you call the 'High Court of Parliament,' did not so much deliver their judgment in the case aforesaid, as betray their disaffection in it to his majesty; whose person they endeavour to destroy, that they may keep his power still amongst themselves. Or, if they did, it was a very false and erroneous judgment, directly contrary unto the resolution of my lords the Judges, and other sages of the law in all former ages; by whom it is affirmed expressly, 'That if any man do compass or 'imagine the death of our lord the king (as all rebels do), and doth declare the same ima-'gination by any overt-fact, either deed or word, he shall suffer judgment as a traitor,' *Licèt is id, quod in voluntate habuit, ad effectum non perduxerit,* as Bracton hath it: although it do not take effect, and go no farther than the thought or purpose of the first contriver. Upon which ground it was, no question, that Shimei suffered death by the hands of Solomon. For, although David spared him upon submission, because he would not

intermix the joy of his return unto Jerusalem with any sad and mournful accident, (as that must needs have been unto Shimei's friends,) 2 Sam. xix. 22. yet he gave order to his son, to bring his hoary head down to the grave with blood; because he had cursed him with a grievous curse, in the day when he went to Mahanaim, 1 Kings ii. 8. which was accordingly performed by Solomon, ver. 46.

6. *Q.* But Shimei's case can be no precedent to us, who are not governed by the judicial law of Moses, but by the common-law of England, and the ruled cases in that law. And, therefore, tell me, if you can, whether our own books do afford you any of the like examples?

A. Our own books do afford us many; as *viz.* in the case of Walker, a citizen of London, and that of Mr. Burdet, an esquire of Warwickshire, both executed in the time of king Edward the Fourth, for words which might be construed to a treasonable and rebellious sense, though, perhaps, no ill meaning was intended: that of the Windsor butcher, in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, for saying, 'That rather than sell his meat at so 'mean a rate, he would send it to the rebels in the North;' and, finally, of one Oldnoll, one of the yeomen of the guard in queen Mary's time, who had judgment of death for certain traitorous and seditious words spoken against her majesty, although no insurrection or rebellion did ensue upon them. For the particulars, I must refer you to our law-books, and the common chronicles.

7. *Q.* Proceed we now unto your third and last sort of rebellion; and tell me what you mean by the rebellion of the hand, and how many sorts there are of it?

A. The rebellion of the hand is of two sorts, whereof the first is the composing and dispersing of false and scandalous books and pamphlets, tending to the dishonour of the king, his subordinate officers, and form of government; of purpose to alienate the affections of his subjects from him, and make them the more apt to rebel against him. And this is punishable with death also, by the law of England; as may appear by the examples of Bugnall, Scot, Heath, and Kennington, being sanctuary-men in St. Martin's le Grand, London, who had judgment to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, in the time of king Henry the Seventh, for setting up seditious bills, to the scandal of the king, and some of his council: of Penry, Udall, Barrow, Greenwood, Studley, Billott, and Bowdler, (zealous puritans all;) all of which were condemned, and three of them hanged in queen Elizabeth's time, for writing treasonable and seditious books; by which the peace of the kingdom might have been disturbed, though no rebellion followed on them: of Copping and Thacker, who were hanged at St. Edmundsbury, in the said queen's time, for publishing the pamphlets wrote by Robert Browne, against the book of Common-Prayer; which Compton thus reports in his lawyer's French, *Deux executez pour poublier les livres de Robert Browne, encontre le livre de common praut.* And, finally, witness the example of Mr. Williams, a barrister of the Middle-Temple, who was executed in king James's reign, for writing a defamatory book, against the said king and his posterity.

8. *Q.* What is the other sort of that rebellion, which you call the rebellion of the hand?

A. The other sort of the rebellion of the hand is that which commonly is called actual rebellion, and is defined by the statute of the 25th of king Edward the Third, to be, A levying of war against our sovereign lord the king, in his realm, or an adhering to the king's enemies in his realm, giving to them aid and comfort in the realm, or elsewhere. And so it is determined also in the civil laws, by which all those, *qui arripiunt arma contra eum cujus jurisdictioni subditi sunt,* 'who take up arms against such persons to whose 'authority they are subject,' are declared to be rebels. Where note, that not the open act only, but the attempt and machination is brought within the compass of rebellion. *Rebellio ipse actus rebellandi est, qui non solùm facto sed machinatione committitur;* as those lawyers tell us. And it is worth our observation, that not only the bearing arms against the king is declared to be rebellion by the law of England, but that it was declared to be rebellion by the chief judges of this kingdom, at the arraignment of the earl

of Essex (the father of him, who now is in the head of this rebellion,) for any man to seek to make himself so strong, that the king should not be able to resist him, although he broke not out into open act.

9. *Q.* What is the end that rebels do propose unto themselves, when they put themselves into rebellion?

A. The deposition and destruction of the king in possession, and an alteration of the present government. And so it was determined, by the joint consent of all the judges, at the arraignment of the earl of Essex, abovementioned; by whom it was resolved, for law, that, in every rebellion, there was a plot upon the life and deposition of the prince: it being not to be conceived, that the rebels would suffer him to live or reign, who might have opportunity, in the change of things, to punish them for their rebellions, and avenge himself upon them for their treasons. And this they did confirm by the civil laws, and further justify and confirm by the strength of reason, with which it seemed inconsistent, *Ut qui semel regi jus dixerit*, that he, who had once over-ruled his king by force of arms, should either suffer him to live, or recover the possession of his realm again. All which they made good, by the sad examples of king Edward the Second, and king Richard the Second, who did not long enjoy either life or crown, after they came into the hands of those who rebelled against them.

10. *Q.* But those examples, which you speak of, were in times of popery. Have you the like to shew since the Reformation?

A. I would to God we had none such: but we have too many. For, not to look into our neighbouring realm of Scotland, and the proceedings of some there, who called themselves Protestants, against their queen; the rebellion plotted by the earl of Essex in queen Elizabeth's time, though there was nothing less pretended, was to have ended in the death of the queen, and the alteration of the government. For (as was afterwards confessed by some of his accomplices) the secret part of the design was, to have seized upon the queen, and secured his adversaries in the court; whom, when he had condemned and executed, *Parliamento indicto, reipublicæ formam immutare statuit;* 'He then resolved to 'call a parliament, and settle a new form of government.' Which, how it could be done, and the queen alive, I believe you know not. And so much was acknowledged by the earl himself, after the sentence of death was passed upon him, when he affirmed to certain of her majesty's council, *Reginam sospitem esse non posse, si ipse supersit;* 'That, 'whilst he lived, it was not possible for the queen to continue in safety.' Thus have you seen the main design of that rebellion, as of all others whatsoever: what his pretences were which he cast abroad, the better to seduce the people, I shall not stick to tell you, if you put me to it.

11. *Q.* I shall not trouble you with that, at this present time. But, since you say, that levying of war against the king is properly and truly to be called rebellion, I would fain ask, Whether you mean it only in such cases where the subjects take up arms out of pride and wantonness, or in such also when they are necessitated and forced unto it in their own defence?

A. I mean it equally in both cases; though, of the two, the former be more odious in the sight both of God and man. For even defensive arms (as your party calls them) are absolutely unlawful in the subject against his sovereign; in regard, that no defensive war can be undertaken, but it carrieth a resistance in it to those 'higher powers, to which 'every soul is to be subject.' Which powers being obtained by Almighty God, it followeth by the Apostle's logick, who was a very able disputant, That they, who do resist the powers, resist the ordinance of God; and, consequently, shall receive to themselves damnation. A rule which took such deep impression in the primitive Christians, that, though for personal valour, numbers of men, and leaders able to conduct them, they were superior to the adverse party in the Roman empire; yet they chose rather to expose their lives unto the merciless fury of the persecutors, than take up arms against their princes, or disturb the peace of their dominions, under pretence of standing in their own defence,

being so tyrannically and unjustly handled. For proof whereof, we may allege Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, and some other ancients, whose words we will produce at large, if you think it necessary.

12. *Q.* You need not put yourself to that trouble. For we deny not, that the ancient Christians did rather choose to suffer, than to take up arms; but, when we say, that, though they were exceeding numerous, yet they were not formed into states and kingdoms, and that when they were once estated in laws and liberties, as in France, Holland, Scotland, and Germany, they made no question then to defend themselves: what can you answer unto that?

A. I suppose the Roman empire was a settled state, as strongly cemented with all the ligaments of power and policy, as any one of these you mention; and that the subjects of that empire had their laws and liberties, which, as their ancestors had received from the indulgence of their emperors, and the Roman senate, so they transmitted them to their posterity. And yet, when all the empire had received the faith in the time of Constantine, and that no religion but the Christian had public countenance from the laws, during the most part of his reign, and the whole reign of his three sons, (which was for fifty-five years, no fewer,) the subjects kept themselves to their former principles. Insomuch that, when the emperor Julian began to intrench upon their liberties, and infringe those laws, which had been granted them by the grace and goodness of those princes, they knew no other way, nor weapons, by which to make resistance to such lawless violence, but their prayers and tears: Καὶ τοῦτο μόνον κατὰ τῶν διωκτῶν φάρμακον, 'And this was all the medicine 'which they had to cure that malady;' as we find in Nazianzen. The like I could produce from St. Ambrose also, were not this sufficient. And for your instances of France, Holland, Scotland, and Germany, which you have mustered up to make good your cause; I am sorry for the Protestant Religion's sake, that you have furnished me with so many examples of rebellions since the Reformation; some of which ended in the death, and others in the deposition of their natural princes: which was a point you seemed to doubt of in your tenth question.

13. *Q.* But, tell me seriously, do you conceive that all resistance of this kind, made by force of arms, may be called rebellion; and that there are no cases which may make it lawful, and warrantable by the laws of God or man?

A. Your question hath two several parts, and must receive two several answers. And to the first, I answer seriously, (it being now no time to trifle,) that all resistance, of the kind you speak of, not only may be called rebellion, but is rebellion in the true and natural sense of the word. For if, as the civilians say, *Rebellis dicitur inobediens principi circa concernentia prosperitatem imperii;* 'That every one may be said to be a rebel, who 'yielded not obedience to his prince in all such particulars, as do concern the flourishing 'estate of his dominions;' assuredly he is a rebel in the highest degree, who takes up arms against his sovereign, (whatever his pretences be,) and, by so doing, doth embroil his kingdoms in all these miseries, which most inseparably are annexed to a civil-war. Now frame the second part of the present query, into a distinct question of itself; and I will give such an answer to it, as I hope shall satisfy.

14. *Q.* My question is, Whether the condition of the persons which are engaged in such resistance, the grounds on which they go, and the end they aim at, make not an alteration in the case; so that resistance, qualified by these several circumstances, become not warrantable by the laws both of God and man?

A. The answer unto this is already made in the book of Homilies; where it is said, that, 'Though not only great multitude of the rude and rascal commons, but sometimes 'also men of great wit, nobility, and authority, have moved rebellion against their lawful 'princes; though they should pretend sundry causes, as the redress of the commonwealth, 'or reformation of religion; though they have made a great show of holy meaning by 'beginning their rebellion with a counterfeit service of God, and by displaying and bearing about divers ensigns and banners, which are acceptable unto the rude ignorant common people (great multitudes of whom, by such false pretences and shews, they do de-

'ceive and draw unto them); yet, were the multitudes of the rebels never so huge and 'great, the captains never so noble, politic, and witty, the pretences feigned to be 'never so good and holy; yet the speedy overthrow of all rebels, of what number, state, 'or condition soever they were, or what colour or cause soever they pretended, is, and 'ever hath been such, that God doth thereby shew, that he alloweth neither the dignity 'of any person, nor the multitude of any people, nor the weight of any cause, as sufficient 'for which the subjects may move rebellion against their princes.' So far the very words of the book of Homilies.

15. *Q.* Why do you tell us thus of the book of Homilies, composed by a company of ignorant bookmen, men utterly unskilful in the laws of the land. Think you that we ascribe to them so much authority, as to be over-ruled by them in this case?

A. It may be not. But I must tell you that there was a statute made in the thirteenth year of queen Elizabeth, intitled, 'An Act for Reformation of Disorders in the Ministers 'in the Church,' &c. in which it was enacted, amongst other things, 'That all who 'were to be admitted unto holy orders, or instituted into any ecclesiastical preferment, 'should first subscribe unto the articles of religion, agreed upon in convocation, *anno* '1562.' One of which articles recites the names and titles of each several homily, and approves their doctrine. So that, although the homilies were at first composed by men unskilful in the laws, as you please to say; yet they received both strength and approbation from the skilfullest lawyers of those times, convened with the nobility and gentry in the court of parliament; and consequently have as much authority as the parliament could add unto them. But, since you are not pleased with this general answer, give me your doubts and queries in particular, and see what I can say unto them?

16. *Q.* First then, I ask, Whether, if the king become a tyrant, it be not lawful, in that case, to bear arms against him?

A. Yes, if George Buchanan may be judge; who tells us plainly, that he would have rewards proposed to such as should kill a tyrant, as formerly there were for those who destroyed wolves. But if St. Paul may rule the case, we shall find it otherwise. For if we ask to whom it was that the apostle did command subjection to be given, even by every soul; to whom it was that he forbad resistance to be made, upon pain of damnation; we shall find it was no other than the emperor Nero, the greatest tyrant, the bloodiest and most terrible prince, the greatest monster of mankind, that ever yet was born of woman. Yet St. Paul, writing to the Romans (over whom he did so cruelly tyrannize), commanded every soul to be subject to him, not for wrath only, but for conscience-sake, and that, upon the pain and peril of damnation, no man should be so bold as to resist his power, or rebel against him. And, doubtless, Nebuchadnezzar was a mighty tyrant, one who had taken from the Jews their laws, their liberty, their religion, and whatsoever else was most dear unto them. Yet were the Jews commanded to submit unto him, and patiently to bear the yoke which was laid upon them; and not to hearken to their prophets, nor to their diviners, nor unto their dreamers, (mark it, for this is just your case,) which speak unto you, saying, 'Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon; for they prophesy a lye unto you, 'that you should perish;' Jerem. xxvii. *v.* 9. Finally, to oppose the saying of an heathen man, unto that wicked speech of him who did pretend so much unto reformation, we find it thus resolved in Plutarch, Οὐ θεμιτὸν οὐδὲ νενομισμένον βασιλέως σώματι τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρειν· 'That it was contrary both to positive laws, and the law of nature, for any 'subject to lift up his hand against the person of his sovereign.'

17. *Q.* Is it not lawful to bear arms against sovereign princes, for the preservation of religion?

A. Yes, for those men who place religion in rebellion, and whose faith is faction, but for no men else. The Jews might well have pleaded this against Nebuchadnezzar, when he destroyed their temple, and forbad their sacrifices; and the Christians in Tertullian's time, when they were at the strongest, against the emperor Severus, who did not only labour to suppress religion, but utterly to root out the professors of it: and yet the contrary doctrine was then preached and practised, as before was shewed you. What wea-

pons the poor Christians did make use of, in the time of Julian the apostate, in his endeavours to subvert the Gospel, and establish paganism again in the place thereof, we told you lately out of Nazianzen; and shall now add, that the Christian party was then so strong and powerful in the Roman armies, that when Jovinian was elected emperor on the death of Julian, the soldiers with one voice cried out, Καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι Χριζιανὸς, 'That they 'were all Christians.' So that it was not consciousness of their own weakness, nor the fear of wrath; but conscience of their duty, and the fear of God, which made them patiently submit to the present storm. Thus, when the younger Valentinian endeavoured to supplant the true religion, and set up Arianism, to which he strongly was addicted; the tyrant Maximus made offer to St. Ambrose of his arms and forces, the better to enable him to resist the Arians, and to preserve the true religion; but the good father absolutely refused the offer. And though he was so well beloved and honoured by the people generally, that he could easily have armed them against the emperor, and crushed the Arian faction in the court, by whom his councils were directed; yet he betook himself to no other weapons, than his prayers and tears, the ancient weapons of the Christian: *Coactus repugnare non novi, dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere; alitèr nec debeo nec possum resistere;* 'other resistance knew he none, though pressed and oppressed too, than his 'tears and prayers.'

18. *Q.* What, if he violate our laws, and infringe our liberties; may we not then bear arms against him?

A. Somewhat in answer to this you received before, in the command imposed upon the Jews by the prophet Jeremy, not to rebel, or take up arms (which come both to one) against Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon; although he did so tyrannize and lord it over them, that neither their old laws, nor liberties, were a jot regarded. But that, which I shall tell you now, is St. Paul's case, in the xxiiid of the Acts. Being brought to plead his own cause, and the Gospel's too, before the council of Jerusalem; in the first entrance to his plea, the high-priest, Ananias, commanded them that stood by to smite him on the mouth; and sitting there to judge him after the law, commanded him to be smitten contrary to the law. St. Paul, upon the apprehension of so great an injury, (so plainly contrary unto the laws, and liberties of the Jewish subject,) calls him 'whited wall;' and threateneth him with vengeance from Almighty God. But finding that it was the high-priest whom he had reviled, (who had sometimes the supreme government of the Jewish state,) he cried *peccavi* out of hand, imputed his offence to ignorance, 'I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest;' and finally, condemned himself with a *Scriptum est*, saying, 'It is written, thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people;' if so, in case we may not speak evil of our rulers, when they smite us contrary to the laws, and the subject's liberty, which is the rebellion of the tongue, assuredly we may not take up arms against them, under those pretences, which is the rebellion of the hand.

19. *Q.* What, if the king be in the hands of evil counsellors, may we not take up arms to remove them from him?

A. Yes, if the earl of Essex may be judge, whose father fell into rebellion under that pretence, *ut regnum ab impotenti quorundam dominatu liberaret*, as to free the kingdom from some men who had got the queen into their hands, and consequently ingrossed unto themselves the principal managery of the commonwealth. But he had other aims than that, as before was told you; and so had they that went before him in the self-same road. When Watt Tyler, and Jack Straw, and the residue of that rascal rabble, had took up arms against king Richard the Second, they made the Londoners believe, (who have been always apt to be deluded by the like pretences,) that, when they had seized on the evil counsellors, which abused the king, and brought them to a legal trial, then they would be quiet. But, under this pretence, they broke open prisons, robbed churches, murdered the king's good subjects, and finally, arrived to so high an impudence, that Watt Tyler did not stick to say, "That, within four days, all the laws of England should proceed from his mouth." And, when Jack Cade had drawn the Kentish to rebel against king Henry the Sixth, he gave it out, that if he could get the king and queen into his hands,

he would use them honourably; but, if he could lay hands on any of the traitors which were about them, he would take care to see them punished for their misdemeanours. But, in good truth, the end and aim of the rebellion was to depose king Henry and the house of Lancaster, in favour of the title of the duke of York.

20. *Q.* What, if the king assaults a subject, or seek to take away his life; may not the subject, in that case, take up arms against him?

A. Yes, if Paræus may be judge, and some of the Genevan doctors, who have so determined. But David's case, which commonly is alleged in defence hereof, if looked on with the eyes of judgment, doth affirm the contrary. For David, though he had a guard of some friends and followers, to save him from the hands of such wicked instruments, as Saul, in his unjust displeasure, might have used against him; yet he preserved himself from Saul, not by resistance, but by flight; by flitting up and down as the king removed, and approached near him with his armies. For, had he had a thought of war, though defensive merely, it is probable he would have took the opportunities which were offered to him, either of seizing Saul's person, when he had him all alone in the cave of Engeddi; or suffering Abishai to smite him, as he lay asleep in the hill of Hachilah; or, at the least, in making sure of Abner and the host of Saul, who lay sleeping by him. But David was not so well tutored in the art of rebellion, as to secure himself this way, and wanted some of our new masters to instruct him in it. If, from the practice of a pious and religious Jew, we will look down upon the precept of a grave, wise, and learned Gentile, we shall find this rule laid down in Aristotle: Εἰ ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἀπάταξεν ὃ δεῖ ἀντιπληγῆναι, 'That, if 'the magistrate assault the person of a private subject, the subject may not strike again, 'nor lift hand against him.' Finally, that you may perceive how much all sorts of men do oppose your doctrines, Calvin himself, although no friend to monarchy, doth affirm thus much, *Qui privatus manum intulerit*, &c. 'That any private person, of what sort 'soever, who shall lift up his hand against his sovereign, though a very tyrant, is, for the 'same, condemned by the voice of God.'

21. *Q.* Perhaps we may so far agree with you, as to disable private persons from bearing arms, and lifting up their hands against kings, and princes, of their own authority. But think you, that inferior magistrates are not enabled, by their offices, to protect the people, and arm them, if occasion be, in their own defence?

A. It is true, that some divines of the Reformed churches, who either lived in popular states, or had their breeding at Geneva, or thought the discipline, by them defended, could not be otherwise obtruded upon Christian princes, than by putting the sword into the hands of the people, have spared no pains to spread abroad this dangerous doctrine; in which they have not wanted followers in most parts of Christendom. But St. Paul knew of no such matter, when he commanded 'every soul to yield obedience and sub-'jection to the higher powers;' and, upon no occasion, to resist those powers to which the Lord had made them subject. So that, although inferior magistrates may expect obedience from the hands of those, over whom, and for whose weal and governance, they are advanced and placed by the prince in chief; yet God expects that they should yield obedience to the powers above them, especially to the highest of all, than which there is not any higher. There is a golden chain in politicks, and every link thereof hath some relation and dependence upon that before; so far forth as inferior magistrates do command the people, according to that power, and those instruments which are communicated to them by the supreme prince, the subject is obliged to submit to them, without any manner of resistance. Men of no public office must obey the constable; the constable is bound to speed such warrants, as the next justice of the peace shall direct unto him; the justices receive the exposition of the law from the mouth of the judges; the judges have no more authority, but what is given them by the king. And thereupon it needs must follow, that though the judges direct the justices, and the justices command the constables, and the constables may call the people to their aid, if occasion be; yet all must yield a free obedience, without reluctancy or resistance, to the king himself. The reason is, because as kings, or supreme magistrates, are called God's ministers by St.

Paul, so the inferior, or subordinate magistrates, are called the king's ministers by St. Peter: 'Submit yourselves to the king, as unto the supreme;' next to such governors as are sent, or authorized, by him, for the punishment of evil-doers. Besides, there is no inferior magistrate, of what sort soever, but, as he is a public person, in respect of those that are beneath him, so is he but a private man, in reference to the powers above him; and therefore, as a private person, disabled utterly, by your own rules, from having any more authority to resist his sovereign, or bear defensive arms against him, as well as any other of the common people. The government of states may be compared, most properly, unto Porphyry's tree, in which there is one *genus summum*, and many *genera subalterna*. Now it is well known to every young logician, who hath learnt his Prædicabiles, that *genus subalternum* is a species only, as it looks up to those above it, a genus in relation unto these below it. If you have so much logick in you, as to make application of this note to the present case, you will perceive inferior magistrates to be no magistrates at all, as they relate unto the king, the *genus summum* in the scale of government; and therefore of no more authority to resist the king, or call the people unto arms, than the meanest subject.

22. *Q.* If so; then were the Christian subject of all men most miserable, in being utterly deprived of all ways and means, by which to free his country from oppression, and himself from tyranny. And therefore tell me, if you can, what you would have the subject do in these extremities, in which you have deprived him of all means to relieve himself?

A. That which the Lord himself prescribed, and the saints have practised. When first the Lord acquainted those of the house of Israel, how heavy a yoke their violence and importunity, in asking for a king, had pulled upon them; he told them of no other remedy for so much affliction, but that they should cry out in that day, because of the king whom they had chosen. No casting off the yoke, when we find it grievous, nor any way to make it lighter and more pleasing to us, than either by addressing our complaints to the Lord our God, or tendering our petitions to our lord the king. Kings are accountable to none but God, if they abuse the power which he gives unto them: nor can we sue them for a trespass in any other court, than the court of Heaven. Therefore, when David had defiled the wife, and destroyed the husband, he thought himself responsible for it unto none but God, against whom only he had sinned, as he saith himself. And thereupon St. Ambrose gives this gloss on those words of David; *Homini ergo non peccavit, cui non tenebatur obnoxius.* David, saith he, confesseth no offence to man, by whom he could not be impleaded; but only unto God, who had power to judge him. St. Gregory of Tours understood this rightly, when he did thus address himself to a king of France, *Si quis de nobis*, &c. 'If any of us, O king, do transgress the laws, thou hast power to punish 'him; but, if thou goest beyond thy limits, who can punish thee? We tell thee of thy 'faults, as occasion serves; and, when thou listest to give ear, thou dost hearken to us: 'which, if thou shouldest refuse to do; who shall judge thee for it, but he that calls him-'self by the name of Justice?' And, that you may be sure that it is no otherwise in England than in France and Jewry, Bracton, a great and famous lawyer of this kingdom, doth affirm expressly, that if the king proceed not in his government according unto law and right, there is no legal remedy to be had against him. What then is to be done by the injured subject? *Locus erit supplicationi, quòd factum suum corrigat & emendet; quod si non fecerit, satis ei sufficit ad pœnam, quòd Dominum expectet ultorem.* All that he hath to do, saith he, is, 'that he doth petition him for relief and remedy; which if the king 'refuse to consent unto, it will be punishment enough unto him, that he must look for 'vengeance from the hands of God.' Which said, he gives this reason for it; Because that no man is to call the king's acts in question, *multò fortiùs contra factum suum venire;* 'much less, to go about to annul and void them by force and violence.'

23. *Q.* We grant it to be true which you cite from Bracton, as it relates to private and particular men; but think you that it doth concern or oblige the parliament, which is the representative body of the kingdom?

A. Hoc sumus congregati quod & dispersi, as Tertullian tells us of the Christians in another case. We shewed before, that subjects were in no case to resist their sovereigns, in the way of arms, either as private persons or inferior magistrates. And thereupon we may conclude, that the people of this realm, in the diffusive body of it, having no power of levying war, or raising forces to resist the king, without being punishable for the same, as in case of treason, cannot enable the two houses of parliament, which are the representative body of it, to do those acts, which they want power to do themselves; for no man can confer a power upon any other which is not first vested in himself, according to that good old rule, *Nemo dat quod non habet*. And therefore if it be rebellion in the English subject, out of times of parliament, to levy war against the king in his realm, or to adhere unto his enemies, and be aiding to them; I know not how it can excuse the members of the two houses of parliament from coming within the compass of that condemnation, if they commit such acts, in time of parliament, and under the pretence of the power thereof, which are judged treason and rebellion by the laws of England.

24. *Q.* But Mr. Prynne hath learnedly removed that rub, who tells you, that the statute of 25 Edward III. runs (only) in the singular number, If a man shall levy war against the king; and therefore cannot be extended to the houses, who are many, and public persons: what can you answer unto that?

A. That Mr. Prynne, having so often shewn malice, may have a little leave sometimes to shew his folly, and make some sport unto the kingdom, in these useful times; for, if his learned observation will hold good in law, it is not possible that any rebellion should be punished in a legal way; because so many (and some of them perhaps may be public persons) are commonly engaged in actions of that wicked nature. And I suppose that Mr. Prynne, with all his learning, did never read of a rebellion, that is to say, of a war levied by the subject against his sovereign, plotted and executed by one man only, in the singular number. Had Mr. Prynne affirmed on his word and credit, that the members of the two houses were not men but gods, he had then said somewhat which would have freed them from the guilt and danger of that dreadful statute. If he admit them to be men, and grant them to have levied war against his majesty, or to be aiding to the rebels now in arms against him; he doth conclude them to be guilty of this great rebellion, with which this miserable kingdom is almost laid desolate. His sophistry and trim distinctions, touching their quality and numbers, will but little help them.

25. *Q.* We have another plaister which will salve that sore, *viz.* the difference that is made between the king's person and his power, by which it is made visible to discerning eyes, that though the parliament have levied war against the person of the king, yet they do not fight against his power, but defend it rather. And it is not a resistance of the person but the power of princes, which is forbidden by St. Paul. How do you like of that distinction?

A. As ill, or worse than of the other, as being, of the two, the more serious folly; and coming from an author no less factious (but far more learned I confess) than your other was. For if I do remember right, Buchanan was the first that broached this doctrine in his book, *de Jure Regni apud Scotos;* in which he tells us, that St. Paul, in the place aforesaid, doth not speak of magistrates, *sed de functione & officio eorum qui aliis præsunt*, but of the magistracy itself, 'the function or office of the magistrate;' which must not be resisted, though his person may. Which foolish fancy serving fitly for a cloke or vizard, wherewith to palliate and disguise rebellions, hath since been often used by those who pursue his principles (though never worn so threadbare as of late, in your treacherous pamphlets), but draweth after it as many, and as gross absurdities as the other did. For by this strange division of the king from himself, or of his person from his power, a traitor may kill Charles, and not hurt the king; destroy the man, and save the magistrate: the power of the king in one of the armies may fight against his person in the other army; his own authority may be used to his own destruction, and one may lawfully set upon him, beat, assault, and wound him, in order to his preservation. So that you make the king like Sosia, in the ancient comedy, who being well beaten, and demanded who it was that did

it, made answer, *Egomet, memet, qui nunc sum domi;* that Sosia, who was at home in his master's house, did beat that Sosia, which was abroad in his master's business. But questionless St. Paul did better understand himself, than either Buchanan, or any of his followers, since his time, have done: who doth interpret the word *power*, which he useth in the first and second verses, by that of *principes & ministri*, 'rulers and ministers,' which he useth in the third and fourth; which as it plainly shews that he meaneth the magistrate, and not the function or the office, as your masters tell you; so doth it leave you liable to the wrath of God, if you endeavour to defend these wicked and rebellious courses, by such wretched shifts.

26. *Q.* What say you then, if it appear that the two houses of parliament (for I use your terms) are not subordinate to the king, but co-ordinate with him? I hope then you will yield so far, that the two houses have a power, if they cannot otherwise provide for the common safety, to arm the people of the realm against him, as against an equal.

A. We grant indeed, that people which have no superior, but stand on equal terms with one another, if injured by their neighbours, and not receiving satisfaction, when they do desire it, may remedy themselves by force; and for so doing, by the law of nations, are esteemed just enemies; but so it is not in the point, which is now in question, 'The realm 'of England (as it is declared by act of parliament) being an empire, governed by one 'supreme head and king, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the 'same; unto whom a body-politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided 'in terms and by names of spirituality and temporality, be bounden and ought to bear, 'next to God, a natural and humble obedience.' Assuredly, had the lords and commons, then assembled, conceived themselves co-ordinate with the king, in the public government, they would not have so wronged themselves and their posterity, as to have made this declaration and acknowledgment so prejudicial thereunto, not only in a parliament time, but by act of parliament. Besides, if this co-ordination, which you dream of, could be once admitted; it must needs follow thereupon, that though the king hath no superior, he hath many equals; and where there is equality, there is no subjection. But Bracton tells you in plain terms, not only that the king hath no superior in his realm, except God alone, but that he hath no equal, neither: *Parem autem non habet in regno suo*, as his words there are. And then he gives this reason of it, *Quia sic amitteret præceptum, cùm par in parem non habet imperium;* 'Because he could not have an equal but with the loss of his au-'thority and regal dignity;' considering, that an equal hath no power to command another. Now, lest you should object, That is spoken of the king, out of times of parliament, but that, when once the lords and commons are convened in parliament, the case is otherwise: first, you must think that, had this doctrine been on foot in the times preceding, it would have been a great impediment unto frequent parliaments; and that our kings (as others) being very jealous even of the smallest points of sovereignty, would not admit of partners in the crown imperial, by the assembling of a parliament, having been used to reign alone without any rivals. And, secondly, you may call to mind, that even *sedente parliamento*, 'during the sitting of the court,' the lords and commons call themselves, his majesty's most humble and obedient subjects; which is not only used as a style of course in such petitions, as they used to present unto him, (and by the way, it is not the use for men of equal power to send petitions unto one another,) but it is the very phrase in some acts of parliament, for which I do refer you to the book at large. And if they be his subjects, as they say they be; they cannot be his equals, as you say they are; and therefore not co-ordinate with him, but subordinate to him: by consequence the levying war against the king is no more excusable in them, than the meanest subject.

27. *Q.* You take great pains to make the parliament, or the 'two Houses,' as you call them, to be guilty of rebellion against his majesty, without ground or reason. For, tell me seriously, Think you the parliament hath not power to arm the people, and put them into a posture of defence against the enemies of the kingdom, if they see occasion?

A. Yes; if the king do give consent, and there be such enemies, against whom to arm them;

for, properly, according to the ordinary rules of politicks, there is no power of raising forces, and putting the people into arms, but only in the prince, or supreme magistrate. The civil-laws have so resolved it: *Nulli prorsus, nobis insciis & inconsultis, quorumlibet armorum movendorum copia tribuatur:* 'Let none presume to levy forces, whatsoever the pretence or occasion be, without our privity or consent:' saith the constitution. If you consult with the divines, St. Austin, a most learned father, will inform you thus: That the natural course and arts of government, accommodated to the peace and welfare of us mortal men, do require thus much, *Ut suscipiendi belli auctoritas atque consilium penès principes sit:* 'that all authority of making war, and levying forces, appertain only to the prince.' And, if you please to look on Bracton, or any of the lawyers of your native country, they will tell you this: That the material sword is put into the hands of the king by Almighty God; that, by the material sword, is meant a power and right to look to the defence and preservation of the kingdom; and that it is no less than treason to enter into any association, or to raise a war, without the king's consent, or against his will. And this the Houses, as it seems, understood full well; when, purposing to levy forces to begin the war, they took the king's authority along with them for company, and raised them in the name of the king and parliament, the better to seduce the people to a blinded rebellion. As for the enemies of the kingdom, against whom the subjects were to arm themselves by appointment of the houses, I can tell of none; no, nor they neither, as I take it, unless they saw them in their dreams. And, for your 'Posture of Defence,' as you please to phrase it, (besides what I have proved before, that even defensive arms are absolutely unlawful on the subjects' part,) the war hath been offensive, plainly, on the part of the houses; which as it was contrived and followed without the least colour of necessity to induce them to it, so did it aim at nothing else than the destruction of the king, and the alteration of the government; which are the purpose and design of all rebellions, as before was told you.

28. *Q.* How prove you, that the parliament did begin the war; that, on their parts, it was offensive, not defensive only; or that they had a purpose to destroy the king? If you can make this good, you shall gain me to you.

A. This point hath been so agitated and discoursed already, that it were but labour lost to speak further in it. The votes and orders of the houses for putting the kingdom into a posture of war; the taking into their own hands the whole militia of the kingdom; raising of money, men, and horses in all the quarters of the land; mustering their new-raised horse and foot in Finsbury-fields and Tothill-fields; seizing upon the arms and ammunition, which the king had bought with his own money, and laid up in his own magazines, before the king had either money enough to pay a soldier, powder enough to kill a bird, or men enough about him to guard his person from any ordinary force and violence: What was all this, but a beginning of the war? And who did this, but some prevailing men in the two houses of parliament, under the name and style of the Lords and Commons? Then, for the managing of the war, if it had been defensive only, as you say it was, what needed a commission to the earl of Essex to kill and slay all such as opposed these doings? What needed they to have sent some part of their forces into Hampshire, to pluck the town of Portsmouth out of the king's hands, which, by reason of the distance of it, could not do them hurt; another into Dorsetshire, to beat the marquis of Hertford out of Sherbourn-castle; a third, and that the greatest part, as far as Worcester, and beyond it, to find the king, and give him battle, before he was within an hundred miles of them? What needed they have sent their emissaries into all the counties of the kingdom, to put the people into arms, in which the king had neither power nor party that appeared for him? Or to exhaust the blood and treasure of this nation, under pretence of settling their own privileges, and the subjects' liberties, when the king offered more, by his frequent messages, than they had reason to expect? Doubtless, they could pretend no danger, as the case then stood, which might necessitate them to take arms in their own defence; and therefore, now of late, they have changed their terms, and do not make the war defensive merely, but in part preventive. It seems, their consciences told them what they had deserved; and so,

for fear the king might right himself upon them, when he should be in power; they thought it best to strike the first blow, and begin the quarrel, in hope to make such sure work of it, that he should never strike the second. But, to say truth, the war was not preventive neither, on the Houses' part; but a design that had been plotted long before, and was made ripe for execution, when there was neither ground nor colour to possess the people with the fancy, that the king intended force against them. For what purpose else did sir Arthur Haslerigge and Mr. Pym sojourn two years together with Mr. Knightly, so near the habitation of the good lord Say? To what end held the correspondence with the discontented party in that country, and took such pains in canvassing for knights and burgesses (when this present parliament was called) in most counties, &c.? Or to what end and purpose had the zealous citizens so used themselves unto their weapons, frequented the Artillery-garden, and stored themselves with arms in so large a measure; but that they were resolved to be in readiness, when the time should come? This, if it were not a design, must be done by prophecy, not in the way of a prevention.

29. *Q.* But to the other point you spoke of, touching the purpose, which you say, they had to destroy the king; can you make any proof of that?

A. I have already told you, from the mouths of our greatest lawyers, that all rebellions aim at no other end, than the destruction of the king, and the change of government, and that this end was aimed at, more especially in this particular rebellion. I shall tell you now, you cannot choose but call to mind, with what heat and violence, multitudes of the rascally people, as they flocked towards Westminster, clamoured against his sacred majesty, even at Whitehall-gates; and how seditiously they expressed the secrets of their traitorous hearts: some saying openly, as they passed along, 'That the king was the traitor;' some, 'That the young prince would govern better;' and others, of a more transcendent wickedness, 'That the king was not fit to live.' Next look upon these very men, for, out of them, the body of their army was, at first compounded, trained to the wars, well-armed, and marching furiously to find out the king, against whose sacred person, and most precious life, they had before expressed such a dangerous malice. Then add to this, that, when they came unto Edge-Hill, they bent their cannon more especially, and spent the hottest part of their shot and fury, towards that part of the battle, in which, according unto that advertisement, which the villain Blague had given their general, (a man as full of discontent and malice, as the worst amongst them,) the king in person and the two young princes meant to be. Put this together, and compare it with some subsequent passages, which have been desperately vented in the house of commons, touching the deposition of the king, without check or censure; and the inviting of a foreign nation, to invade this kingdom, the better to effect their business; and tell me, if you can, what is aimed at else, than the destruction of the king, and his royal issue?

30. *Q.* I must confess, you put me to it; but I must take some time to consider of it, before I tell you what I think. In the mean season, I have one more doubt to propose unto you, which if you can remove, I am wholly yours. The name of Parliament is sacred to me, and I am loth to scruple any of those actions, which receive countenance and authority from that awful body. Can you make proof, that the party, which remains at Westminster, have not the full authority of the two houses of parliament? If you could make that clear, then the work were done.

A. I dare not take that task upon me; it is too invidious. But I shall offer these few things to your consideration: first, It should seriously be considered, whether the king (whose presence, as the head of that awful body, gives life and motion to the acts and results thereof,) do purposely absent himself to make their consultations frustrate, and their meeting fruitless; or that he hath been driven from them, by force and violence? Secondly, Whether such considerable numbers of the lords and commons, as are now absent from the houses, have left the houses and the service, for no other reason than for compliance with the king, and to serve his ends, in hope of getting honours and preferments by him, or on the motion made by the rascally multitude, to have the names of these given up, who voted not with Say and Pym, and other the good members of both houses?

Thirdly, What mischief would ensue both to the church of Christ, and the states of Christendom, if, when the greater and sounder part of parliaments and general councils, shall be driven away, either by the threats and practices of the lesser, and the worse affected; the less and the worse affected part may have the reputation of the whole body, and their actions countenanced by the name thereof? Fourthly, Whether it be not one of the greatest prejudices which the Protestants have against the council of Trent, that it was held in an unsafe place, which they could not come to, without danger; and that the prelates, there assembled, were so prelimited by the pope's instructions, or awed with an Italian guard (which was set upon them, under pretence of safety to their persons from affronts and injuries), that they had neither freedom to debate the points which were there propounded, nor liberty of suffrage to determine of them? Fifthly, Whether, the king calling the expulsed party of the lords and commons to some other place, and summoning all the rest also, to assemble there; may not, with greater reason, take unto themselves the name, the power, and reputation of a parliament, than the remaining party now at Westminster, (consisting seldom of above an hundred commons, and sometimes not above three lords,) have challenged and usurped the name of the two houses? Sixthly, and lastly,——

31. *Q.* Hold; I must interrupt you there. The king, by writ, appoints his parliament to be held at Westminster; and, by a subsequent act, or statute, hath so bound himself, that he can neither dissolve nor adjourn it, without their consent: how can he then remove it to another place, than that which was at first appointed?

A. No doubt, but he may do it with as good authority, as the two houses, or either of them, may adjourn to London; which you cannot choose but know hath been often done, since the beginning of this session. For though they sit not there as houses, but by turning either of the houses into a committee of the whole house: yet this is but an artifice to elude the writ, and act their business in a place of more advantage. The change is only in the name, but the power the same. Witness those votes and declarations which they have passed and published in the said committees, as binding and effectual to their ends and purposes, as any thing transacted in their several houses. Nor is the place so necessary and essential unto the being of parliament, but that the major part, with the king's consent, may change it; if they think it profitable for the commonwealth. Otherwise, we might say of parliaments, as once Victorinus did of Christians, *Ergone parietes faciunt Christianum?* Is it the place, and not the persons, which do make a parliament? Or grant we, that of common course, the houses cannot regularly be adjourned to another place, but the adjournment must be made in the house itself; yet this is but a circumstance, or at most a ceremony, not of the substance of the work. And if that speech of Cæsar carried any weight, (as all wise men conceive it doth,) *Legem necessitati cedere oportere;* 'That even the strictest laws must yield to the necessities and uses of the commonwealth;' no question, but so slight a circumstance as that of place, must needs be thought in the present business, is to give way unto the peace and preservation of this wretched kingdom.

32. *Q.* These points I shall consider of, as you have advised; only, at present, I shall tell you, that I am very well resolved of the unlawfulness of this war against his majesty; and think them guilty of rebellion, who either laid the plot thereof, or have since pursued it. Tell me now, for the close of all, what punishment the laws do inflict on those who are convicted of so capital and abhorred a crime?

A. You cannot be so ignorant of the laws of England, as not to know, that a convicted rebel is condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, his belly to be ripped up, and his bowels to be taken out, whilst he is yet living, his head and limbs to be advanced on some eminent places, (for a terrible example unto others,) his blood attainted, his estate confiscated, his possessions forfeited. The civil-laws go somewhat further, and execute them after death in their coats of arms, which are to be defaced and razed, in what place soever they are found: *Rebellium arma & insignia delenda sunt, ubicunque inveniuntur;* as Bartouls hath it. I end, as I began, with the book of Homilies: 'Turn over and read the histories of all nations,

'look over the Chronicles of our own country, call to mind so many rebellions of old time, 'and some yet fresh in memory; you shall not find that God ever prospered any rebel- 'lion against the natural and lawful prince, but contrariwise, that the rebels were over- 'thrown and slain; and such, as were taken prisoners, dreadfully executed. Consider 'the great and noble houses of dukes, marquisses, earls, and other lords, whose names 'you shall read in our Chronicles, now clear extinguished and gone; and seek out the 'causes of the decay, you shall find that not lack of issue, and heirs-male, hath so much 'wrought that decay and waste of noble bloods and houses, as hath rebellion.'

'Who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?' 1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

'My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to 'change: for their calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruin of them both?' Prov. xxiv. 21, 22.

Articles and Ordinances of War, for the present Expedition of the Army of the Kingdom of Scotland. By the Committee of Estates, and his Excellency, the Lord-General of the Army.[1]

Edinburgh, printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty; 1643.

[Quarto; containing sixteen pages.]

THAT no man pretend ignorance, and that every one may know the duty of his place, that he may do it: the Articles and Ordinances following are to be published at the general rendezvous in every regiment apart, by the majors of the several regiments, and in the presence of all the officers. The same shall afterwards be openly read to every company of horse and foot, and at such times as shall be thought most convenient by the lord-general; and in like manner shall be made known to so many as join themselves to be professed soldiers in the army. For this end, every colonel and captain shall provide one of those books, that he may have it in readiness at all occasions, and every soldier shall solemnly swear the following oath:

'I *N. N.* promise and swear to be true and faithful in this service, according to the 'heads sworn by me in the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms[2]: to 'honour and obey my lord-general, and all my superior officers and commanders, and by 'all means to hinder their dishonour and hurt: to observe carefully all the articles of war 'and camp-discipline; never to leave the defence of this cause, nor flee from my colours 'so long as I can follow them: to be ready to watching, warding, and working, so far as 'I have strength: to endure and suffer all distresses, and to fight manfully to the utter- 'most, as I shall answer to God, and as God shall help me.'

Articles.

I.

Kirk-discipline shall be exercised, and the sick cared for in every regiment, by the par-

[1] [The occasion of this manifesto will be best explained by a reference to Rapin's History, vol. ii. p. 480, et infra.]

[2] [Vide in Rushworth's Hist. Coll. V. 478. Clarendon's Hist. Rebell. tom. ii. p. 287.]

ticular eldership, or kirk-session to be appointed; even as useth to be done in every parish in the time of peace. And that there may be an uniformity throughout the whole army, in all matters ecclesiastical, there shall be a general eldership, or common ecclesiastick-judicatory, made up of all the ministers of the camp, and of one elder direct from every particular regiment, who shall also judge of appellations made unto them from the particular sessions or elderships.

II.

For deciding of all questions, debates, and quarrellings that shall arise betwixt captains and their soldiers, or any others of the army, and for the better observing of camp-discipline; two courts of justice, the one higher, and the other lower, are appointed, wherein all judges are sworn to do justice equally: the higher also to judge of appellations to be made from the lower court. And if any man shall, by word or gesture, shew his contempt or misregard, or shall fall out in boasting or braving, while courts are sitting, he shall be punished by death. And both these judicatories, as well of the kirk-matters, as of war, shall be subject to the general assembly, and committee of estates respective.

III.

Whosoever shall wilfully or carelessly absent himself from morning and evening prayers, or from preaching before and after noon on the Lord's-day, or other extraordinary times appointed for the worship of God, when the sign is given by sound of trumpet or drum; he shall be censured and punished for his neglect or contempt, by penalty, imprisonment, or other punishment, as his fault deserveth. After the warning given, there shall be no market, nor selling of any commodities whatsoever, till the prayers or preaching be ended; upon the pain of forfeiting the things so sold, and of the imprisoning of the offenders.

IV.

Common and ordinary swearing and cursing, open profaning of the Lord's-day, wronging of his ministers, and other acts of that kind, shall not only be punished with loss of pay and imprisonment, but the transgressors shall make their public repentance in the midst of the congregation; and, if they will not be reclaimed, they shall, with disgrace, be openly cashiered and discharged, as unworthy of the meanest place in the army.

V.

If any shall speak irreverently against the king's majesty and his authority, or shall presume to offer violence to his majesty's person, he shall be punished as a traitor. He that shall speak evil of the cause which we defend, or of the kingdoms, the parliaments, convention of the estates, or their committees in the defence thereof, or shall use any words to the dishonour of the lord-general, he shall be punished with death. No man shall, at his own hand, without warrant of the committee, or of my lord-general, have or keep intelligence with the enemy, by speech, letters, signs, or any other way, under the pain to be punished as a traitor. No man shall give over any strength, magazine, victuals, &c. or make any such motion, but upon extremity, under the same pain. No man shall give supply, or furnish money, victuals, or any commodities to the enemy, upon pain of death. Whosoever shall be found to do violence against the lord-general; his safeguard, or safe-conduct, shall die for it. Whosoever shall be found guilty of carelessness and negligence in his service, although he be free of treachery and double-dealing, shall bear his own punishment.

VI.

All commanders and officers shall be careful, both by their authority and example, that all under their charge live in godliness, soberness, and righteousness; and, if they themselves shall be common swearers, cursers, drunkards, or any of them at any time shall come drunk to his guard, or by quarrelling, or any other way, shall commit any notable disorder in his quarter, loss of place shall be his punishment: and further, according to the sentence of the court of war. The captains that shall be negligent in training their companies, or that shall be found to withhold from their soldiers any part of their pay, shall be discharged of their place, and further censured by the court of war.

No commander or officer shall conceal dangerous and discontented humours, inclined to mutinies, or grudging at the orders given them; but shall make them known to the prime leaders of the army, upon the pain to be accounted guilty of mutiny.

No commander or officer shall authorize, or wittingly permit, any soldier to go forth to a singular combate, under pain of death; but, on the contrary, all officers shall be careful by all means to part quarrellings amongst soldiers, although they be of other regiments or companies, and shall have power to command them to prison; which, if the soldiers shall disobey, or resist, by using any weapon, they shall die for it.

No captain shall presume at his own hand, without warrant of the lord-general, to cashier, or give a pass to any inrolled soldier or officer, who hath appeared at the place of the general rendezvous; nor shall any commander, officer, or soldier, depart without a pass, or stay behind the time appointed him in his pass; and whosoever transgresseth, the one way or the other, shall be punished at the discretion of the court of war.

VII.

All soldiers shall remember, that it is their part to honour and obey their commanders, and therefore shall receive their commands with reverence; and shall make no noise, but be silent, when the officers are commanding or giving their directions, that they may be heard by all, and the better obeyed: he, that faileth against this, shall be imprisoned.

No soldier shall leave his captain, nor servant forsake his master, whether he abide in the army or not, but upon licence granted, and in an orderly way.

Whosoever shall presume to discredit any of the great officers of the army, by writ, word, or any other way, and be not able to make it good; and whosoever shall lift his weapon against any of them, shall be punished by death; and whosoever shall lift his hand against any of them, shall lose his hand.

No soldier, nor inferior officer, shall quarrel with, or offer any injury to his superior, nor refuse any duty commanded him; upon pain of cashiering, and to be further censured by the court of war. And if any shall presume to strike his superior, he shall be punished with death. But if it shall happen, that any officer shall command any thing to the evident and known prejudice of the publick; then shall he, who is commanded, modestly refuse to obey, and presently give notice thereof to the lord-general.

If any man shall use any words or ways, tending to mutiny or sedition, whether for demanding his pay, or upon any other cause; or, if any man shall be privy to such mutinous speeches or ways, and shall conceal them; both shall be punished with death.

All must shew their valour against the enemy, and not by revenging private injuries, which, upon their complaints to their superior officers, shall be repaired to the full. And if any man presume to take his own satisfaction, or challenge a combate, he shall be imprisoned, and have his punishment decerned by the martial court.

The provost-marshal must not be resisted or hindered, in apprehending or putting delinquents in prison, and all officers must assist him to this end; and if any man shall resist, or break prison, he shall be censured by the court of war.

VIII.

Murder is no less unlawful and intolerable in the time of war, than in time of peace; and is to be punished with death.

Whosoever shall be found to have forced any woman, whether he be commander or soldier, shall die for it without mercy. And whosoever shall be found guilty of adultery, or fornication, shall be no less severely censured and punished than in the time of peace.

If any common whores shall be found following the army, if they be married women, and run away from their husbands, they shall be put to death without mercy; and if they be unmarried, they shall be first marked by the hangman, and thereafter by him scourged out of the army.

Thieves and robbers shall be punished with the like severity. If any shall spoil, or take any part of their goods that die in the army or are killed in service, he shall restore them double, and be further punished at discretion. It is provided, that all their goods be forthcoming, and be disposed of according to their testament and will, declared by word or

writ before witnesses; or, if they have made no testament, to their wives, children, or nearest kindred, according to the laws of the kingdom.

All shall live together as friends and brethren, abstaining from words of disgrace, contempt, reproach, giving of lyes, and all provocation by word or gesture. He that faileth, shall be imprisoned for the first fault, and, if he be incorrigible, he shall be with shame punished, and put out of the army.

IX.

All soldiers shall come to their colours, to watch, to be exercised, or to muster, with their own arms; and if any soldier shall come with another man's arms, he shall be punished with rigour, and the lender shall lose his arms. All shall come also with complete and tight arms, in a decent manner, otherwise to be severely punished.

If any man shall sell or give in pawn his horse, his arms, or any part of the ammunition committed to him, or any instruments, as spades, shovels, picks, used in the field; he shall for the first and second time be beaten through the quarter, and for the third time be punished as for other theft. And he that buyeth them, or taketh them to pawn, (be he soldier or victualler,) shall pay the double of the money, besides the want of the things bought or impawned, and be further punished at discretion.

Whosoever, in a debauched and lewd manner, by cards or dice, or by sloth and inexcusable neglect, shall lose his horse and arms, in whole or in part, to the hindrance of the service; and whosoever shall wilfully spoil or break his arms, or any instrument of war committed to him, by cutting down of trees, or any other way, he shall serve as a pioneer, till the loss be made up, and he furnished upon his own charges.

X.

No man on his march, or at his lodgings, within or without the country, upon whatsoever pretext, shall take, by violence, either horse, cattle, goods, money, or any other thing, less or more; but shall pay the usual prices for his meat and drink, or be furnished in an orderly way upon account, at the sight of the commissary, according to the order given by the committee, upon pain of death without mercy.

If any man shall presume to pull down, or set on fire, any dwelling-house, though a cottage, or hew down any fruit-trees, or to waste or deface any part of the beauty of the country, he shall be punished most severely, according to the importance of the fault.

In marching, no man shall stay behind without leave: no man shall straggle from his troop or company: no man shall march out of his rank, and put others out of order, under all highest pains.

XI.

If any colonel of horse or foot shall keep back his soldiers from the appointed musters, or shall lend his soldiers to make a false muster; upon trial in a court-martial, he shall be punished as a deceiver. And if any muster-master shall use any false rolls, shall have any hand in false musters, or by connivance, or any other way be tried to be accessory to them, he shall suffer the like punishment.

XII.

No man shall presume to do the smallest injury to any that bring necessaries to the leaguer, whether by stealing from them, or deceiving them, or by violence in taking their horse or goods; under the pain to be accounted and punished as enemies. No victuallers shall sell rotten victuals, upon pain of imprisonment and confiscation; and further as they shall be judged to deserve.

No soldier shall provide and sell victuals, unless he be authorized; nor shall any, that selleth victuals, keep in his tent or hutt any soldier at unseasonable hours, and forbidden times, under pain at discretion. Likewise, all the prices thereof shall be set down by the general commisser, and be given to the quarter-master of the several regiments.

XIII.

No man enrolled, professing himself or pretending to be a soldier, shall abide in the army, unless he enter in some company; nor shall he, that hath entered, depart without licence, upon pain of death. No man, having licence, shall stay beyond the time ap-

pointed him, upon pain of loss of his pay during the time of his absence; and further punishment, at discretion. If any man, in a mutinous way, shew himself discontented with the quarter assigned him, he shall be punished as a mutineer. And if any man shall stay out of his quarter, or go without shot of cannon, being intrenched, but one night, without leave of his superior officer, he shall be cashiered.

All that are absent from the watch, after the sign is given for the setting thereof, shall be severely punished. He that revealeth or falsifieth the watch-word given by the officer, within the trenches, or before the colours; he that is taken sleeping or drunk upon his watch; he that cometh off the watch before the time: every one of those shall be punished with death.

Whosoever shall assemble themselves together for taking mutinous counsel, upon whatsoever pretext; they all, whether officers or soldiers, shall suffer death.

XIV.

Every man, when the alarm is given, shall repair speedily to his colours: no man shall forsake or flee from his colours.

No man, in the country, shall reset them that flee.

No man, in the battle, shall throw away his musket, pike, or bandelier, all under the pain of death.

Whatsoever regiment of horse or foot, having charged the enemy, shall draw back or flee, before they come to stroke of sword, shall answer for it before a council of war; and whosoever, officer or soldier, shall be found to be in the default, they shall be punished by death, or some shameful punishment, as the council of war shall find their cowardice to deserve.

XV.

If it shall come to pass, that the enemy shall force us to battle, and the Lord shall give us victory; none shall kill a yielding enemy, nor save him that still pursueth, upon pain of death. Neither shall there be any ransoming of persons, spoiling, pillaging, parting of prey, or wasting or burning by fire, or disbanding from their charges or officers, but as the lord-general shall give order, upon the same pain of death.

XVI.

Every man's carriage shall be diligently observed, and he, according to his merit, rewarded or punished. And whatsoever officer or soldier shall take commanders, or the colours of the enemy, or in the siege of towns, shall first enter a breach, or scale the walls, and shall carry himself dutifully in his station, and doth his part valiantly, in skirmish or battle; shall, after the laudable example of the wisest and worthiest kingdoms and estates, have his honour and reward, according to his worth and deserving, whether hereafter we have peace or war.

Matters, that are clear by the light and law of nature, are presupposed: things unnecessary are passed over in silence: and other things may be judged by the common customs and constitutions of war; or may, upon new emergents, be expressed afterward.

Magnalia Naturæ: Or, the Philosophers-Stone, lately exposed to publick Sight and Sale. Being a true and exact Account of the Manner how Wenceslaus Seilerus, the late famous Projection-Maker, at the Emperor's Court at Vienna, came by, and made away with a very great Quantity of Powder of Projection, by projecting with it before the Emperor, and a great many Witnesses, selling it, &c. for some Years past. Published at the Request, and for the Satisfaction of several Curious, especially of Mr. Boyle, &c. By John Joachim Becher, one of the Council of the Emperor, and a Commissioner for the Examen of this Affair.

Quid igitur ingrati sumus? Cur invidemus etsi veritas divinitatis (quæ per ea quæ sat intelligi potest, Rom. i. 20.) *nostri temporis ætate maturuit?* Minut. Felix.

London: Printed by Tho. Dawks, his Majesty's British Printer, living in Black-Friars. Sold also by La Curtiss, in Goat-Court on Ludgate-Hill. 1680.

[Quarto; containing thirty-eight pages.]

The Translator to the Reader.

THERE is no ingenious man, that is not unacquainted with the curiosities to be met with in the world, who hath not either seen some transmutation of metals, or at least, heard so many witness that they have seen it, as to be persuaded that there is such a thing as the Philosophers-stone, or powder of projection. Only there be some great men (as his highness prince Rupert, who hath seen the projection at Frankfort, in Germany) who seem to question, whether such powder or tincture is prepared with profit? But this doubt is hereby now fully cleared and resolved, from the great quantity of this tincture left buried by the abbot founder of the church it was found in; as this relation informs you. For it is not credible, that the abbot was master, before he had done the work, of such immense treasure, as he must needs have had to draw so much tincture from; which could not be extracted (if the preparation thereof is without profit) from a lesser quantity of gold, than it gives or yields again in the projection: so that the same quantity of gold, that it yields again, must have been spoiled to make it; which it is not credible an abbot of Germany was master of, as is said. And for the truth of this relation, besides that it is attested by many men of great quality, good parts, probity, and modesty; by the emperor himself; by count Wallestein, who was resident here, a year ago; and, by Dr. Becher, at present, in this city: it is so publicly known through all parts of Germany, chiefly about Vienna, where this was transacted; that to doubt or deny it, were as absurd, as if one denied that the West-Indies have been found out of late years, or that there are ships at sea; because he hath seen neither.

But, among the many remarkable passages in this relation, one thing is most worthy of observation, *viz.* the honesty of friar Francis Preyhausen, who deserves to be chronicled

for his faithfulness and truth to friar Wenceslaus, the finder of this powder. For he wanted neither frequent opportunities, nor specious pretences, to effect what some princes could not forbear to attempt, (*i. e.* to rob Wenceslaus of his powder,) though without a certainty of success; and though he was himself sure of success, (for he was thrice, for a good while each time, entrusted with the box,) and might find excuses enough for it; yet he not only did not yield to the temptation of getting all, as they did, but did not so much as deny, purloin, or withhold the least part of the powder from friar Wenceslaus, even when (seeing how he squandered it away) he had a good pretence to keep back some for his use; and might justly have claimed and reserved some for his own use also, not only for his services, but for the great dangers he had exposed himself to for his sake; thus keeping true to the end, even against his own right, and so great a temptation. 'A faithful man who can find?' Prov. xx. 6. But here such a one is found, and that among the friars! Whence I am glad to observe, that all the friars are not quite so black as some make them; and to see, that among them, as well as among other sects, some good men are to be found, who make conscience of an oath, and keep it, though to their loss. Thanks be to friar Francis's honesty, for so much as we know of this whole concern. I am sure, that if he had what his honesty deserves, what the emperor hath done for Wenceslaus, had been bestowed upon him; and that Wenceslaus himself, whilst in the dungeon, would have said, with all his heart, that if he should do for him what he hath done, he would deserve what he hath not had; I mean, the whole powder. But honesty meets seldom with what it deserves.

THE place where Wenceslaus Seilerus (who is the main subject of this following discourse) was born, I am not certain, whether it was at Vienna, yes, or no: but sure I am he was of the Austrian country; and his brother did wait upon the count of Weissenwolf the younger. As for Seilerus himself, when he was about the twentieth year of his age, he was cast into a monastery of the Augustine-friars, at Bruna in Moravia; where, after his year of probation, he took the habit upon him, and was admitted into the number of friars, though it were against his will, as he afterwards confessed, and as the event did make appear; for, having once made profession of the order, he did continually strive and study how he might free himself from the monastery; and seeing that could not be done without money, and money, in his circumstances, could not lawfully be obtained, he began to study an indirect way for the obtaining thereof; for his fellow-friars having often muttered to him of some great treasure hid in their monastery, he had a great desire to find it out.

And, in order thereunto, he did not scruple to learn the magick-art, if any one had been ready to inform him therein; wherein fortune seemed to favour his desires: for there was an old woman, a cow-keeper's wife, living before the gate of the town and fortress, who was skilful therein, and he came to be acquainted with her, upon this occasion: The younger monks and students (as they were called) are allowed some set days, every week, to walk out of the gates of the city, to enjoy the open air, and to refresh their minds, supposed to be wearied with study; in these relaxations, one company disperses itself here, another there, as they think fit for their divertisement. But friar Wenceslaus (for so I shall hereafter call him) made use of this occasion, always to visit the said old-woman; and, upon the pretence of drinking new milk, to interrogate her concerning her art. And, in a short time, he got so much into her favour, as to obtain from her a small wax ball, marked with certain figures or characters, which was of that virtue, that if it was laid upon the ground, it would presently run to the place, where any treasure was hid. This ball I afterwards saw often in his custody, and handled it with my hands.

It happened afterwards, that, as the custom is for the old fathers, when they grow weak, to have some young friars to assist them; so, friar Wenceslaus was assigned to attend an ancient father, who was a cabalist and a lover of magick, in which studies, at any vacancies, he spent his time. He often told friar Wenceslaus, that there was a vast treasure hid in the church of their monastery: to whom, Wenceslaus replied, that he had got a ball,

which, he was assured, had the virtue to discover hidden treasures; and, thereupon, he shewed him the ball, and the characters impressed thereon; which the old father did seriously consider, and much valued them.

A while after, as they two were walking alone in the church, before day, after mattins, they tried the ball, by laying it down in several places, but found no effect; at last, placing it near a certain pillar, old and ruinous, it began to shew its efficacy and virtue, by its often running thereto. This they interpreted for a certain indication, that the treasure was there hid: but, how to come at it, was the question. They had neither leave, means, nor opportunity, to break down this stony structure; neither did they certainly know, at what height or depth thereof, the treasure was laid in it. So that, upon these discouragements, they were forced to let it alone.

But it happened afterwards, that a great tempest arising, the whole church, and especially this decayed pillar, was so shaken and spoiled, that, to prevent its falling down, the abbot was necessitated to order it to be demolished. And, in regard the old father, whom friar Wenceslaus attended, had skill in architecture, and by reason of his infirmities could not be otherwise serviceable to the monastery, he was therefore appointed to oversee the masons; which office he and his assistant friar Wenceslaus did willingly undertake, and were very sedulous in their attendance, and discharge thereof. When the pillar was almost all pulled down, they found therein a copper box, of a reasonable bigness, which the old father presently snatched up and carried it into his cloyster, and immediately opened it; where, at the top, he found a piece of parchment, on which there was some inscription and writing. I once had a copy of it, but I lost it amongst my other letters: but this I remember, it contained the number of the years wherein the church was built, and the name of the abbot, the founder thereof, who had been an envoy at Ratisbon. I do also remember, that amongst other writings, there was this motto:

AMICE, TIBI SOLI,

Which I English thus: 'Friend, to thyself alone.' Under this parchment, there were other letters laid, marked with characters, which contained directions how to multiply the powder, as the inscription shewed; and, under them, there were four boxes full of a red powder.

When the boxes were opened, friar Wenceslaus was quite out of heart, having lost his preconceived hope of some great treasure therein; for he verily believed, that if there were not old pieces of gold, yet some diamonds, or other precious-stones, must have been lodged there. And finding no such thing, but four boxes of darkish-coloured powder, he was so impatient at the disappointment, that if he had been the sole manager of the business, he had thrown away boxes, powder, and all. For, at that time, he was so little acquainted with chymistry, that so much as the name was not known to him, and he had scarce heard of the word tincture.

But the old father was not so transported; but told him, that perhaps some medicinal virtue was contained in the powder, and that the characters, in the annexed papers, might possibly discover its use, and therefore he was resolved to study some books, to find out what those characters meant: in the mean time, he would carefully keep the box.

Not long after, the old father sent friar Wenceslaus into the kitchen of the monastery, to see, if he could find an old pewter-dish or plate, which was no longer fit for use; and if he could, to bring it to him: which he accordingly did; who thereupon caused a coal-fire to be made, and put a crucible into friar Wenceslaus's hand, to place therein. This was the first chymical operation, that ever friar Wenceslaus performed in all his life, and for which he was so unfit, that he placed the crucible upside down, so that the old father himself was forced to set it in its right posture. They put the pewter-plate broken and folded together into the crucible, which being presently melted, the father took out some of the powder, so much as would lie upon the point of a knife, which was in one of the four boxes; and, wrapping it in a little wax, he cast it into the crucible, upon the pewter, and commanded his assistant, friar Wenceslaus, to blow up the fire, adding these words,

" Now I shall see, whether I have well decyphered the characters, and whether I have found out the use of this powder."

As soon as ever the powder was cast in, the powder stood still, and came to a sudden congelation. Then the fire was suffered to go out, and the crucible to wax cold; which being broken, there was found a ponderous mass of metal, very yellow and variegated with red lines. Upon which, the father made friar Wenceslaus to go out into the town, upon pretence of getting a book to be bound, and wished him to go to some goldsmith, and shew him this mass of metal; alleging to him, that he had some ancient Roman coins of gold, which he had melted down, but for want of a sufficient fire, and other defects, he had not done it exactly; and therefore he desired the goldsmith to melt it over again, and cast it in an ingot. The goldsmith gratified him therein, and friar Wenceslaus, at the command of the father, took off a small piece, which he preserved; and then asked the goldsmith, " What the rest was worth?" Who, after he weighed and tried it on the touch-stone, did value it at twenty ducats, which are worth two crowns a-piece; at which rate, friar Wenceslaus sold it to him, and, receiving the money, returned joyfully home. The old father did only desire the remaining portion of the gold, which he had reserved, but suffered friar Wenceslaus to enjoy the ducats; yet, with this advice, That he should discover it to none in the monastery.

But friar Wenceslaus, though he had not been master of so much money a long time, was not satisfied therewith, but entertained various thoughts in his mind, whether he should, by flight, free himself from that bondage and slavery he was in, whilst he had the advantage of so much cash? Or else, whether he should stay so long there, till either, by flattery or craft, he had got the copper boxes, from the old father? To the first of these cogitations, he was edged on, by the eagerness of that desire he had, to leave the monastery: but then the great heap of gold, which he might make with the powder, as he well conjectured, if he could get it into his hands, did somewhat abate his fervour, and persuade him to stay. For, though he was yet altogether ignorant of chymistry, yet the precedent trials had given him so much light, that he was fully persuaded, the box contained and was worth a vast treasure; and, though at that time, the rareness of the powder, and the multiplication of it, had very small influence upon his thoughts; yet, because he had a share in finding of it out, by means of his ball, he therefore thought that half of it, at least, did belong to him.

But there was another thing, which more perplexed his mind, and that was the fear that the old father, either out of a principle of devotion, or of vain-glory, should discover the whole story of the business to the abbot, and, by that means, should make away all the powder; and he was rather inclined to these cogitations, because he had observed, that the father, who before had been more remiss in hiding the box, now of late was so solicitous to preserve it, that he kept it continually in his desk, and scarce ever stirred from it, except when he was to go to church with friar Wenceslaus.

Being moved with these considerations, he was induced to demand boldly some quantity of this powder of the old man. The answer, he received, was, that he was yet too young to know how to dispose of, and to keep well this powder; besides, he wanted no money, whilst he was in the monastery, and if he should procure a sum by means of this powder, in his present condition, it would be very prejudicial both to his soul and body, and he might become thereby, of all men, most miserable. " Moreover (proceeds the father) this powder may have many other virtues and operations, which are yet unknown both to you and me; and therefore I will farther study the writings annexed to it, and hereafter I will be mindful of you: but at present I will not part with any of the powder; only you shall have every week two crowns allowed for your divertisements." Thus the father. But this fair story sounded not well in the friar's ears, who had a private design, unknown to the old father, to leave the monastery.

In the interim it happened, that as they two were returning from mattins, early in the morning, the old father complained of a cold he had got, and a great rheum in his head, and desired friar Wenceslaus to go to the cellar, and fetch him a cup of sack. He did

so, and, upon his return, he found the father taken with a fit of an apoplexy, and speechless; whereupon, the first thing he did, was to find out the key of his desk; and, taking from thence the copper box, he carried it to his own cell, and hid it there. This being done, he rang the bell in the father's cell to call up the monks, who came flying with all diligence to bring him some remedies; but they were all too late, the father being quite dead. Hereupon, his desk was presently sealed up, and solemn ceremonies, according to the occasion, were performed over his dead body. But who more inwardly joyful than friar Wenceslaus! From whom death had removed his rival, and made him to be master of the whole treasure.

Hereupon he began to deliberate with himself, how he might make his escape out of the monastery with most safety and least suspicion. But herein many difficulties did accrue. He was grown a little deboist and prodigal, by the opportunity of the twenty ducats above-mentioned, which he had to spend; and by that means, he had incurred the emulation of his fellow-friars, who did urge the prior and superior, that the old father being now dead, and so friar Wenceslaus discharged from his attendance on him, he should, for the future, be bound to a stricter discipline; both in reference to his studies, and also to his frequenting the church. Moreover, his ducats were all spent, and no opportunity offered to make another trial; or, if he had, he could not have sold the product of it.

In this anxiety, he resolved to open his mind to another monk, a comrade of his, one friar Francis Preyhausen, that so they might mutually consult together, what was best to be done: for, you must know, this friar was intimate with friar Wenceslaus, as having entered into the college at the same time; and, being also a young man, was weary of a monastical life, as well as he.

Whilst these things were in consult, there happened a solemn disputation in the school of the monastery; where among other theses, friar Francis, under a moderator, was obliged to maintain, 'That metals cannot be transmuted.' And it chanced to be the turn of friar Wenceslaus to be the then opponent: but as he had made no great proficiency in his studies, so friar Francis easily baffled him, and exposed him to the laughter of the auditory, so that, in a great passion, he broke out into these words: "Why do you laugh? I can practically demonstrate the thing to be true." To whom the moderator with great indignation answered, "Hold thy peace, thou ass; wilt thou also be an alchymist? I shall sooner be able to turn thee into an ox, than thou to transmute the metals." Herewith Wenceslaus's mouth was stopped.

When the disputation was over, friar Wenceslaus took occasion to confer with friar Francis; when they two were alone together, in the garden belonging to the monastery, friar Francis thus accosted him: "You have this day publicly affirmed, in the disputation, that you were able to transmute metals. It was unadvisedly spoken of you, whether it be true, or false. If it be true, and it come to the abbot's ear, you will not enjoy your liberty long. Besides, there is a great muttering in the monastery, that the old father and yourself found a treasure in the church; and that the masons saw a copper box; and that a monk of the Augustine order sold some gold to a goldsmith; and that you did take from the kitchen a pewter-plate. Moreover, the sudden death of the old father is not without some suspicion; and, although you may allege, that the money was sent you by your friends, and it were true, that they did send you some; yet, it being probable, that some came another way (for which and other reflections you will never escape scot-free out of the monastery) it was well the moderator took you for a buffle-head. But if what you have affirmed be false, you do ill again that way, by asserting that which you are not able to demonstrate. I do therefore earnestly desire you to declare unto me, as to your intimate friend, the whole truth of this matter."

Whereupon, friar Wenceslaus fell down at his feet, humbly beseeching him to swear not to discover what he should reveal to him, but to afford him his help and assistance; and then he would disclose that to him, which, upon their stealing away from the monastery, would procure great wealth to them both, and advance them to high dignities; and that they would equally share the happiness between them, and run a like hazard in all

things. In a word, the bargain was soon made, and they, without loss of time, went into friar Francis's cell, where they took their mutual oaths one to another. And then friar Wenceslaus declared the whole intrigue, and the procedure thereof, to friar Francis; withal desiring him, upon the first occasion, to go into the city to buy there a pound of lead; which being brought to him, he changed it into gold, observing the method the old father had observed before. The transmuted gold was carried back by friar Francis into the city, and there sold to a Jew for an hundred ducats, though it were worth more: his pretence was, as the former, that it was melted down out of ancient coin and medals. Having received this money, and thus made a strict league and friendship with friar Francis, and the art being now found true for the second time, they were more intent upon their design of escaping out of the monastery.

But that, which retarded their resolution, was the season of the year, it being then winter, and a very hard one too; for they well understood, that they could not then safely take so long a journey, as they were to undergo, if they could by their flight elude the search, which would be made without doubt, with all diligence possible after them, and avoid the punishment usually inflicted upon such an occasion. Hereupon, they thought it more convenient to defer their intended flight till the spring following; and they were the rather induced thereunto, because they found means to pass their time merrily, by getting now and then a cup of wine, and a couple of roasted pullets; which friar Francis, who was well versed in that trade, knew well how to get, and to convey into their chamber. But because friar Wenceslaus had as great a mind to taste of women's flesh, as of that of poultry; and had lighted on a certain Austrian drab, fit for his purpose; he caused therefore some man's apparel, with a peruke, and suitable accoutrements to be made ready for her.

Having thus disguised her sex, they gave her the name of Seignior Anastasio, and she came often to the monastery, on pretence, that she came from Vienna, to visit her cousin friar Wenceslaus, pretending he was her kinsman: this lasted a while; but the visits of this seignior Anastasio were so frequent, that at last, he was observed to come into the monastery sometimes, and not to go out again, by reason of his staying all night in the cell of friar Wenceslaus, who did thus live for some weeks in dishonest love with him; and when he went either to the school, or to the church, he always carefully carried his key with him.

But a matter of that nature could be kept close no longer: some rumour of it came to the ear of the abbot or prior, so that one morning as friar Wenceslaus was at mattins before day, the abbot demanded of him the key of his cell, which he was forced to deliver; but how willingly, any one may guess. The abbot immediately, with the prior, and some other monks, went to his cell; and their found seignior Anastasio naked in the bed.

At this sight there was a general consternation on all sides; none knew what course to take: friar Wenceslaus's mind was more in his chamber, than in the chapel canting out his mattins: as for seignior Anastasio, she was doubtless as much at a loss; for to run without her clothes out of the bed, before such venerable company, was no ways thought convenient; and as for the good prelates, they were also uncertain how to steer. Some advised to declare to the magistrate, that so Anastasio might be thrust out of the house by the secular power; others feared that, if they took that course, they should derogate from their rights and privileges; and if seignior Anastasio should chance to be whipped, and to be put into the stocks, for dissembling her sex, the noise of such a thing would affix an indelible character of infamy upon their monastery.

After some deliberation, they concluded, that presently Anastasio should put on her clothes, and after a severe reprehension, should be ejected out of the house, in the morning before day. And, as for friar Wenceslaus, he was called from mattins, and shut up in his cell, the doors being well bolted and barred on the outside, until four walls were prepared to inclose him, which were already built; only something was defective in the door, which was supplied the next day.

Whilst this was a-doing, friar Wenceslaus found opportunity to secure his copper box, and to gather together the powder, and by means of a rope to let them both down at a window to friar Francis, who staid there on purpose to receive them; and withal he conveyed down a letter to him, the contents whereof was, to desire the said friar Francis, not to forsake him in his distress, but to use his utmost endeavour to contrive a way for his deliverance, withal minding him not to violate his oath about the powder, but to keep it safe, for as yet, to his great comfort, it was entire.

The next day, friar Wenceslaus was kept fasting, and in the evening, his back was scourged with many cruel lashes, and afterwards he was shut up close within four walls, and for a month fed with nothing but bread and water; during which time, the severity of the stripes he underwent, the disaster of seignior Anastasio, and the hazard of the loss of his powder did so afflict him, that he was even ready to despair; but this did somewhat relieve him, that he carried a string with him into the dungeon, and casting it out at the hole, received sometimes both letters and victuals from his comrade friar Francis; and indeed, the desperate condition of friar Wenceslaus did so affect his heart, that he bent all his endeavours to excogitate ways how to free him; at last an happy opportunity offered itself upon this occasion:

Prince Charles of Lichtenstein was a great favourer of chymistry, and he had a steward of his house at Bruna, to whose friendship friar Francis had insinuated himself, and by him sent a letter, and some of the foresaid powder to the prince, in which he related the lamentable condition of friar Wenceslaus, and implored his aid for his deliverance.

The steward, having sent the letter, and going to Felisburgh the prince's seat, was scarce arrived, but that the prince bestowed upon him a more profitable office than that which he had before, and this message concerning friar Wenceslaus was so favourably received, that he strictly injoined him to return speedily to Bruna, and to assist friar Francis to the utmost, in order to the deliverance of friar Wenceslaus. And to that purpose he committed his own seal to his custody, to be made use of for that end, if there were occasion.

Thus the steward, returning home, did presently consult with friar Francis, to deliver friar Wenceslaus; and being delivered from his prison and cloister, to hide and shelter him a while in the house of his master the said prince of Lichtenstein, until some convenient opportunity could be found for his passage out of the town, and for his conveyance to the prince of Felisburgh. In order thereto, friar Francis took care to provide a false key, fit to open the dungeon; which he more easily did, because the padlock was on the outside of the door: and on a certain day, when mattins were ended, he brought his project to its desired effect; for he opened the door, and took out friar Wenceslaus, locking the door again, and disguising him with a cloke, coat, and peruke, which he had prepared for that purpose, he conveyed him, through a by-gate in the garden of the monastery, to Lichtenstein's house, where he shut him up in a chamber, locked the door, and sealed it up in two places, with the prince's own seal, and a label appendant.

The next day when the monastery's porter, according to his custom, was carrying his bread and water, about noon, to friar Wenceslaus; lo, he was not to be found! Whereupon, a great tumult was raised in the monastery, and from thence the news flew to count De Collebrat, governor of that precinct, who presently commanded the gates to be shut, and search to be made in all houses, not excepting Lichtenstein's house itself. When they had diligently searched every corner of this latter house, at last they came to the chamber that was sealed up. Here the steward of the house interposed, and told them, that that room was the closet of the prince, which he had sealed up himself with his own seal; and therefore it could not be opened without great danger and hazard of incurring his high displeasure.

Whereupon they desisted, and friar Wenceslaus remained hid there for some weeks, until at length he found means in a disguise to escape out of the town in the morning early, at the very first opening of the gates, and so was conveyed, with other officers, in the prince's own coach, to Felisburgh. Being arrived there, he was courteously re-

ceived and well treated by the prince; before whom he made a notable demonstration of his art.

But the prince soon found, that a man in his circumstances and of his abilities, could not be long concealed in his court; because the abbot of Bruna, having sent spies after him, would certainly find him out, and would also obtain a mandate from the supreme consistory at Vienna concerning him. Whereupon, though, as some think, the prince's intent was to gain the whole tincture from him, he advised him to go to Rome, and there obtain a full discharge from his monastical life, and to secure himself from the abbot; which favour he proffered to obtain for him by means of his agent there. And to accommodate him for his journey, he gave him a bill of exchange for 1,000 ducats, and withal provided an Italian his chamberlain, to bear him company on his way.

But you must know, friar Wenceslaus had sent away his comrade, friar Francis, (who privately had made an escape,) to Vienna with the tincture, enjoining him to get him a private lodging there, to abscond himself for a while, till he could commodiously contrive his journey to Rome.

Soon after, the Italian chamberlain and he began their journey, and when they were about half a day's journey from Vienna, the chamberlain on a sudden picked a quarrel with him, and, holding a pistol to his breast, threatened to kill him, unless he would deliver him the tincture.

Friar Wenceslaus, being thus unexpectedly assaulted, was much abashed, and (calling God to witness) protested, that the tincture was not, for the present, in his hands, but that he had sent it before, by his companion, friar Francis, to Vienna; whom the said chamberlain had himself seen to undertake that journey a few days before.

The chamberlain was the rather induced to believe his asseveration, because, upon search both of him and his portmanteau, he found nothing at all of the tincture therein. Hereupon they came to terms between them. Friar Wenceslaus was to give the chamberlain one-hundred ducats, and an amnesty to be for their sudden falling out; and so they agreed, and bid one another farewell.

The chamberlain, being a covetous Italian, was glad of the money, and friar Wenceslaus was glad to be rid of him, having escaped such an hazard, and being now likely to attain Vienna; where he arrived in the evening of the same day, and told his companion, friar Francis, what had happened to him, in every circumstance, upon the way. He, being a subtle man, did easily perceive, by his relation, what was the mystery of his designed journey to Rome, and that his bill of exchange was but a mere collusion: whereupon, they both resolved to take another course for their safety; in order whereto, by means of a Saxon, whose name was Gorits, (a crafty fellow, and a clerk in the chancery of Bohemia,) they came acquainted with one count Schlick, a person of great sagacity, then living at Vienna, a great favourer of chymistry, but had lately received some affronts from the court: he was very glad of their acquaintance, and presently took friar Wenceslaus into his protection, and brought him to his house, where he made some trials, and withal gave him some of the tincture, that he himself might make one.

But as for friar Francis, he always lodged abroad. After some weeks, count Schlick told friar Wenceslaus, that he could no longer secure him after that rate at Vienna; for both the clergy, and also the prince of Lichtenstein, had an ill eye upon him, for his sake; and being already disfavoured at court, he should run a further hazard, by concealing of him: nevertheless, he would shew him what courtesy he could, and, if he pleased, he would send him to one of his own country-houses and castles in Bohemia, where he might remain in greater security; and accordingly he prepared all things for the journey. Friar Wenceslaus did easily perceive the intention of the count; for before he had observed, that the count's footmen did observe him as narrowly, as the monks had done in the monastery; and therefore, perceiving what was to be done with him, he made his escape through an arch in the wine-cellar, built after the Italian fashion, the day before he was to go to Bohemia (a place designed for his perpetual imprisonment), and retired

to the lodging of his friend, friar Francis; to whom having related what had happened to him again, upon deliberation, they both agreed to extricate themselves out of all these hazards, and to acquaint the emperor with the whole matter.

And to introduce them into his presence, they knew none more fit, than a Spanish count, called De Paar, (whose brother, named Peter, was hereditary postmaster, in the emperor's hereditary country); he was a great alchymist, a factious and seditious man, and one much troubled with the gout; yet he had found means to creep into the emperor's favour: therefore this gain, unlooked for, was no less acceptable to him, than to the others before; for he had heard, a great while before, of friar Wenceslaus, and had an extreme passion to be acquainted with him, and fancied that he should see strange things in him, (as king Herod did of Christ,) who, first, acted the part cunningly enough, as you shall presently hear. They agreed together, that friar Wenceslaus should abide incognito at his house; where he was as much observed, as at the house of count Schlick.

Here he made another small trial; whereupon count Paar went to the emperor, and discovered to him the whole business. But his imperial majesty, who, by reason of the great and weighty concerns of the empire, doth not only not much regard or value learning, as his father did, (except what contributes to his recreation, as plays, musick, and the like,) but also had a particular averseness from alchymy; holding that, for a mere imposture, which did cost his royal father, and his uncle, the archduke Leopold, so much expence (both of money and time), gave no great heed to the proposition made by count Paar, especially it having been related to him, that this friar Wenceslaus was a fugitive monk, and had led a dissolute life; and moreover, by report, was accused of magick.

The Spanish count, Paar, having heard this repartee of the emperor, being a subtle man; and easily foreseeing those objections would be made, had armed himself against them; upon which, he thus replied to his imperial majesty: "That he did confess, that there was a great weight in all the objections made by his majesty; yet without presuming, being so mean a person, to impose upon his imperial majesty, it seemed to him, that though the case were extraordinary, yet, nevertheless, the dictates of common reason were to be obeyed, which doth advise, sometimes, to consider of things abstracted from the persons they concern; it being evident, that some men, though ill in themselves, yet have been the authors of useful inventions; of which truth, instances might be given near at hand, in regard his imperial majesty had many notable inventions in his archives, which owed their originals to bad men; yea, some of them accused of the same miscarriages, as friar Wenceslaus: and since it is true, that some good things are done by some bad men, it being no less true, that all men are sinners, must we therefore reject all their laudable inventions, and all the good works they do? A notable example whereof (proceeded he) lies as yet fresh before your majesty: Joseph Burrhi was accused of heresy, and being taken at Vienna, was sent to Rome, but, after penance, he was pardoned upon the score of his knowledge, rather than of his person, and the Germans, his accusers, were, by this means, deceived; of which, I myself (says he) at that time being Burrhi's commissary at Vienna, did forewarn them, but in vain. Your majesty (said he farther) is a person with whom God seems to deal after a peculiar manner; having wonderfully delivered you from many imminent dangers, and now, in these necessitous and indigent times, (cruel wars being also in prospect, your hereditary countries being also exhausted,) the Divine bounty seems to offer you a mean and way how you may most pity and spare your subjects. It is the devil's policy to cast suspicion upon all extraordinary assistances, that so he may make them useless; but (says he) it is as great a sin, not to accept of things, when offered, as to abuse them, when they are accepted. As for myself (saith he) I have no great reason to be a friend to chymistry, having suffered so much loss by it, as your imperial majesty well knows; neither did I ever find any truth in the art, save only in this powder of friar Wenceslaus, and the transmutation made thereby. But, as in re-

ference to that trial, he dare pawn his credit it would succeed; and, if his majesty would not believe his word, yet he might depute some persons to see a trial made. For his part, he thought he was bound in conscience to discover the whole business to his majesty, referring it wholly to him, whether he would graciously accept the proposal, and protect the person that made it, or else discard them both: still hoping, nevertheless, that his majesty would not take his good intention in ill part, nor exclude him from his favour; wishing, for a conclusion, that he would cause one trial to be made, under the inspection of some persons, unprejudiced; that so his imperial majesty might be satisfied, at least, in this one thing; that he had not made the proposition to him without sufficient reason." Thus he concluded his harangue. The emperor, as he is gracious to all suitors, so he gave favourable attention to the count's discourse, and commended him for it: "Only, (says he to the count) alchymy is a subtle imposture, and though you yourself may mean honestly, yet, perhaps, you also may be deceived thereby; otherwise I do not (adds he) at all despise the wonderful works of God, but do highly value them, and accept of his gift with all hearty thankfulness; and I do well know how long my father took very great pains in that art, and how highly he prized that little which was shewed him by the baron Chaos, and rewarded him for it: besides, I know full well how to make a distinction between the art, and the life of its professors." Only, lest he should expose himself, and shew himself too easy, he gave the count order to make another trial; and to procure the presence of other skilful persons, both of the clergy and laity, that so he might make him a more exact relation of the matter, with all the circumstances, and receive further order of his majesty concerning it.

Count Paar, being returned home from his audience; the very same day he sent to father Spies and Dr. Becher, to invite them to dine with him the next day, adding these words in his message; "That he had a business to communicate to them from the emperor." The next day, they all accordingly met. Friar Wenceslaus being present; where, after dinner, count Paar made known his commission, and forthwith caused an ounce of Schlachenwald tin, and a new crucible to be bought; which materials being prepared and tried, and for fear of inchantment, *ex abundanti cautelâ*, sprinkled with holy water, the trial began, and was finished within a quarter of an hour: one part tinged ten-thousand parts into gold, which was so graduated by the tincture, that it was almost friable, and was striated and distinguished with red veins interspersed; of which, as likewise of the tin before it was tinged, both the count de Paar, and also father Spies, and Dr. Becher, each of them took a little piece, for a perpetual memorial of the thing. The rest was sealed up with their three seals, and the same quantity of the powder, this projection was made with, was inclosed with it; and the thing was by all three subscribed to.

The next day, count Paar went to his imperial majesty, and delivered it to him, making also a full relation of all the particular circumstances in the trial.

Hereupon, the emperor injoined him to treat friar Wenceslaus kindly, and to assure him of his favour; moreover, advising him to refrain his ill and scandalous life, and to satisfy the clergy, that he would re-assume the monastical habit, and for the rest he would take care; and till he had enquired further into the thing, he would, for his security, send him into some private place.

The count returned home very joyful with this commission, and the very same evening, he caused friar Wenceslaus to be revested with his monk's habit by two English fathers of the Augustine order, father Dunoll, and father Vostaller. A letter was also writ to his abbot at Bruna, informing him, that he might set his mind at rest concerning him, because he had laid aside his monk's habit, and clothed himself with other apparel, for no other reason, but because he would free himself from the hardship of a prison, and make a journey to Vienna, to discover a great secret, which he had, to his imperial majesty; which being now done, he had again resumed his monk's habit.

All this was done to persuade him, that they meant him nothing but good, to make him call again for all the tincture from his comrade, and to keep him from conversing any

longer with those which before were his most intimate acquaintance, as counting himself sufficiently secured against all violence, by the emperor's protection, and his monk's habit: so that count Paar was as a father to him, and he, on the other side, as his adopted son. These two new friends undertook a voyage together, to a country-house of the count's, adjoining to a certain lake, which he had in Hungary, distant about a day's journey from Vienna.

Being come thither, the very same night, they two being alone in a chamber, the count plucked out a decree of the emperor's, (as he pretended,) which was sealed up, adding these words; "My son, into what gulf of misery art thou cast! Here I have a command in writing from the emperor, to demand the tincture of thee; and if thou refusest to deliver it, then, to my great grief, I must execute upon thee the sentence contained in this sealed decree."

Friar Wenceslaus desired to read the decree; but the count replied, "If it be opened it must be immediately executed!" and, withal, plucking a pistol out of his pocket, he directed it to his breast, sighing, and breaking forth in these words; "Into what miseries are we both cast! Yet, notwithstanding, if thou wilt hearken to my counsel (from whence thou mayest gather my love, and fatherly care, and free both of us from this great misfortune, and make our condition very happy,) I will give it to thee."

Nothing was more grateful to friar Wenceslaus, than to hear this condition; and, having given him his hand that he would follow it, the count began thus: "It is certain, (said he) that you and I do both stand in need of the emperor's protection; and it is as certain, that we shall be forced to deliver the tincture to him. My advice then is, (which I refer to you for your approbation and consent,) I will pretend, that being enjoined to make a stricter examination of this tinging powder, I have employed it all, in order to its multiplication; to try whether it might be augmented, for the greater benefit and advantage of his majesty. However, we may both be sheltered under the continuance of the emperor's protection, and yet we may keep the tincture; and after the time designed for its augmentation is elapsed, we will easily devise some colourable excuse, to evade it; as, that the glass was broken, or some error committed in the operation. For, the truth is, (said he) the emperor's court is not worthy so great a treasure; it will be prostituted there, and made common. But to engage thyself to me in a greater degree of faithfulness, thou must not refuse to give me half the tincture; and we will take a mutual oath to be faithful one to the other, as long as we live; and for what now hath passed between us, it shall be buried in perpetual oblivion. The emperor shall never know any thing of it, neither shall he ever have any of the tincture.

Friar Wenceslaus was fain to make an agreement on those terms, which were drawn up in writing, subscribed with both their hands, and confirmed by their mutual oaths; and so the tincture was divided betwixt them. The count made a trial by himself alone the next day, with some of his proportion thereof, to try whether he had not been deceived therein: but he found it right and good.

Having staid a while at his country-house, he was about to return to Vienna; but he was taken so grievously sick of the gout, that out of the intolerable torment which he felt, he drank some *aurum potabile*, which Burrhi had given him heretofore; but with this caution, that it was not yet perfect. Having tasted a few drops thereof, he presently felt a most grievous and vehement pain in his joints, so that he could hardly perform his journey with friar Wenceslaus, to Vienna. But, the first night after his coming, he was so afflicted with heat, that all his entrails seemed to be on a flame, as he complained himself. The day following, his physician (the son of Dr. Sorbat, whose name was Kreisset, who was also physician to the emperor's army,) was sent for; who, considering his present condition, applied the properest remedies he could, which availed him nothing; but bad symptoms did so grow upon him, that, the third day, his case was judged desperate.

The count himself, also, being sensible of his death approaching, caused his brother, the master of the post-office to the emperor, count Peter de Paar, his only heir, (for the sick brother was a batchelor,) to be sent for about night: to whom he spoke in these

words: "It was foretold to me, heretofore, in Italy, that I should obtain the tincture, and that soon after, I should die! The first part of the prophecy is fulfilled, and the latter is near at hand to be accomplished: I know that you have bestowed as much time and expence in this art, as myself: I have nothing more valuable to leave you, and nothing can be more acceptable to you, than a notable portion of tincture, which I have sealed up in this desk, and shall entrust it in the hand of my confessor; who, upon my decease, shall deliver it to you."

After which words, he delivered the desk to his confessor, who was present, and heard him speak them. Count Peter, not imagining his brother was so near his end, took his leave of him for that night, and rode home, because it was very late. And his brother soon after departing this life, his confessor also took coach, and went home to the monastery of St. Francis, not far distant from the imperial post-office at Vienna: the death of the deceased count being signified to his brother, by his footmen, who had accompanied the confessor home.

The count immediately rose out of his bed, being but newly entered thereinto, and, clothing himself, galloped, at two o'clock in the morning, to the monastery of the Franciscans; and after he had knocked fiercely at the gate for admittance, the drowsy porter arose, and let him in. The count desired to be admitted to the speech of the confessor of his newly deceased brother; but it was replied, "It was an unseasonable time for such a visit, in regard the old man was weak and weary, and being newly returned home, was laid down to rest." The count was not satisfied with this answer; but was very earnest with the porter, to accompany him, and some of his attendants, to the old father's cell. He making excuses, the count rushed in presently himself, and awaked him; demanding the desk which his brother had deposited in his hands, as now rightfully belonging unto him.

The father was much surprized at his sudden irruption and demand; which he did the more suspect, because it was made at such an unseasonable time of the night. Whereupon he desired the count to hold himself contented till the morning, and then he should have the desk delivered unto him without fail; only he desired to deliver it in before the father-guardian, and that he would then give him his acquittance for the receipt thereof. The count, not content with this answer, by the help of his attendants and servants, endeavoured to get it from him by force. Whereupon a tumult arose: the watch was sent for, the monks were also gathered together, and a Spanish bishop of the same order (the confessor of the empress Margaret, then lodging in the monastery,) was also roused out of his sleep; who hearing such a tumultuous noise in the monastery, a privileged place, was so much concerned thereat, that he enquired into the occasion, whilst the count was yet present; and understanding that it arose upon the score of a sealed desk, he demanded it of the father, who had it in keeping: which having received from him, the next morning he carried it with him to the emperor, and complained grievously against the count, as being the occasion of that night's uproar. In the mean time, as soon as it was day, the noise hereof was spread all over the city, and, among the rest, it reached the ears of friar Wenceslaus, who presently went to court, and, by means of the empress's confessor, obtained audience. He related to the emperor the whole story, how the count had used him in Hungary; how he had extorted from him half the tincture; how he was necessitated, by a forced agreement, not to discover any thing thereof, whilst he was living, but was now free from the obligation of his oath, by the count's death; that he was very glad that the tincture was at length come into the hands of the right owner, his imperial majesty, for whom he had long before designed it: he did therefore now implore nothing more of his imperial majesty, but that he would afford him his protection, against the violence of count Peter Paar, his post-master, and his adherents.

The emperor, perceiving the wonderful series of this affair, presently entertained friar Winceslaus at his court, and committed him to the care and inspection of count Wallestein, the imperial governor of Hatschirr.

About this time, the post-master above-mentioned died also. Friar Wenceslaus, being

thus received into the emperor's protection, had his lodgings assigned him by the imperial Bowling-green, where he made some trials before the emperor and count Austin of Wallestein, his guardian; and in the palace of the Johannites in the Carinthian-street, he made one of fifteen marks (as they say); out of which transmutations the count Wallestein made him a gold chain, to keep in perpetual memory of the thing. Moreover, he had deposited some of his tincture in the court, for augmentation; and (as far as I can judge by the process delivered to me,) he had a great desire to get the mercury of silver: how far he proceeded in it, I do not certainly know; but some affirm, that he had made some progress therein.

In the mean time, he both desired to be acquainted with some noted chymists and eminent artists, and several impostors and sophisters intruded themselves into his acquaintance; so that from thence resulted very frequent junketings, drinkings, and merry-meetings, and many foolish trifling processes wrought by him, from whence friar Wenceslaus learned rather several cunning and subtle impostures, than any real augmentation of his powder. But the noise and multitude of so many importunate visitants being cumbersome at court, where friar Wenceslaus had his diet, under the severe inspection of count Wallestein; he thereupon pretended, that he had occasion to make some sorts of aqua-fortis and other menstruums, which would be dangerous to the whole court, and cause such noisome fumes and odious smells, that they could not safely be prepared in that place: therefore a laboratory was built for him in the Carinthian fort, where the emperor's chief engineer did dwell. His name was Fischer, a great lover of alchymy, and who shewed himself very officious to him, assisting him to build strange and most nonsensical furnaces which can ever be seen; and besides, being not a little pleased with his good fortune of the neighbourhood and acquaintance of the owner of so rich a tincture. But this intimacy lasted not long, as the event soon made appear; for when friar Wenceslaus had scarcely well fixed his habitation, and settled his things in order, the engineer was forced to leave the splendid dwelling there assigned him by the emperor, and to go to Javarin in Hungary, to dwell there; his wife also, as some give out, being vitiated into the bargain. Friar Wenceslaus also fell very sick, and he that waited upon him in his chamber, died suddenly, not without some suspicion of poison; and he himself also lay without any hopes of recovery. In this case, J. A. C. P. C. L. de S. who before had bought some of the tincture of him, and had paid him for it a thousand ducats, designing to take this opportunity of his illness, and decease so apparent, and so to get and enjoy his tincture without money, sent to him one Biliot, a French physician, to steal from him (under pretence of a visit) both the said thousand ducats, and the rest of the tincture. Fortune did favour him, as to the first part of his design; but in the latter she did fail and disappoint him: for friar Wenceslaus had hid his tincture more carefully than his thousand ducats. At last, the sick man, contrary to all men's expectation, began to recover; and friar Francis, who was sent to Rome to obtain a dispensation for him, to absolve him from his vow, having obtained the same, returned home: whereupon, presently friar Wenceslaus, laying aside his monk's habit, took a wife and was married publicly to one named Angerlee, who had ministered to him in his sickness, and had otherwise been very assistant to him when he wanted her: she was a very subtle and crafty woman, yet accounted at Vienna but little better than a common harlot; and she was the worse thought on, because her sister had been naught with B. D. L. and, by his advice and assistance, had caused her husband to be made away; for which fact, he the said B. D. L. was sentenced to death: but, though afterwards pardoned by the emperor, yet was deprived of all his dignities, degraded of his nobility, and cast into perpetual prison in the citadel of Gratz, where he died miserably; and his whore (friar Wenceslaus's wife's sister) was the same day to be beheaded in open court, before the Judgment-hall; the scaffold, and all the rest, being already prepared: but by the intercession of the wife of Castell Rodrigo, the Spanish ambassador, she was set free; yet, afterwards, upon the account of her lewd life, and dishonest practices, she was killed with a pistol-shot.

Friar Wenceslaus, being linked by marriage into such a family, did then fancy for a

time, that all the elements did conspire together to make him happy. For why? He was visited by persons of the highest rank, and withal was mightily respected by the most eminent ladies, countesses, and princesses. As for me (as spectator of this scene) I considered him in this fool's paradise; whilst it put me in mind of Cornelius Agrippa, who, in his book of the Vanity of Sciences, under the title of Alchymy, says, 'That if he should 'be master of the tincture, he would spend it all in whoring; for women being natu-'rally covetous, he could thereby easily make them to prostitute themselves, and to yield 'unto his lust.'

And it seems, that not only friar Wenceslaus was so mighty a proficient; and so stout a soldier in the school of Venus, that he was brought very low by the French-disease, but also that his wife Angerlee died of it. After whose decease, friar Wenceslaus exceeded all bounds of honest modesty, and daily let loose the reins to all sinful and voluptuous excesses: for from that time he obtained the tincture, he spent in two or three years time more than ten myriads of crowns, in all manner of luxury; and he saw well enough, that it could not last and subsist long at that rate; for the tincture would not maintain him: and to turn it into gold, or sell it for a small price, would turn to no account, as he had always hoped it would by augmentation, and thereby to gain an inexhaustible treasure.

But, on the one hand, his want and necessity was such, and, on the other, the solicitings of those, who would buy of his powder, were so importunate, that he could not resist so great temptations. And therefore, between both, he resolved upon a dishonest shift, which was, to sell for great rates powdered cinnabar, red-lead, and the caput mortuum of aqua-fortis boiled, and such other ingredients, instead of the true powder; mixing also therewith some few filings of copper, that foolish ignorant people might mistake the same for a gold-making powder. To some he sold it without any such cozening addition as copper: and, if they were not able to tinge with it, he would lay the blame on their impatience and unskilfulness in making the projection. To others, he pawned some of his counterfeit tincture for a great sum of money, which he pretended he had a present use for; but he was loth to spend his tincture in projecting, because he hoped to augment it with a thousand-fold advantage: and that they might see the tincture was genuine and true, he took some of it and wrapped it up in a little wax, with which he mingled a little of his right tincture, which he called his crocus or powder of reduction, and so tinged therewith.

By this means, he got very many thousands of crowns; and, over and above, he got P. C. de L. and C. L. to be his assistants and partners in these mysteries. But the imprudent sort, amongst which, A. C. P. and his cousin C. B. are to be reckoned, he gave them whole ingots which he had cast, consisting of equal parts of gold and silver: then filing some of them, and dissolving it into common aqua-fortis, which he brought with him, he affirmed, that now his tincture was exalted into a menstruum, which would presently change silver into gold; and that, as soon as ever the price or value, which was to be paid for its purchase, should be put thereto, it would be converted into gold.

It hath been also further related to me, that he grew to that degree of impudence, as to tinge some sort of coins, after this manner, into gold, before the empress-dowager and the emperor himself. Yea, this fellow was so arrogant, as to cause his own effigies to be drawn on some of those false coins which he did attempt deceitfully to put off.

Yet this matter could not be kept so secret, but the more prudent began to smell the cheat, and to mutter something about it; which was very ill taken in the emperor's court. For he was in such credit there, that it was not safe to impeach him; as being received into the emperor's protection, both against the clergy and the secular power, and even against the skilful in the same art. For great men are loth to acknowledge their error, but think themselves, though under a mistake, to be as infallible as the pope himself.

Those, who were not much concerned in the matter, suffered it so to pass, as taking little notice of it; but some true philosophers were very much aggrieved, that so infamous an impostor, after so many vows and protestations made by him to the contrary, and after

such evident proofs of his former debauched life; after so many villainous crimes committed, and his base prostitution openly of so noble an art of Chymistry; should yet, notwithstanding that he ranted it up and down in his coach in masquerades, before the emperor's court, be maintained and protected by him. But others, who had been cozened by him of great sums of money, even to many thousand ducats, with his adulterate tincture, could not so rest satisfied, but brought in their actions against him at common-law: where, after some time and much expence, they obtained judgment against him; but it never was put in execution, though all other means were tried.

Now the emperor, unless he would have left his favourite Wenceslaus to the jurisdiction and power of his judges, and rigour of the law, must needs interpose: for the complaints, made against him for his insolent and abusive practices, were so many, and the fame of them was spread so far abroad in the world, that his imperial majesty thought it more convenient to have the noise of it altogether suppressed.

To be short; the emperor paid all his debts, and that he might prevent his farther opportunity of cozenage, he got from him the rest of his tincture, and then advanced him to the most ancient order of barony in Bohemia, by the title of Baron Seyler of Seylerburgh; and afterwards made him hereditary master of the mint of Bohemia. And, having thus preferred him, he sent him away from his court to Prague, where he now lives very gallantly, and hath made friar Francis the steward of his house: having married a second wife, called Waldes Kircheriana, a handsome woman, and of a noble family.

In the mean time, a rumour was spread all over Germany, that the devil had carried him away soul and body: which report, though it might have some good grounds, yet, for this time, it was not true. But he hath very great reason to fear that it may prove true, at last, if he doth not amend his life; and the event thereof we must expect.

I have described the series of this story, both to vindicate the truth, and also to satisfy so many curious, who have despicable thoughts of chymistry. If I have mistaken in any passage, friar Wenceslaus is yet alive, and I earnestly desire him to amend and rectify my mistakes; and to vindicate himself, by giving the world a more exact account thereof, that he may no longer lie under any unjust reflection.

For a conclusion: I heartily wish, that if God should bless any lover of this noble art, with such-like treasure, he would use it better than Wenceslaus hath done; for the glory of God, the benefit and advantage of his neighbour, and the furtherance of his own everlasting salvation.

OVATIO CAROLINA; The Triumph of King Charles: Or, the triumphant Manner and Order of receiving his Majesty into his City of London, on Thursday the Twenty-fifth Day of November, *Anno Dom.* 1641, upon his safe and happy Return from Scotland. With Mr. Recorder's Speech to his Majesty; and his Majesty's most gracious Answer.

London, printed by A. N. 1641.

[Quarto; containing thirty-eight pages.]

Cives Londinenses, illustrissimi Regis Caroli è Scotiâ reditum, sic gratulantur.

PRINCIPIS adventus Caroli, vel gratior urbi
Quis dicat; Carolus vel magè gratus erat?
Gratia grata magè est, veniens è principis ore:
Nostra soluta facit debita, grata minus.
Nec tamen ingratos nos reddit: vota supersunt,
Ut crescat Caroli gratia, noster amor.

London; To the King.

THANKS, mighty Sir, that you would gracious be,
T' accept the poor great zeal of mine, and me.
I entertain'd you not: where e'er you go,
All else are but spectators, not the show.
I do not envy now the empress Rome,
When her great Cæsars rode triumphant home;
Nor wish her hills, but when you absent are
To see your long'd-for coming from afar.
But go no more, leave me no more, with fears
And loyal grief, to spend my Thames in tears.
Your next return may some due honour miss;
I shall not then have done my joy for this.

London; To the Queen.

WHEN you were pleas'd, great Queen, my streets to view,
I then myself the queen of cities grew;
And did exceed all other towns as far
Almost, as you above all women are.
So full and boundless was the pleasure here,
To see my King, your husband, but appear;
That nothing else had power, but your bless'd sight,
To add one joy, besides, to the delight.

Methinks, when such a glorious-pair I see,
Some gods are come to make a heaven of me:
Only your womb can greater wonders do,
That, after death, will shew you both a-new.

THAT princes have been often-times received in a triumphant manner by their subjects, either after the subduing of a nation by force of arms, or the quiet pacification of a people, without blood-shed, is a thing not novel: none but they that are not versed at all in the ancient monuments of time, are ignorant of it.

The Roman stories (to omit others) tell us, that they had two sorts of triumphs in use among them: one for those of the first kind, wherein they led their principal enemies captived in chains, and these conquerors were received by the people with musical-instruments of war; they themselves being crowned with laurel, and sacrificing *(taurum)* a bull, the emblem of blood, together with some of the chief captives: the other sort were entertained with musical-instruments of peace and feasting, being crowned with myrtle, and sacrificing *(ovem)* a sheep, the hieroglyphick of peace, whence this triumph was called *Ovatio*. And though with them, being heathen, this was called *triumphus minor*, 'the 'lesser triumph,' and so by them reputed; yet, with us Christians, who serve and worship the Prince of Peace, it is, and ought to be, accounted *major*, the greater and more honourable.

Our own stories can report unto us, that this triumphant reception of our princes hath been frequent in use amongst us: and our own memories may inform us, that upon ordinary occasions, even upon their removal from one house of theirs to another, (and that annually) solemn attendance upon them, by the citizens of London, hath been in practice, to express their love, and hearty affections to them.

No marvel then, if upon so happy an expedition and safe return of our royal King, the City of London, his Majesty's royal chamber, should express its joy in so solemn and dutiful a manner, as lately it hath done. Were it only in regard of his Majesty's great wisdom and moderation, in composing an unnatural war, and settling a peace between two of his own kingdoms without expence of blood, it had been warrant sufficient, for the erecting of trophies to his Majesty's perpetual memory, and to have received him, with all the honour could be devised. But if we shall add to this the removal of their just fears, and the reviving of their dejected spirits, by his safe and happy return: no man but will conclude, that the Citizens of London have done nothing more, if not far less, than by duty they were bound; and if they had not performed what they did, the very stones in the streets would have proclaimed to the world their ingratitude to God, and his Majesty.

For, certainly, much dejected we have been, yea, altogether heartless, since the rays of his Majesty, our great luminary, were over-clouded by his absence from us. To use one prophet's words, in another case: 'Did not our hearts go along with him?' Yes, and tarried with him too: insomuch, that we have remained (as it were) without them, ever since his Majesty's departure, and have seemed like dead men.

And indeed, how could we be in better case? For, if another prophet could say, in the case of king Josias, *spiritus oris*, 'the breath of our nostrils, is departed from us;' how could we, during the time of his Majesty's absence, but say the like? And, if breathless, we could not be but lifeless, sure.

But the now joyful, happy, and comfortable return of the sun into our horizon hath restored our hearts, and revived us. And if this return had nothing concomitant with it, yet had it been sufficient of itself to reduce us to our pristine estate; but that it entered, and that into our particular orb, accompanied with that other luminary, which by the interposition of the earth, between the other great light and her, hath, if it may not be said, been eclipsed, yet not vouchsafed that splendour we had in former times by her, in our hemisphere; we are not only fully recovered, but much more strength and vigour is added to us, than formerly we had.

This grace and favour of their Majesties to us, in particular, and this great blessing of God, upon all good subjects in general, for this happy peace and safe return, is not to be paralleled in any history; it is *exemplar sine exemplo*, 'a sampler not to be patterned.' And, therefore, no praise to God, nor thanks nor obedient service to his Majesty, can be sufficient to express it.

By this little (though much more might be said) it may be hoped, that the mouths of all pasquillers may be stopped. For, if the heathen could honour their princes, sometimes upon ridiculous expeditions, only because they were their princes; (as we read of that for Caligula, who returned to Rome in triumph, having only gathered cockle-shells, near our coast,) how much more stand we bound to manifest our affections, in honour of our gracious Sovereign; not only for this great and princely work of his, in settling peace and unity between his people, by mansuetude and mildness, but for vouchsafing this seasonable and timely visit, in his return, to this his dejected City?

What remaineth then? But that this mutual act of love between his Majesty and the City (occasioned as aforesaid) be kept in perpetual memory? Had not things of this nature been formerly recorded for posterity, we might have wanted a precedent; and this might have been accounted, as some things in these times are, an innovation.

That, therefore, we may do no less for succeeding times, than former have done for us, we shall describe the particulars of this day's great work: that is, the bounden duty and service to his Majesty, by his loyal subjects the Citizens of London, and the honour returned by his Majesty for it; which, for the more clear apprehension of those which were not spectators of it, we shall set down in this method:

1. The Preparation before the Day.
2. The Day's Work, or Entertainment in itself.
3. What occurred after, yet having relation to the Work of the Day.

The Preparation.

THE Orator, long since, hath told us, that *in rebus magnis, memoriâque dignis, consilia primùm, deindè acta spectantur;* 'In great matters, worthy of perpetual memory, we are 'to consult, before we act.' And the reason for this is given by another; *Quicquid diligentèr prævidetur, cùm ad rem agendam perventum fuerit, faciliùs superatur;* 'Whatso-'ever is carefully thought upon, before-hand, is with more ease effected, when it comes 'to execution.' And therefore, the right-honourable the Lord-mayor, and the rest of the grave Senate of the City of London, the Aldermen his brethren, being advertised, That his Majesty, in his happy return from Scotland, would graciously condescend to pass through the city, with his royal consort the Queen, the Prince, and others of the princely issue; at a court among themselves, took into their consideration, how to give entertainment, fit for his Majesty's gracious acceptance. And, thereupon, they selected a committee of six aldermen and twelve commoners, who should meet, consult, and order, what they in their discretions should think fit, to conduce to the honour of the City and the acceptance of his Majesty: yet, before these committees should effect any thing herein, it was thought requisite to assemble a common-council, as well to understand the affections of the commons, as to confirm those committees, chosen by the lord-mayor and court, as aforesaid.

The matter, being propounded there, was entertained with an unanimous consent and general approbation, and the before mentioned committees were by the court confirmed; who, thereupon, met daily, bending all their thoughts, how to satisfy the trust imposed on them; and, calling before them the officers of the City, directed them, what they should do, charging them to leave nothing undone, which either art, labour, or cost, in so short a time, could compass.

More particularly, in the first place, their especial care was, to give order, as well to the steward, cook, butler, and confectioner, to make speedy provision of all things, fit for the royal feasting of their Majesties, and their princely train; as to the officers of the City-

works, that the Guildhall might be prepared, and made ready, for the due and respective receiving of them.

The next was, that precepts might be speedily directed to the several societies and companies of the City; that, against the day their Majesties should come, there should be some of the prime men chosen out of their liveries, that should be in readiness to attend the Lord-mayor and Aldermen, in their best array, (either velvet, plush, or sattin,) and chains of gold; upon good horses, well appointed, and each rider to have a footman to attend him, to meet their Majesties, and conduct them first to Guildhall, and afterwards to his Majesty's royal palace of Whitehall. As also, that out of the residue of their companies, some should be appointed to wait in their several standings in their liveries, from their Majesties' entrance into the city, to Temple-Bar; to which purpose, the committee gave order and directions, where every several company's standings should be set up. And lastly, that others should be nominated, to attend in the Guildhall upon their Majesties, in their liveries and foins likewise, from the time of their coming thither, to their departure thence.

Another care of the committee was, that the way from Kingsland to Shoreditch, being impassable for their Majesties (in regard of the depth and foulness of it), a way might be prepared from thence, to that place of the city where their Majesties should enter, as might not be only fair and clean, but as pleasant also and delightful, as the season of the year would permit; and that the streets, all the way they should pass, might be paved where need was, and made sweet and clean.

And because some seditious libels were at that time dispersed, which bred a panic fear in some; order was likewise taken, that there should be two companies of the City's trained bands, placed in several parts of the city upon that day; as also, that at every door a man should be placed, sufficiently appointed, to be ready upon all occasions, to appease any disorders.

Lastly, Out of the said committee, two of the City-captains were designed as chief marshals for the day; to have the command over the other three marshals, that were officers of the Chamber, and to order, direct, and marshal the horsemen. As also four others of the committee were appointed as comptrollers of the house, to whom all inferior officers should have recourse upon any occasion, and to direct and order the liveries, which were to attend upon their Majesties' service; and generally to dispose all other things, conducing to the entertainment in Guildhall.

And thus much briefly for the preparation.

Now for the Entertainment itself.

Upon Thursday, being the five-and-twentieth of November, 1641, the Knights of the Grey Cloke, master Recorder, the rest of the Aldermen, City-council, and Chief Officers, (as Town-clerk, Common-serjeant, and Remembrancer,) attended the Lord-mayor[1], at his lordship's house in the Old Jury, by eight of the clock in the morning; from whence, they advanced through the city, to Moor-Gate, in this manner. The Lord-mayor (having the Sword-bearer and two Mace-bearers before him on horseback, and on foot-cloths, and two footmen in black velvet coats, on each side one; his lordship wearing a gown of crimson velvet, and a collar of S's) rode in the front; the Knights afore-named, master Recorder, and the Aldermen following, according to their seniority, two by two, in scarlet gowns, attended by two footmen a-piece, suited in the City-colours; each of which footmen being appointed to carry a truncheon in his hand for the forenoon, and two torches for the afternoon. Next to them, followed the City-council, and Chief Officers in black gowns, upon foot-cloths; each of them having a footman going by them suited, and fitted as aforesaid.

[1] [Sir Richard Gurney; who was afterwards removed from his office of chief magistrate on account of his loyalty, when Isaac Pennington the parliamentarian was substituted in his stead. See Butler's Mercurius Civicus, 1643.]

In this equipage they passed through the city, from his lordship's house to Moorfields, where there waited in a readiness to attend his lordship, and the service, about five-hundred horsemen, selected out of the liveries of the several Companies of the City, (being the masters, wardens, and prime men of each Company,) in velvet or plush coats and suits, with chains of gold; and being well horsed, and gallantly furnished: every Company having a horseman in the front, carrying a pendant with that Company's arms to which he did belong, for distinction's sake; and a footman to attend each horseman of the livery, with truncheons and torches, as before: both horsemen, with pendants, and footmen, being suited *cap-à-pe* with the Company's colours on which they waited. There were also fourteen Trumpeters, (with trumpets, banners, and scarfs,) who were placed two between every hundred of the horse, and four at the head of the troop.

The Lord-mayor, being thus attended, rode on with the Knights, master Recorder, the Aldermen, City-council, and Chief Officers, as before; and after them the five-hundred Horsemen, according to the several ranks of the Companies; the Lord-mayor's Company (the Clothworkers) being foremost, then the Mercers, and the rest according to their order.

They all advanced in comely manner, through the fields (the banks being cast down, and bridges, of fourteen feet wide, being made over the ditches, for better and more secure passage) till they came beyond Balmes; a retiring-house of sir George Whitmore's, in the fields next adjoining to Kingsland. The night before being rainy, and the morning gloomy and cloudy, the Lord-mayor commanded his tent to be pitched in the field, where his lordship, the Knights, master Recorder, and the Aldermen, were to attend their Majesties. In the tent were seats and forms, where his lordship and some of the nobility reposed themselves, till their Majesties came.

In the mean time, the two Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, attended by seventy-two men in scarlet clokes trimmed with silver lace (the colours of the City) with javelins and feathers, and four Trumpeters, rode as far as Stamford-hill, between Newington and Tottenham; where they stayed, while their Majesties came from Theobalds, where they lay the night before; who (after they had done their respective duties, and kissed their Majesties' hands) conducted them to the field where the Lord-mayor, the Nobility, and Aldermen, waited for them.

His Majesty came into the field about ten of the clock, in a coach; he sitting on the right side of it, and her Majesty on his right-hand, (the Prince, the Duke of York, and the Princess Mary, being within the coach,) and the Prince-Elector-Palatine, and the Duchess of Richmond, sitting on the other side; their Majesties being attended by divers honourable lords and ladies. When the coach came against the Lord-mayor's tent, his Majesty caused it to stay; where divers of the nobility, that had attended his coming there, presented themselves to his Majesty, and joying in his safe return, kissed both their Majesties' hands.

After which, the Lord-mayor, Knights, master Recorder, and Aldermen, presented themselves likewise, in an humble manner, to his Majesty. The Lord-mayor tendered the City-sword and sceptre to him, who re-delivered them to his lordship; where kneeling, together with master Recorder, by the coach-side, master Recorder made a grave, pithy, and short speech to his Majesty, as followeth:

"May it please your Majesty,

THIS is a day of exceeding great joy to your Citizens of London, joy exalted to the highest degree, to see you return in safety, after a long absence; and to see this happy meeting with your dearest consort, our good and gracious Queen, and with these blessed children, that are the fruits of your loves, and pledges to us of a fruitful and hopeful succession.

I can truly say this from the representative body of your City, from whence I have my warrant; they meet your Majesty with as much love and affection, as ever citizens of London met with any of your royal progenitors, king or queen of this kingdom, and with as hearty a desire to shew itself fully. Pardon their failures, where you meet with any.

We tender unto you no formal present, it would but lessen us. I am sure, whatever it were, it would be far short of our meaning. We present unto you our hearts and affections; hearts of true subjects, full of loyalty to you, our King and Sovereign.

It is true, in this we offer your Majesty but your own; they were by just right yours before: but upon this new enlivening and expression, be pleased to take them as a new gift; we offer them cheerfully, vouchsafe to accept them graciously; and with the influence of those excellent and princely virtues, which we know, by great assurance, to be eminent in your royal person, the defence of our established religion, and the clear current of your justice from the fountain through the streams, be pleased to cherish them.

Vouchsafe, likewise, to uphold and countenance that ancient form and frame of government which hath been long established in the city; that power and authority of yours, which you have committed to your Lord-mayor, your true and faithful subject and servant; and the fit reverence and respect, due to the Aldermen his brethren, who are to assist him in his government: we shall be thereby the better enabled to serve your Majesty, and constantly to render to you the fruits of a true obedience; and (as our duty binds us) we shall never cease to bless you, and pray for you, and your dearest consort, our gracious Queen, and for this your royal and princely offspring; for your Majesty's long life, and prosperous reign over us, in peace and glory, and with full contentment; and, I doubt not, but every true subject will join with us in this, and say Amen.

These expressions of joy, of love, of loyalty, and these hearty wishes and desires, which I have mentioned, I meet with every where from your Citizens of London. They are the soft and still musick prepared for your Majesty's welcome and entertainment, this day: the joyful acclamations of your people, upon the sight of your royal person, will make it louder; and all, cheerfully bearing their agreeing parts together, shall, I hope, this day, make up to your Majesty a full and pleasing harmony."

To which, his Majesty made this gracious answer:

" Master Recorder,

I MUST desire you (because my voice cannot reach to all those that I desire should hear me) to give most hearty thanks to all the good Citizens of London, for their hearty expressions of their love this day to me. And, indeed, I cannot express the contentment I have received therein: for now I see, that all these former tumults and disorders, have only risen from the meaner sort of people; and that the affections of the better and main part of the City have ever been loyal and affectionate to my person and government.

And, likewise, it comforts me to see, that all those misreports, that have been made of me in my absence, have not the least power to do me prejudice in your opinions, as may be easily seen, by this day's expression of joy.

And now I think it fit for me to assure you, that I am returned with as hearty and kind affection to my people in general, and to this City in particular, as can be desired by loving subjects. The first I shall express by governing you all, according to the laws of this kingdom, and in maintaining you in your full liberties; but chiefly in maintaining and protecting the true Protestant religion, according as it hath been established in my two famous predecessors' times, queen Elizabeth and my father; and this I will do (if need be) to the hazard of my life, and all that is dear to me.

As for the City in particular, I shall study, by all means, their prosperity; and I assure you, I willingly grant those few reasonable demands you have now made unto me, in the name of the City. Likewise, I shall study to re-establish that flourishing trade, which now is in some disorder amongst you; which I doubt not to effect, with the good assistance of the Parliament.

One thing I have thought of, as a particular testimony of my affection to you, which is to give back unto you freely that part of Londonderry, which heretofore was evicted from you. This, I confess (as that kingdom[2] is now) is no great gift; but I intend first to re-

[2] [Ireland having been for more than a month in a state of violent rebellion.]

cover it, and then to give it to you whole and entirely. And, for the legal part of this, I command you, master Recorder, to wait upon me, to see it punctually performed.

I will end as I began, to desire you, master Recorder, to give all the City thanks, in better expressions than I can make; though, I must tell you, it will be far short of that real contentment I find in my heart, for this real and seasonable demonstration of their affections to me."

His Majesty, having ended this gracious speech, was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon the Lord-mayor, and master Recorder, with the City-sword; both their Majesties graciously giving their hands to kiss, to them, as also to the Knights, Aldermen, City-council, and Officers.

After these things done, his Majesty and the Prince alighted from the coach, and took their horses; the Queen, Duke of York, Princess Mary, Prince-Elector, and the Duchess of Richmond, remaining still in the coach. In the mean time, by the care and pains of the two Captains of the committee, and of the three Marshals that were appointed for this day's service, the five-hundred horsemen of the Liveries, and their attendants, were brought into a body, and set in order as before; and, facing about, the whole company set forward, to conduct their Majesties into London, the Sheriffs' men being placed in the front, and the inferior companies following them, and the rest of the companies after them; the Lord-mayor's company being next to the Aldermen; and, advancing in a seemly order, they made such a gallant show, that their Majesties, and the Princes, took great delight and content to behold them.

The Nobility, and others of his Majesty's train, were marshalled by the Officers of Arms; so that the whole order was in this manner:

The City-Marshal.
The Sheriffs' Trumpeters.
The Sheriffs' Men.
Citizens, in velvet coats and chains.
The City-Council and Officers.
The Aldermen.
The Prince's Trumpeters.
Messengers of the Chamber.

(In placing of the messengers, an error was committed, for they should have followed the sheriffs' men.)

The King's Trumpeters.
Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.
Knight-Marshal.
Pursuivants at Arms.
The Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, being a Knight of the Privy-Council.

BARONS.

Lord Goring. Lord Coventry. Lord Mowbray.
Lord Fielding. Lord Digby. Viscount Conway.

HERALDS.

EARLS.

Earl Rivers.
Earl of Cumberland.
Earl of Essex, Lord Chamberlain of the King's House.
Earl of Bath.

Duke of Richmond.
Clarenceaux and Norroy.
Lord-Keeper.
Lord-Privy-Seal.

Serjeants at Arms, among whom one for the City.

Equerries and Footmen. The Prince's Highness. Equerries and Footmen.

Garter. { The Lord-mayor carrying the City's sword, by his Majesty's special appointment, as a grace and favour at this time. } A Gentleman-usher, daily-waiter.

Lord Great-Chamberlain. { Marquis of Hertford, bearing the sword of state. } Earl-Marshal.

The KING'S MAJESTY.

The QUEEN'S MAJESTY, in her coach richly embroidered; and, with her, the Duke of York, the Princess Mary, and the Prince-Elector.

Marquis of Hamilton, Master of the Horse, leading the horse of state.

The Earl of Salisbury, Captain of the Pensioners.

The Gentlemen-Pensioners, with their pole-axes, all mounted, with pistols at their saddles.

The Earl of Holland, Lord-general beyond Trent; and, after him, Viscount Grandison; with many other principal Commanders in the late Northern expedition.

After them, divers Ladies, and other great Personages of note.

The Yeomen of the Guard.

They all entered the city at Moorgate, where their Majesties were welcomed with a noise of trumpets, appointed to attend there to that purpose; from which place to Bishopsgate, and so, through Cornhill, to St. Laurence's-lane end, in Cheapside, the Companies, in liveries, stood on the left-hand, as their Majesties passed by: the rails of the standings being covered with blue cloth, and the standings themselves being richly adorned with banners, ensigns, and pendants of the arms of each Company respectively; nine Companies of the twelve standing in the morning, the Lord-mayor's Company beginning against St. Laurence's-lane end, and the other eight in their order, towards Bishopsgate; the rest of the way where they left, to Moorgate, being supplied by some of the inferior Companies; the outside of the houses, all the way their Majesties passed, being beautified with rich tapestry.

On the north-side of the street, four feet distant from the houses, were rails placed (to regulate and keep the people in good order) from Bishopsgate to Cornhill, and so to Temple-Bar. At the beginning of which rails (*viz.* at Bishopsgate, by the direction of the two captains and three marshals) the first horsemen of the Liveries began to make a stand: the first rank of them, placing themselves single, faced the Liveries that were in the standings; and the rest, passing along, placed themselves in the same order, the trumpets and pendants of each Company standing in the front, and then the Companies themselves; the youngest being next to the pendant, and so upwards by seniority, to the master of the Company, who took his place last: then began the pendant, and youngest of the next Company, to make their stand as the former, till they came to St. Laurence's-lane end, there being five feet distant from one horse to another; in which space stood each horseman's footman, with a truncheon in his hand; making, by this means, a guard for their Majesties, and the rest of the train. And it fell out, that most of the companies of horse were placed right against their own Companies in the standings. The people, that were spectators in the streets, were bestowed, part behind the horse, and part behind the Liveries; and by this good order, their Majesties, and the train, passed quiet, without interruption.

Their Majesties coming along Cornhill, seven trumpeters, that were placed in the clock-house of the Exchange, gave them their second welcome into the City; and, as they went, the conduit in Cornhill, and the great conduit in Cheapside, ran with claret-wine; to express the freedom of the City for the joy of that day.

All the way that their Majesties passed, the people, with loud and joyful acclamations, cried, "God bless," and "Long live, King Charles and Queen Mary!" And their Majesties reciprocally and heartily blessed and thanked the people, with as great expressions of joy.

Being come to St. Laurence's-lane end, (the passage being very strait,) neither horse nor foot could be planted there; so that only the Sheriffs' Officers, the City-council and Officers, the Sheriffs, Aldermen, and the Lord-Mayor, conducted their Majesties and their train to Guildhall.

At their entrance there, divers honourable lords and ladies, that had not given their attendance abroad, presented themselves to his Majesty; and conducted him and the

Queen up to the new and old council-chambers, being appointed for their repose, till dinner might be served to the table: the four comptrollers for the day, and about eighty comely and grave citizens, in foins and liveries, standing and making a lane on both sides their passage; to whom their Majesties shewed gracious respects, the musick of the City giving them their next welcome.

Their Majesties were no sooner reposed, but word was given for serving up of dinner to their table; the place appointed for it was the Hustings, at the east-end of the hall, which was raised almost two yards from the ground, the floor being covered with Turkey-carpets; and all the hall (as all the other rooms of the Guildhall) was hanged and adorned with rich tapestry. In the middle of the place, where their Majesties dined, was hung up a cloth of state, and two chairs of state were set under it, before which was placed a table six yards long; at the south-end whereof, two yards distance from the table, was a table of garnish three yards square; and, at the north-end, was a room erected for musick of all sorts, for the better entertainment and delight of their Majesties, while they should be at dinner.

And, four or five steps under the place where their Majesties dined, was a frame of timber erected, and floored with deals, a yard from the ground, which extended almost to the hall-door; upon each side whereof was a table set, from the upper to the lower end of it; at which two tables the lords and ladies, that attended their Majesties, were to dine: between which was a spacious way left, covered with green baize, whereon their Majesties were to pass to the place where they should dine.

And, in the west-part of the hall, below the gate on the south-side, was a long table placed for his Majesty's pensioners; and in all other rooms, that were not for their Majesties' privacy, were likewise tables prepared for several sorts of their Majesties' attendants.

The dinner was served up in this manner: from their Majesties' table to the dresser (which was at the west-end of the hall) stood the eighty liverymen beforementioned, in two ranks, about two yards distant from each other, face to face; one rank of them receiving from the dresser the King's meat, and the other the Prince's, at one and the same time; they never stirred or removed from their places but delivered dish after dish, from one to another, till it came to the sewers, who placed it upon the table.

Their Majesties' meat was proportioned into four services: the first consisted of fifty dishes of cold meats, as brawn, fish, and cold baked-meats, planted upon the garnish or side-table; the other three services were of all sorts of hot flesh and fish, boiled, roast, and baked, to the number of an hundred-and-twenty dishes; after which was served up a curious and well-ordered banquet.

At the high table dined his Majesty, his royal consort the Queen, the Prince, the Duke of York, the Princess Mary, and the Prince-Elector Palatine, in this order. The King sat under the cloth of state, and her Majesty close to him, on his left-hand; on his Majesty's right-hand, about a yard distant, sat the Prince; and, about the same distance from his Highness, sat the Prince-Elector: at her Majesty's left-hand, about a yard's space from her, was placed the Princess Mary, and, not far from her, the Duke of York.

The service for the tables of the Lords and Ladies was thus ordered. The liveries beforementioned (after the meat was placed on the high table) served up the dinner to those tables, but in another posture; for, whereas before they stood in two ranks, face to face, they now turned back to back. The reason was, that the meat being served up to both tables together, the one rank of them might face to one table, and the other to the other. To these two tables were appointed ten messes, consisting of five-hundred dishes.

These two tables being likewise furnished, care was taken for the rest of the train, that were thought fit to be entertained within the hall, who were all served so plentifully, that not a man was heard to go discontented away.

And, because it was conceived beforehand by the committees, that there might come

more company with their Majesties, than could be conveniently provided for within the hall; large provision was made abroad for the guards, footmen, coachmen, and the like; where they dined about an hundred-and-fifty persons of all sorts.

His Majesty received such content, as well in the freedom of the entertainment as in the well-ordering thereof, that he was pleased by words to express his royal thoughts, as well at dinner as afterwards (so did the Queen, Princes, and Nobility) how great content and satisfaction he received from the City by it.

His Majesty also, after dinner, sent for Mr. John Pettus, a gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Suffolk (who had married the Lord-mayor's daughter), and bestowed the honour of knighthood upon him; knowing, that whatsoever in this kind he should do to his lordship or his, must necessarily result to the honour of the City, and be an expression of his grace and favour to it.

Their Majesties having reposed themselves a while after dinner, the days being short, the word was given for their departure; and, by this time, the three Companies of the twelve, and the rest of the inferior Companies that had not waited in the morning, had taken their standings from St. Laurence's-lane end, westward, towards Temple-Bar. The two Captains also, with the three Marshals, had ordered the horsemen in this manner: They first drew up the Sheriffs' men in the front, by two and two; then they caused the rear of the horsemen, that had made the first stand at Bishopsgate in the morning, to pass through the rest of the Companies after the Sheriffs' men; and so the rest, according to their former order, till the whole number of five-hundred were ranked again by two and two, as in the morning, and so passed through Cheapside, till the rear of the first Company (which was the Lord-mayor's) came even with St. Laurence's-lane end: and in this order they staid, till their Majesties were ready to come out of Guildhall; which was about four of the clock in the afternoon.

The Lord-mayor carrying the sword before his Majesty, as in the morning, and the rest that conducted him from Cheapside to Guildhall, led his Majesty thither again, where the word was given, for the horse to advance; which they did, and every one fell into the same order, which they had in the morning: the greatest difference being, that whereas, in the forenoon, the footmen carried truncheons in their hands, they now went with lighted torches, which gave so great a light, as that the night seemed to be turned to day.

As their Majesties passed along, the trumpets and City-musick were placed in several parts, sounding and playing; which, together with the several, continual, and joyful acclamations of the people, gave great content to both their Majesties; the little conduit in Cheapside, and the conduit in Fleet-street, running with wine, as the other two conduits had done in the morning. And in their passage by the south-door of St. Paul's church, the choir, with sackbuts and cornets joining with them, sung an anthem of praise to God, and prayers for their Majesties' long lives; which pleased his Majesty so well, that he gave them an extraordinary respect: and in their passage to Temple-Bar, he made such expressions of his gracious acceptance of the City's love, that the people could not sufficiently make manifest the joy they conceived at it. So that, by this time, the whole day seemed to be spent in a kind of emulation (with reverence be it spoken) between their Majesties and the City: the Citizens blessing and praying for their Majesties and their princely issue, and their Majesties returning the same blessings upon the heads of the Citizens, with innumerable thanks, added thereunto. Insomuch, that it is hard to resolve, whether the Citizens were more joyed with the gracious acceptance of their weak, though hearty and loyal endeavours, or their Majesties, with the performance of the day's seasonable service; both their Majesties, and the Citizens, seeming, as it were, not well satisfied, to whom the thanks of this day's work were properly due.

But to proceed: when the Sheriff's men, who were in the front, were come as far as the May-pole in the Strand, they began to make a stand, and singled themselves, by falling off at the right-hand of the street; their company extending in length, as far as Exeter-house; and after them, the horsemen did the like, in the same order and posture as they

had done in the morning, and so continued to the Tilt-yard, over-against his Majesty's palace of White-hall; to which place the Lord-mayor, Knights, and Aldermen, conducted their Majesties.

After the Entertainment.

AND now by this time it might be conceived, that a period might be set to this relation, and that his Majesty had given testimony, ample and sufficient, of his gracious acceptation of the City's love, and loyal affection, towards him. But *manet altâ mente repostum*, in a better sense than the poet spoke it: his Majesty had taken so deep impression of his poor subjects' love, that he thought he had not sufficiently expressed himself, by all that he had already so graciously been pleased to demonstrate: and therefore, when the Lord-mayor had brought their Majesties into Whitehall, and was taking his leave in humble manner; his Majesty most graciously embraced and thanked him, and withal gave him in charge, that in his name, the whole City might be thanked.

Whereupon, against Tuesday morning following, being St. Andrew's day, the Lord-mayor caused a common-council to be warned, where Mr. Recorder, in an eloquent and pithy speech, related the charge and command, that his Majesty, by the Lord-mayor, had imposed upon him; and withal (as was thought fit) he read his speech to his Majesty, and his Majesty's most gracious answer, both which are formerly set down; which so much revived, and increased the joy of all the Commons, that an act was there made, and the Lord-mayor was entreated, to appoint Mr. Recorder, and so many Aldermen and Commoners, as his Lordship should think fit, to attend his Majesty, and to return their humble thanks, for all his great and princely favours to the City; and to prefer to his Majesty such other desires of the City, as should be thought necessary and convenient.

In the mean time, his Majesty (studying, as it were, how to add more honour to the Lord-mayor, and in him to the whole City) had sent to his Lordship his gracious letters-patent, whereby he created him a baronet.

The Lord-mayor (according to the power given unto him, by the act of Common-council,) called a committee to his house, where he appointed how many Aldermen, besides those of the committee for the entertainment, should attend his Majesty, with Mr. Recorder, in the pursuance of the said act; where it was concluded, what desires they should humbly represent to his Majesty, on the City's behalf.

Upon Friday the third of December, Mr. Recorder, with these Aldermen, *viz.* Sir George Whitmore, Alderman Cordall, Alderman Soam, Alderman Gayer, Alderman Garrad, Alderman Willaston, and the two Sheriffs (being aldermen likewise), with eight of the Commoners of the said committee, went, by his Lordship's appointment, to Hampton-Court; where they were received, by the Right-honourable the Earl of Dorset, lord-chamberlain to her Majesty, Sir Peter Wiche, comptroller of his Majesty household, and other officers, and gentlemen of quality, till they should be admitted into his Majesty's presence: and after some small stay, his Majesty, with his royal consort the Queen, attended by the Duke of Richmond, Marquis Hamilton, and the Earl of Dorset, came into her Majesty's presence-chamber; and soon after Mr. Recorder, the Aldermen, and Commoners were called in; where, after their humble duties tendered, Mr. Recorder, in an elegant speech, presented the loyal affections, and humble thanks of the City to their Majesties, together with two humble petitions, formerly agreed on, to be preferred to his Majesty, in words to this effect:

"That according to his Majesty's commandment given to the Lord-mayor, and himself, they had published that, which his Majesty had graciously expressed at his entry into the city, not only to particular men thereof, but at a Common-council, which is the representative body of the City; and there made known the most gracious acceptance, by

both their Majesties, of the endeavours of the Citizens, for their welcome and entertainment that day.

That after the publishing of it, they all forthwith with one heart and one voice, earnestly entreated and pressed the Lord-mayor, that by his means, and in such way as he should think fit, their most humble and hearty thanks might be rendered, and presented to both their Majesties, for that singular honour they had done the City, in vouchsafing their presence among them; and for those real testimonies his Majesty had given, of his princely favour and affection towards them, tending so much to their profit and advantage; and especially, for both their Majesties' gracious acceptance of their poor, though hearty endeavours, with these, and the like expressions, which came from among them: 'that if they had done a thousand times more, it had been but their duty; that the memory of this honour, and these favours, should ever live among them; that it should be preserved to posterity; that their desires and studies should be, as much as in them lay, that they might be thought worthy of these honours and favours, and of so good and gracious a King and Queen.'

Thus the Lord-mayor had required us that were present, to attend their Majesties with this message from the City, and to make this thankful acknowledgment to them: beseeching their Majesties, as an addition to their former favours, to take it in good part from them. And this was the first part of our errand.

That we had two humble petitions to prefer to both their Majesties, and we had the rise and encouragement to both, from that which his Majesty was pleased to deliver to us.

Our first petition was; That their Majesties would vouchsafe this honour to the City, if it might stand with their good pleasures, to make their residence, at this season of the year, at the palace of Whitehall.[3] Their presence was very joyful to us, and his Majesty was pleased to tell us, that he would study our prosperity, and restore the trade of the City, which of late had been in some disorder. Their residence there would give a good quickening to the retailing trade, and, by consequence, to the merchant.

Our second was; Whereas, since his happy return hither, there had been some late disorders about Westminster, among some people that met there: that their Majesties would not impute this, to the body of the City, or to the better sort of Citizens. We held it a misfortune, and a scandal upon us, that when those disorders were mentioned, the City was named with it; and that our desire was, to vindicate and redeem it, by some public disavowing of it. And we could not begin better, than in the presence of their Majesties; and besought their Majesties to take it into their consideration, that the skirts of the City, where the Lord-mayor and magistrates of London have neither power nor liberty, are more populous, than the City itself, fuller of the meaner sort of people: and if any dwellers in the City should be actors in it, (as who can deny, but, among millions of people, some there may be,) yet their purpose was unknown to us. And to give their Majesties some assurance herein, there were some present there among us, men, that had lived in the city above forty years together, that knew the City, and the better sort of Citizens; and were at Westminster, attending other occasions, when those people met there, and took a heedful view of them; and they have affirmed, that they knew not the face of one man among them."

Mr. Recorder having ended, his Majesty presently and graciously gave answer, thus in effect: "That he was very well pleased with the hearty and loyal affections of the Citizens, for which, he gave them great thanks. And, for the first petition, though he and her Majesty had before proposed to winter at Hampton-Court, yet being now fully persuaded, that the Lord-mayor and Aldermen, and the most considerable part of the citizens of London, had not any hand in the disorders mentioned by Mr. Recorder, in his second petition; he intended (and so he knew her Majesty would) to alter his resolution,

[3] [The mob had behaved so insolently to the king at Whitehall, as to induce him to remove to Hampton-Court. Tumults had also taken place at Westminster and Lambeth, on account of the bishops.]

and with all convenient speed repair to Whitehall; there to keep their Christmas, and be ready to do any thing else, that might promote the trade of the City; desiring Mr. Recorder to join with him, in taking some course, for prevention of the like disorders for the future."

After his Majesty had ended his answer, and that Mr. Recorder and Sir George Whitmore had kissed his royal hand, the next Alderman in seniority kneeled down, to receive the like princely favour; when suddenly, and unexpectedly, his Majesty drew a sword, and instead of giving him his hand to kiss, he laid his sword upon his shoulder, and knighted him: the like he did to the other Aldermen and two Sheriffs, being in number seven.

This done, their Majesties gave them their hands to kiss; the like princely favour vouchsafed they to the commoners of the committee; and after many gracious demonstrations of love to them and the whole City, his Majesty commanded that they should dine before they left the court.

His Majesty's command was fully and effectually performed. For, as soon as they had, in most humble manner, taken their leaves of their Majesties, they were brought (by the right-honourable the Earl of Dorset, and by Mr. Comptroller, and other officers of the court) into a room, where a table was prepared for them, and no others, to dine at, where they were bountifully feasted; being honoured with the presence of the Earl of Dorset, who vouchsafed to dine with them, and, in their Majesties' names, gave them exceeding great welcome; expressing to them that love, which he ever hath abundantly manifested to the City. Mr. Comptroller likewise dined with them, using them with very great respect.

While they were at dinner, there came two gentlemen to them, one from his Majesty, the other from the Queen, to let them know, that their Majesties had remembered the health of the Lord-mayor, and the whole City; which they all entertained with all due respect, returning their humble thanks, for that their Majesties' extraordinary favour.

Dinner being done, they took their leaves of the honourable Earl, and other officers of quality and eminency of the court, and departed; returning to the Lord-mayor, with great joy and comfort, to whom they made relation of their Majesties' grace and favour to his Lordship, the whole City, and themselves.

Thus have you seen, as briefly as we could, the work of this day, and in it, as well the demonstration of the City's love, and dutiful affection to his Majesty and his royal Consort, as their Majesties' gracious and loving acceptation of it: the former being but the bounden service of good and loyal subjects; the other, an extraordinary act of favour and grace, worthy to be engraven in tables of brass, to be preserved to all posterity.

Nothing now remains, but that we, and all other his Majesty's loving and loyal people, heartily desire of God, to crown his Majesty with all spiritual and temporal blessings; that he may long and peaceably reign over us, to the re-establishing of pure religion, and the preservation of his church undefiled, as from idolatry and superstition, so from profaneness and schism: that we, and our posterity, may ever praise the glorious Name of God, in the great congregation, with unanimous and uniform consent, for all his blessings daily conferred upon us in his Majesty, and learn true and pious obedience to him, as set over us, for our good: that his kingdoms may flourish in peace and happiness; to God's glory, his Majesty's honour, and the good of all his loving subjects, who (we doubt not, but) to this will all heartily say, Amen.

A Diary of the Siege and Surrender of Limerick; with the Articles at large, both Civil and Military.[1] Published by Authority.

London, printed for R. Taylor, near Stationers-Hall, 1692.

[Quarto; containing thirty-six pages.]

The Publisher to the Reader.

THE following series, being a faithful diary of every day's motions and measures throughout the siege of Limerick, to the last finishing articles, both civil and military, past upon the surrender of it, I hope this narrative will make my reader no unacceptable present.

The time, I confess, has been, when this treatise would have been a more popular theme; the articles of the surrender of Limerick being, not long since, the subject of no common longings and curiosity. Upon perusal of which, the reader, I am certain, will join with me in this one just remark, that in all the glories of our deservingly great monarch, mercy is one of his most shining titles; his enemies have met that both unex-

[1] [Our political historian, Burnet, speaks thus of the siege of Limerick: and his account will serve to connect the diurnal observations contained in the present tract. 'Ginkle pursued his advantages, and having reduced 'all Connaught, he came and sat down before Limerick, and bombarded it; but that had no great effect; and 'though most of the houses were beat down, yet as long as the Connaught side was open, fresh men and provi-'sions were still brought into the place. When the men of war were come up near the town, Ginkle sent over 'a part of his army to the Connaught side, who fell upon some bodies of the Irish that lay there; and broke 'them, and pursued them so close, as they retired to Limerick, that the French governor D'Usson, fearing that 'the English would have come in with them, drew up the bridge, so that many of them were killed and drowned. 'This contributed very much towards heightening the prejudices which the Irish had against the French. The 'latter were so inconsiderable, that if Sarsfield and some of the Irish had not joined with them, they could not 'have made their party good. The earl of Tyrconnel had, with a particular view, studied to divert the French 'from sending over soldiers into Ireland; for he designed, in case of new misfortunes, to treat with the king, 'and to preserve himself and his friends; and now he began to dispose the Irish to think of treating, since they 'saw that otherwise their ruin was inevitable. But as soon as this was suspected, all the military men, who re-'solved to give themselves entirely up to the French interest, combined against him, and blasted him as a feeble 'and false man, who was not to be trusted. This was carried so far; that to avoid affronts, he was advised to 'leave the army: and he staid all this summer at Limerick, where he died of grief, as was believed: but before 'he died, he advised all that came to him not to let things go to extremities, but to accept of such terms as 'could be got: and his words seemed to weigh more after his death than in his life-time; for the Irish began 'generally to say, that they must take care of themselves, and not be made sacrifices to serve the ends of the 'French: this was much heightened by the slaughter of the Irish, whom the French governor had shut out, and 'left to perish.

'They wanted no provisions in Limerick; and a squadron of French ships stood over to that coast, which 'was much stronger than ours that had sailed up to the town; so it was to be feared, that they might come into 'the river to destroy our ships. To hinder that, another squadron of English men-of-war was ordered thither. 'Yet the French did not think fit to venture their ships within the Shannon, where they had no places of shelter. 'The misunderstanding that daily grew between the Irish and the French was great; and all appearances of re-'lief sailing from France failing, made them resolve to capitulate. This was very welcome to Ginkle and his 'army, who began to be in great want; for that country was quite wasted, having been the seat of war for 'three years: and all their draught-horses were so wearied out, that their camp was often ill-supplied. When 'they came to capitulate, the Irish insisted on very high demands, which was set on by the French, who hoped 'they would be rejected: but the king had given Ginkle secret directions, that he should grant all the demands 'they could make, that would have put an end to that war. So every thing was granted, to the great disap-'pointment of the French, and the no small grief of some of the English, who hoped this war should have ended 'in the total ruin of the Irish interest.'——History of his own Times, Lond. 1734, fol. ii. 80.]

pected and unmerited clemency, in his majesty's most gracious concessions towards them, that plainly tells the world, the whole business of his arms was to reclaim, not vanquish; he infringes not liberty, even where he makes subjection.

There is one farther recommendation to our short, but glorious history, *viz.* that what I here present you, is the work of English hands; and that, without vanity, the whole progress of the late English arms, in Ireland, has as much signalized the true British valour, as any of the antiquer monuments of our remoter recorded predecessors. And, indeed, to crown all these glorious successes, there seems to be a continued chain of providences attending that whole expedition; for, not to instance his majesty's prodigious victory at the Boyne, with which all tongues are already filled; together with that famous battle at Aghrim, where fortune, for some hours, stood dubious; and, indeed, the whole conduct and zeal of the renowned general, Ginckle, who challenges our no common applause and veneration: perhaps, nothing was more remarkably signal, than the siege of Athlone; affording, possibly, one of the fairest laurels through that whole scene of British glory. For when, after our possession of the hither part of the town, the enemy, who had broken down the bridge, had so often burnt our fascines, and so resolutely opposed our passage that way; insomuch that the general, despairing of approaching on that side, had resolved to draw off, and pass the Shannon higher above the town, (though so late in the year, and the summer so far advanced,) to begin a new siege on the other side, in the face of the Irish army that lay incamped there: it was, I say, major, now lieutenant-general Talmache's proposal, at a council of war, (in which he very hardly prevailed) to head, as a volunteer, a select party of 1500, and wade the river, to enter the breach. Which he executed with that celerity and courage, that the storming and taking of that important place was an action unprecedented, and inimitable; with so poor a handful, to push so bold a sword, and carry so entire a victory, against so great a strength within, and the whole Irish army but an hour's march without, was an enterprise so hardy, and that so purely and wholly his own, that posterity will read it with wonder; and which, to his lasting fame, will supply as gallant a memorial, as ever adorned the English annals.

And as the early conquest of that garrison was the key, that, soon after, opened the gates of Galway and Limerick; and, consequently, the expeditious reduction of Ireland, so highly both to the English glory, his majesty's interest, and the advantage of Christendom, was so much owing to that memorable action; I may justly say, that, whatever other hands joined in the accomplishing, the only hand, that shortened the great work, was Talmache's; and it was by his conduct and gallantry, in that eminent service, that 1691 saw that finished, which, otherwise, had been the subject of a longer, if not a more hazardous dispute.

AUGUST, 1691, the general[2] having resolved on the forming of the siege of Limerick, and, in order thereunto, having given orders for capt. Coal, with his squadron, to sail down the Shannon, and for the immediate marching of twenty-six whole cannon, mortars, &c. from Athlone, to meet him there: on the 3d of August, the whole army passed the

[2] [Godert de Ginkell, a Dutch baron, who, upon being promoted by king William to the post of lieutenant-general of his forces in Ireland, gave signal proofs of his courage and conduct in reducing the kingdom to obedience; as is fully shewn in the public histories of that king's reign. At the sieges of Ballymore and Athlone, and at the battle of Aghrim, his army proved victorious, in the face of every danger and difficulty; and by the success of the hazardous siege of Limerick he put an end to opposition; and thus, in a few months, by the extraordinary bravery and unwearied expedition of this great general, was accomplished the reduction of the whole kingdom.

Upon receiving the thanks of the house of commons by their speaker, 4th January 1692, he returned in answer, "I acknowledge this distinguishing honour done me by the house of commons, which I value above a triumph; the success of their majesties' arms in Ireland was owing to the valour of the English; and I will take care to communicate the vote of the house to the officers that served in Ireland; and always endeavour the prosperity of their majesties and the government." As a reward for his services, he had a grant of the forfeited estate of William Dougan, earl of Limerick; and by patent, 4th March 1692, he was created earl of Athlone

Shannon at Banahar-bridge, and came the same night to Birr, which place is distant from Limerick thirty miles. The general having received an account, by deserters, that brigadier Carral was posted with a party of Irish, at a place called Nenagh (which is a pass fourteen miles from Limerick) gave orders to brigadier Levison, with a detached party, to go and attack the said place; who marched from the camp early this morning, with five hundred horse and dragoons.

4th. Brigadier Levison, with his party, got yesterday in the evening to Nenagh; at whose approach, the governor Carral set the town on fire, and then quitted it in great haste, but the fire was soon put out by eleven of our men, who happened to be prisoners there, and were left behind.

5th. This day, we marched from Birr, and marched to a place called Burraskeen, where we incamped the same night.

6th. This evening, we reached Nenagh. Here we received an account, that brigadier Levison, with his horse and dragoons, pursued Carral, and his party, so closely, and so far; that within four miles of Limerick, he took all their baggage, amongst which were two rich coats of long Anthony Carral's, one valued at eighty pounds, the other at forty guineas, and about forty pistoles in gold; as also four-hundred and fifty head of large black cattle, and some sheep, which the enemy's sudden flight would not suffer them to carry off.

7th. This morning, a party marched from the camp towards Killaloo, in search of the rebels, who killed two, and took about nine prisoners, (which were all of the enemy they could meet with,) and in the evening returned to the camp with a great prey of cattle.

8th. Some pioneers, under the convoy of a good party of horse and dragoons, marched this morning towards the silver-mines, to mend the roads for our carriages. A brigadier, and two of the late king James's horse-guards, who deserted the enemy, came into the camp, with their horses and accoutrements, and advised us, "That the enemy were intrenching themselves near Carrick-Inlish."

9th. Lieutenant-colonel Oxborough, with a lieutenant, the servants and accoutrements, came over to us, from the enemy; as also did another officer and eleven musqueteers, with their arms. A man and a woman were this day hanged in the camp; the man for robbing, and the woman for murdering one of our soldiers near Galway. Mr. Richards, secretary, and adjutant-general to Baldarick O'Donnel, who had been with the general in the camp four or five days; went hence this day for Dublin, to confer with the lords justices.

10th. Several considerable deserters came into our camp, this day, from the enemy's quarters: they gave us an account,—That both French and Irish were mightily surprized to find our ships in the Shannon; having been possessed, that the French were masters at sea, and that we durst not adventure so far.

11th. This morning we decamped from Nenagh, and the same night we came to a place called Shalley, about two miles from the silver-mines, a very wild part of the country.

12. This day we marched again, and came to a small village called Tulla; here we incamped, and lay till the 13th; on which day we decamped, and came that day to Carrick-Inlish, which is situate about four miles from Limerick.

14th. This day the general went out of the camp, at the head of fifteen-hundred detached horse and dragoons; advancing with them within sight of Limerick; and having beaten in the enemy's outguards, took a view of their works from the hill, where our artillery incamped the last year. In the evening, the general returned again to the camp.

and baron of Aghrim. Ginkell afterwards served with good repute in the Netherlands, and on the death of prince Saarbruck, succeeded him as Veldt marshal of the armies of the States-General; which honour he did not long enjoy; dying 11th February 1702, at a time when his presence was most wanting. From this great man is descended the present earl of Athlone. Vide Lodge's Irish Peerage.]

15th. This day several deserters came over to us, and confirmed an account we had before received, That Sarsfield[3], with the enemy's horse, was retired to the other side of the Shannon; being incamped in the county of Clare, about four miles above Limerick; and that their foot were drawn in within their retrenchments. They informed us likewise, that the earl of Tyrconnel was very ill, and had received the extreme-unction.

16th. This afternoon, sir John Hanmore, with five regiments of foot, from Cork and the neighbouring garrisons, joined us. Major-general La Forest marched out of the camp this day, with a strong detachment of horse and foot, towards Athlone; to meet that part of our artillery that were coming from thence, under the convoy of col. Lloyd's regiment: these guns consist of nine twenty-four-pounders, nine eighteen-pounders, and four large mortars, being an addition to the train of artillery we brought with us from Galway.

17th. This morning, three deserters came into our camp, who brought us the following accounts: That the earl of Tyrconnel died on the 14th, the ill condition of the Irish affairs having broke his heart; that he was buried at Limerick on the 16th; and that a commission was produced from the late king, which Mr. Plowden (formerly one of the commissioners of the revenue in Ireland) brought lately from France, appointing sir Alexander Fitton, sir Richard Neagle, and the said Plowden, justices of Ireland.

18th. We had an account this day, that col. Henry Lutterel had been lately seized at Limerick, by order of the French lieutenant-general D'Ussoon, for having made some proposals for a surrender of the place, and that he was sentenced, by a court-martial, to be shot; upon which the general sent them word by a trumpet, "That, if they put any man to death for having a mind to come over to us, he would revenge it on the Irish."

19th. This day several notorious rapparees were brought prisoners into our camp. It rained very hard this day, as it likewise did for several days past; which very much retarded the march of the artillery, in their way to Athlone.

20th. This afternoon, two troopers of the late earl of Tyrconnel's regiment, and a dragoon, deserted the enemy, and came over to us.

21st. Major O'Connor, who was governor of Banahar, and surrendered it on condition of marching out with his men, hath since been in Limerick; and, upon view of the condition of that place, and consideration of the wants of the Irish, and their impending ruin, came over to us this day: also nine more of the Irish army, well mounted and equipped, came over to us. This day there came into our camp twenty-nine tin boats, which were brought from Athlone to Killaloo by water. Col. Lumly, who had been abroad as far as Charleville, with a good party of horse and dragoons, returned again this evening, with a prey of two-hundred and fifty black cattle, three-hundred sheep, and some horses.

22d. Our men were employed all this day in cutting of fascines, and in making other necessary preparations for the siege of Limerick, whither the excessive rains, lately fallen, still obstructed our march, as also the coming up of our cannon and mortars; which, we were advised, were last night near Birr.

23d. One Sheldon, a lieutenant in the Irish royal regiment, and one Dowdal, an Irish counsellor, made their escape from the enemy this day, and came over to us.

[3] [The best officer in the Irish service, who adhered to James II. In 1690 he had nearly surprized and carried off king William, who too little regarded his personal safety. Failing in this enterprise, he intercepted and captured a valuable convoy; though his troops were inferior in numbers to William's forces. He remained in James's army in Limerick until that place was obliged to surrender; but even then he demanded and obtained honourable conditions for himself and his friends. The Dutch general Ginkell and Sarsfield held several conferences in the camp of the former; and when both were exasperated, Sarsfield said, "I know I am in your power." "No (returned Ginkell) you shall be conducted to your garrison, and the sword shall decide it." But soon after these two valiant and wise men agreed to terms, which secured all that Sarsfield could reasonably wish to obtain; for every thing was restored to Ireland and its inhabitants which they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. The fates of the generals were very similar: William created Ginkell earl of Athlone; James raised Sarsfield to the earldom of Lucan: titles of little service to either, for Ginkell, deprived by the parliament of all the estates William gave him, returned in disgust to Holland; and Sarsfield left his native plains, to die, in 1693, a banished man in France.——Noble's Biog. Hist. of England, i. 75.]

24th. To prevent the abuses committed by sutlers, who had about this time excessively raised the rate of bread and drink, the general this day published an order, and thereby settled the price of all manner of provisions in the camp; forbidding all persons to exceed the rates so settled, on pain of forfeiting their goods, and suffering a month's imprisonment. Two rapparees were this day hanged; being convicted by a court-martial for burning of houses. Two of sir John Lanier's troopers, and a North-country sutler, were likewise condemned: the two first, for robbing capt. Watts, an officer in the same regiment; and the other, for buying the captain's watch, which was stolen, and sold to him by the troopers.

25th. The general having sent out major Slundt with two-hundred and fifty fresh draught-horses to hasten the coming up of our guns, &c. and ordered our ships in the Shannon to come nearer Limerick; and being himself, as well as the whole army, very impatient in lying here, gave orders last night for our march: pursuant to which, about five this morning we decamped, and all moved towards Limerick, except two regiments of foot, and an hundred horses, which remained in our camp as a rear-guard, for the security of our tin-boats, and the rest of our artillery, &c. as also to wait for major-general La Forest's coming up with our heavy cannon, mortars, &c. who last night incamped within four miles of us. By three this afternoon, we came before two of the enemy's out-forts; the one an old church, the other Cromwell's, or rather Ireton's fort: the latter well fortified with a very good ditch, and lines of communication with the town, and both well manned. In the former were five-hundred musqueteers; but neither of them gave us much trouble, the garrisons in both running away upon our first advance. On the left of our army, was a very good fort, built last winter, guarded by six-hundred men, which was bravely attacked by eighty of our English grenadiers, who (receiving a volley of their shot with small damage) mounted the works, and carried the place, and drove the enemy into the covered way they had from the fort to the town: our men, having received another volley, pursued them to their next outworks to the town, and in this action killed near an hundred, and took sixteen prisoners. Col. Donep of the Danish horse, who commanded our advanced party of horse, was slain by a chance cannon-shot. The general, expecting the enemy would make a sally, commanded the troopers should lie all night at their horses' heads.

26th. This afternoon our cannon and mortars, with eight-hundred carts of ball and bombs, and eight-hundred barrels of powder, arrived here from Athlone. This night we broke ground, and began to work on our lines of communication; making our approaches with very small loss.

27th. Early this morning, the prince Darmstadt, with his own, col. Tiffin's, and col. St. John's regiment of foot, and about seven-hundred horse, marched hence to reduce Castle-Connel, where the enemy had a very good garrison. Another party marched hence, with four guns, to take in two or three castles, which the enemy had garrisoned down the river. This night the enemy fired so hard, from two guns they had drawn below the town, on our left, that it obliged our men to move a little farther off, till they could be better secured. This morning, orders were given for fitting a thousand hand-granadoes, and six-hundred bombs, to be ready against eight at night. This day, our fleet, which were ordered from Galway, being about eighteen sail, under the command of capt. Coal, came up the Shannon towards the town; firing so briskly as they passed by the enemy's camp at Crattalogue, that they made many of them run to the adjacent hills: our ships came to an anchor, about three miles below the town.

28th. This morning the general went on-board the fleet, but staid not long there: the weather, about this time, began to be pretty good. Carrick-Gunnel castle, whose garrison was one-hundred and thirty-men, and two captains, commanded by one Archbold, surrendered upon mercy, and the prisoners were immediately put into the provost's custody; and this night was surrendered likewise the castle of Ballycullare, and another strong castle, on the Shannon; in all the several castles, we took about nine-hundred prisoners. Our men were very busy, all this day, on our line of communication. This

morning, our light frigates came and anchored within sight of the town; captain Coal lying with the rest about six miles off: the Irish, upon the first appearance of them, expressed a mighty joy, believing them to be French; and were as much troubled, when they found their mistake.

29th. This morning, our ships began to unload ammunition, &c. This evening, our line of communication was finished, the guns and mortars were drawn down, and mounted thereon; and this night, about eleven, our mortars began to play, and threw above a hundred bombs and carcasses into the town; which, besides their other execution, fired the town in three several places. Upwards of four-hundred prisoners, taken in the three several places before-mentioned, were, this day, sent hence to Clonmell, under a good guard of horse and dragoons. About ten this night, (to encourage the foot, and to prevent their being too much fatigued) six-hundred troopers on foot were commanded down to the trenches, to raise another battery, much nearer to the town than the first.

31st. Early this morning, the troopers had finished their battery. About two this morning, a body of four-hundred horse and dragoons, commanded by brigadier Levison, went hence towards the county of Kerry; about eleven of the clock, we played from our new battery. This night, two-hundred of the Protestant inhabitants of Limerick, or thereabouts, most of them women and children, were brought off from an island in the Shannon, where the Irish detained them prisoners; the manner of relieving them was thus: Major Joseph Stroud, who commands, in chief, the militia of the county of Cork, garrisoned at Annaghbeg, as he was, on the thirtieth at night, relieving his guards, a captain-lieutenant, coronet, and a trooper, all of the Irish army, deserted, and came over to him: one of them proposed a piece of service, which major Stroud readily accepted; which was, to bring off some Protestants from an island in the Shannon, called St. Thomas's Island: whereupon the major (immediately taking with him sixteen dragoons with them, in four cots,) entered the island, and brought off two-hundred Protestants, that were in great misery, being almost starved for want of food, having only two small cabbins to shelter them from the weather, and but a little hay to lie on; they also brought off a prey of forty-six horses. Yesterday, and this day, we played from our cannon and mortars, very briskly, with very good execution, as we were told by a captain, two lieutenants, and eleven dragoons, who deserted the enemy, and came over to us this evening.

September 1. This morning, colonel Wolsey went from our camp, with five-hundred horse and dragoons towards Killaloo; it being reported, that Sarsfield was moving that way. We still continued to batter and bombard the town very furiously. One-hundred and twenty of the rebels, who were taken twenty miles off, were, last night, brought prisoners into the camp.

2d. This morning an express arrived in the camp, (being sent by brigadier Levison to the general, dated yesterday, near New-Market,) which advises, that having intelligence on Monday evening, where the lord Merrion's and the lord Brittas's[4] regiments of horse were, he marched towards them, and by one of the clock in the morning, fell in with them; killed a great number of them in the place, cutting off several entire troops, very few escaping, and had taken the lord Castleconnel's lady, and divers other prisoners; as also, a good prey of cattle. In this action, major Wood had his leg broke by a shot from the enemy, which was the most of our loss: our guns and mortars played incessantly, all last night and this day. A court-martial was this day held, whereof the earl of Droghedah[5] was president; where a woman which pretended she came for a protection for cattle, was condemned for persuading some French soldiers (whom she took for papists) to desert, and go over to the Irish: several others were also found guilty of stealing. This day we had finished two batteries more; one of fourteen pieces, the other of ten; all eighteen and

[4] [Theobald, the third lord Brittas, who forfeited his honour for his adherence to king James; being outlawed in 1691.]

[5] [Henry, the third earl of Drogheda, who led the advanced guard on the first approach of the army to the former unsuccessful siege of Limerick, Aug. 1690. Lodge's Irish Peerage.]

twenty-four-pounders. Our lines of communication being finished, we began this day to work on a line of circumvallation.

3d. By a dragoon of col. Nugent's, who, this day, came over to us from the enemy, we were advised, That the enemies' horse and dragoons were at Annahbeg, about three miles above Limerick, where they lay incamped; that they wanted bread and salt, and were very ill clad, as was also the deserter. This evening the general went to view their camp, to make which look great, the enemy had set up all their sheets and blankets, to make a show of tents.

4th. This day, the princess of Denmark's regiment joined us. This evening, three-hundred horse and dragoons marched from the camp towards Kerry, to re-inforce brigadier Levison, who was ordered to reduce that country, and all the garrisons betwixt Limerick and Cork. We were all yesterday, and this day, employed in unshipping our guns, mortars, stores, &c. and joining them to the train. This night, we began to work on a new battery of twenty-two guns, the least eighteen-pounders, and eleven mortars, from eighteen inches three quarters, to seventy and an half diameter, on the right of the town, and within carbine-shot of the wall. Our men worked some time unperceived; but the moon rising, discovered us to the enemy, who played incessantly upon us, and killed seven or eight men; however, we still continued working thereon. This day, we finished our line of contravallation, with four forts for the defence of it.

5th. Most of this day proving wet, hindered our working on the great battery. Deserters, that came in this day, informed us, that the enemy that were incamped at the Lower Town, were regiments of dragoons to guard the fords of the river; and with the rest, and eight regiments of horse, they were resolved to dispute our passage.

6th. The rain continuing to fall heavily this day, prevented our working at the great battery, and finishing it this night, as we expected. By deserters, that came into the camp this day from the town, we were informed, that Monsieur D'Ussoon, the French general, had much ado to keep the rapparees, that came from Aghrim, from mutinying: that he had promised them, that if a supply of money, ammunition, and provisions came not from France in twelve days, he would dismiss them.

7th. This morning, the general (having received advice, that the Irish of the county of Kerry were numerous, and, being armed, designed to oppose brigadier Levison,) ordered the princess of Denmark's, and another regiment of foot, to march and join the brigadier. Soon after, we had an account, that the brigadier's party had taken several preys, in which were above a thousand head of cattle, a great many horses, some of them very good; as also abundance of sheep, goats, and hogs. Deserters, that came into the camp this day, told us, that our bombs had set divers houses on fire, but that it was soon quenched, the buildings being most of stone, and very strong; and that the second bomb that was thrown, killed the lady Dillon, and wounded some others.

8th. The general resolved to attack Limerick on the English-town side, which is to our right; in order to which, our approaches were carried on with such celerity, that, in four days time, we run our lines so near to the enemy, that we could annoy one another with our small-shot. By this day we had raised a line composed of several batteries, *viz.* one to the left, of ten field-pieces, to shoot red-hot balls; another of thirty guns, one battery of eight mortars and of six, and another, on Ireton's fort, which much annoyed the Irish town, of five mortars, and eight guns, twelve and eighteen-pounders, and a fort, to secure our lines of battery. At four this morning we fired a great mortar, but the shell, bursting in her, flung both the mortar and carriage two yards off the flooring. We soon discharged fourteen twenty-four, and three eighteen-pounders, which, like a volley of small-shot, for the closeness of firing, opened a breach in the wall, at which, two coaches might enter abreast, and filled the counterscarp with its ruins; and, all this day, we continued to ply the town with fire-balls, carcasses, and bombs, which did them much mischief.

9th. Our cannon and mortars continued to play without intermission: that of our great battery had this day made a breach in the wall of the English town, of about thirty yards

wide. This day, we finished another battery, which played upon St. John's gate, in the Irish town; and, this day, we began to work on two other batteries, one of seven eighteen-pounders, and the other of sixteen twenty-four-pounders. About two this afternoon, a body of the enemy came out, and appeared, as if they intended a sally, but designed only to secure a ditch that lay betwixt them and our batteries; which was no sooner known, but our men marched down upon them and beat them back into the town; killing about thirty, with the loss only of one grenadier. Our guns and mortars continued to play into the town all this night, without intermission.

10th. Early this morning, one of the enemy's captains came to us out of the town, and gave an account, That yesterday, in beating the enemy into the town, we killed two of their majors, and one of our bombs killed monsieur La Four, who was brother to the governor; and that the governor and officers, to keep up the hearts of the town and garrison, assured them, that the French fleet had totally beat the English and Dutch, and forced those English vessels, with captain Cole, into the Shannon; but that this day, or within forty-eight hours, a squadron of French would come into the river to their relief, and wholly destroy the English; &c. All this day we continued firing, and about six, at night, the town appeared on fire, in many places; to prevent its spreading, the enemy blew up divers houses and buildings; notwithstanding which, some very considerable place continued burning with great violence, until two the next morning.

11th. This morning some officers of sir Albert Cunningham's regiment of dragoons came to the camp, with an express from their lieutenant-colonel Echlin, of the loss of their colonel, and to pray the general's favour, to have the regiment. The said colonel of sir Albert Cunningham's regiment, being detached from the camp, to join the forces for the reducing of Sligo; and he staying after them, did follow with ten men only, as a guard. In their march upon the hills near Boyle, they unhappily mistook their way in a fog, and fell into the hands of two or three hundred rapparees, to whom they sold their lives, at the utmost rate, killing about twenty-five; but were at last overpowered, and cut in pieces: whose blood was soon revenged by Baldarick O'Donnel, who was in hearing of the guns, but came too late, to save the brave colonel. However, he killed many of them, and routed the rest. We continued to batter and bomb the town, all this day and all night.

12th. All last night and this day we fired furiously into the town without intermission, and our breach was widened seventy paces; this day we began to prepare our floating bridges, in order to pass over the water, but whether to the island, or above the town, to gain the other side, was at that time a secret. This morning came to us ten dragoons and an officer, deserters; who said, that in the great fire that was in the town on the tenth at night, the bombs set fire to three magazines; one of powder, which, in blowing up, set fire unto, and burnt great part of the English town, and did much other mischiefs; the other two of beef, biscuit, oats, brandy, and wine, which was all destroyed, and would be soon wanted amongst them.

13th. All this day we continued firing into the town; and the deserters came in this day, and informed us, that our ball, bombs, carcasses, &c. had ruined the greater part of the English town. Our cannon now mounted were sixty pieces, none less than twelve-pounders. This day the general sent an express to the queen.

14th. This morning the general sent two regiments towards Clonmell and Waterford, to re-inforce the militia, there being many prisoners in the latter, and the Irish in those parts grew insolent. His excellency also sent money and guards to support them, with orders to blow up and demolish castle Connel, and the other castles we had taken near Limerick, on the Shannon, and elsewhere; to prevent their being any more nests of rebels, rapparees, &c. This day, near sixty waggons of good wool, taken from the enemy, were put on-board our ships.

15th. We continued all this day to bomb and batter the town, and made the breaches so wide, that we could plainly see into the town, which looked ruinous. The enemy made much sod-works, and a very deep trench or ditch, with pallisadoes and stockadoes; yet the men continued impatient to storm it. About three this afternoon, the lord Lisburne was

unfortunately killed by a cannon-ball from the town, as he was coming out of his tent, which he had placed in the trenches. This evening our cannon were thrice discharged, and our army made several volleys, in demonstration of their joy for the great defeat given to the Turks by the emperor's forces. This night we again fired the town, which burnt furiously for two hours.

16th. The general having resolved to pass the Shannon, it was given out, to amuse the enemy, that we were going to raise the siege; and for the better colouring that pretence, a large mortar, and two or three guns (which, by often firing, had been rendered unserviceable) were drawn off, in sight of the town, towards the shipping. About ten last night, orders were given to carry our floats and pontoons to a place appointed for laying our bridge, about a mile above the English town, to cover the workmen, who were about six-hundred in number. A detachment of an hundred grenadiers was sent, in four boats, over to St. Thomas's island; from whence, to the other side of the river, were two or three shallow fords. They lay there undiscovered, till it was almost morning; when a trooper, that was patrolling, first saw them, and gave notice to four regiments of the enemies' dragoons, who, with some foot, were posted with two parties under the command of brigadier Clifford, not far from thence; upon which, those that lay nearest our bridge, made some shot at us. About seven of the clock the bridge was finished, and the general immediately ordered the royal regiment of dragoons to pass; who drew up on the side of the river, and made way for the grenadiers and fusiliers, that followed; these were supported by four battalions of foot, and several squadrons of horse. In the mean time, the enemies' dragoons came down on foot to oppose us; but as soon as our men advanced, they took to their heels; leaving their tents and baggage, with their bridles and saddles, (their horses being at grass, at a place about two miles off,) behind them: we took also two pieces of brass cannon, and brigadier Maxwell's[6] standard. In this action we had but one man killed, and the enemy not many; for they ran immediately, and great numbers of them afterwards took the advantage of that confusion, and deserted. We took several prisoners, and, among them, a French lieutenant-colonel of dragoons, and some other officers, who confirmed what we had heard before of the burning the two stores of biscuit, and one of brandy. By this time, the main body of the enemies' horse, who were commanded in chief by Sarsfield, and lay there incamped near the town of Killaloo, took the alarm, and drew out; making a show, as if they designed to fight us; but it proved only a stratagem to get time to secure their tents and baggage in decamping; which they did, but in great confusion, marching away immediately towards the mountains. Our horse returned to the camp, and the foot were posted at the head of the bridge; a detachment being first sent to summon a castle, which is very advantageously situated in the middle of the Shannon: upon our party's coming before it, they immediately capitulated, but were allowed no other terms, than to be made prisoners of war: the garrison consisted of about sixty men: soon after, we took in another post; both of which proved of great use to us.

17th. This day, one Taaf, a very sensible man, and a captain of the Irish royal regiment of foot, came over to us; and informed us, that our bombs and cannon had killed great numbers of their garrison, and left few houses standing in the town. Notwithstanding our being busied in passing the Shannon, we fired plentifully the last night into the town, and continued to do the like all this day. This day, eleven of the enemies' troops came over to us, with their horses, arms, and accoutrements; and, for their better encouragement, were immediately received into our troops. This evening, the standard and two fine brass field-pieces, taken from the enemy at our passing the Shannon, were brought into the camp.

18th. Orders were this day sent, by the general, to captain Coal, to land some men out of his frigates, to destroy all the forage in those parts of the county of Clare near the water-side.

19th. These two days, we were busied in lengthening our bridge of boats, which pro-

[6] [A gentleman of a good family in Scotland, and probably a branch of the Maxwells, earls of Nithisdale. From a colonel he rose to be a major-general, and commander of the dragoons in Ireland.]

ving too short at first laying over the river, was bravely supplied by the forwardness of our soldiers, who marched through the water, where the bridge proved deficient. This day, some of our militia brought into the camp three notorious rapparees, whom they took about twelve miles off.

20th. This day was chiefly spent in removing our float-bridge nearer the town, and in raising a battery for the security of it; we also secured a pass to the town, as likewise the pass of Annahbeg, where we went over the last year. This afternoon the general received an account from brigadier Levison, that, putting himself at the head of two-hundred and fifty horse and dragoons, he had again fallen upon the enemy in the county of Kerry, who were three-thousand strong, and had with them two entire regiments of dragoons; killed a great many of them, took divers officers prisoners, and quite dispersed the whole party; so that we were now entire masters of that county, which did not a little strengthen the enemy. The weather was now very bad, and much rain for these three days past; but this afternoon it cleared up, and began to be very fair again.

21st. All last night and this morning our guns continued to play furiously into the town. This afternoon, by an express to the general, we had advice in the camp of the surrender of Sligo: the manner as followeth. On the 10th instant, col. Michelbourn[7] marched with a detachment of his regiment, and five-hundred of the militia of the province of Sligo, two troops of dragoons of the army and six field-pieces, and incamped at Drumchefte, about three miles from Sligo, of which he gave an account to the earl of Granard, by a party of horse under the command of captain Vaughan. The 11th he advanced within half a mile of the town; but, the weather being wet, he could make no farther progress that day. On the 12th he drew out his men to attack the enemy, who at first made a show of opposing us, but presently after quitted the works, which they had cast up to defend the entrance into the town: our men pursued them, and forcing the rest of their outworks, beat them into the great fort, with the loss only, on our side, of an ensign killed, and five men wounded. On the 13th, the earl of Granard came with the forces under his command before the place. His lordship caused immediately batteries to be raised against the fort, and insinuated into the enemy such apprehensions of great cannon and mortars, which they were made to believe he had brought along with him, that they sent out to capitulate. The conditions were agreed and assigned, (much the same terms as Galway;) and the fort, which is very strong, was accordingly surrendered on the 15th, there marching out six-hundred men, under the command of sir Teague O'Regan. They left in the place sixteen pieces of cannon, and col. Michelbourn is made governor of it.

22d. Early this morning, the general, the duke of Wirtemburgh, and lieutenant-general Scravenmore, with all our horse and dragoons (except col. Coy's regiment of horse, and fifty out of each of the regiments of dragoons of the army) and ten regiments of foot, taking with them seven days provisions, and fourteen guns, (*viz.* ten three-pounders, and four twelve-pounders,) marched over our bridge of boats into the county of Clare. In the mean while, the major-generals Mackay and Talmash[8] commanded the rest of the army, for the security of the works on Lempster-side of the river, from whence we still continued to fire day and night into the town; whence also they fired at our men as they passed by. About twelve at noon, all our men had passed the bridge, and were drawn up before the town on Clare-side; the enemy playing upon them all from the castle and several towers, both with great and small shot, but with little execution. And, about two, eighteen of col. Matthews's dragoons (being our advanced party) were attacked by the advanced party of the Irish, who out-numbered them; and both parties were sustained from each side till about four, that the float came up, when began a warm dispute; and the place being near the town, the enemy played upon us at the same time with their cannon from the castle, and their small-shot from the walls, which neither dismayed, nor did

[7] [An officer who was in the royal army in Ireland at the time of the Revolution, and one of the garrison of Londonderry during the whole of the memorable siege of that place.]

[8] [Or Tollmach; a brave officer, who, joining in the revolution, did great service in Ireland. He afterwards served upon the Continent, and received his death-wound at the unfortunate attack upon Brest, 1694.]

much mischief to our men. About five, the general ordered a detachment to attack the fort near Thomond-Bridge, which commands both the bridge and the king's island; and though two great detachments sallied out of the town to support those that defended it, we carried it, and pursued the enemy over the bridge to the town: but the besieged, perceiving our men at their heels, drew up the draw-bridge, leaving above six-hundred of them to the fury of our soldiers, some of whom were pressed into the Shannon, and the rest killed by our men. In this action we took twenty-one commissioned officers, amongst whom were col. Shelton, two lieutenant-colonels, three majors, five captains, and the rest subalterns. We took also forty-seven common soldiers, three brass guns, two three-pounders, and one twelve-pounder, and five colours; the general very well rewarding the soldiers which brought them in. We lost not one officer of note, but had killed about two-hundred of common soldiers. We immediately posted ourselves in all their works and forts on that side the water. This day one-hundred head of black cattle, taken in the late action, and six-hundred more, taken by brigadier Levison in Kerry, were brought into the camp.

23d. All yesterday, and last night, our guns and mortars continued firing into the town. This morning, col. Corbet came over to us from the enemy, and proposed to the general the bringing over Tyrconnel's and Galway's regiments of horse, and out of them, to make one good regiment, to serve their majesties in Flanders.

24th. About four of the clock this afternoon, the enemy beat a parley round the town, desiring to capitulate about the surrender.

25th. This day the earl of Westmeath, col. Sheldon, the lord Galway, lord Dillon, Nicholas Purcel, esq. (commonly called baron of Loughmore,) the titular primate, the titular archbishop of Cashel, sir Theobald Butler, major Cordon, and some others, came to the camp, from the enemies' horse-camp, dined with the general, and after a large conference, went hence into the town. The cessation, which began yesterday upon the besieged's parleying, continued till ten o'clock the next morning.

26th. Sarsfield and Wahop, and two brigadiers of the Irish army, came into the camp from the town, and came to a resolution with the general, about the treaty, and in order to it, that hostages should be exchanged; accordingly, in the afternoon, the earl of Westmeath, lord Lowth, lord Evagh, and lord Trimlestown, came hostages from the besieged; and in exchange of them, the general sent in my lord Cutts, sir David Collier, col. Tiffin, and col. Pyper.

27th. This morning the besieged sent their proposals to the general, which were so unreasonable, that the general returned them with disdain, and ordered our bombardiers and gunners to make ready to play again into the town: accordingly all things were prepared, when the besieged, apprehensive of the consequence, sent out to know what terms his excellency would propose to them.

28th. Early this morning, Sarsfield, Wahop, Purcel of Loughmore, the titular primate, the titular archbishop of Cashel, Garret Dillon, sir Theobald Butler, and John Brown, (the three last counsellors at law,) with several other commissioners on the part of the enemy, came out of the town to the general's quarters, whither his excellency sent for all our general officers; where, after a long debate, articles were almost agreed on for the rendition, not only of Limerick, but of all the other forts and castles in the enemies' possession.

29th. We are now in possession of the Six-mile bridge, and other passes and castles about Limerick; but the French and Irish, in the town and camp, insisting on the having the articles agreed to signed by the lords-justices, as well as the general, things remained in the same posture.

30th. The cessation still continuing, several of our soldiers went into the town, and the besieged came frequently into our camp; where also Sarsfield, Wahop, Sheldon, and others of their officers, were this day entertained by the duke of Wirtemburgh.

October 1. This evening the right-honourable the lords-justices arrived in the camp.

2d. This day several Irish officers and commissioners, appointed to treat, came into the

camp from the town, and stayed with the lords-justices and general till twelve at night; by which time all the difficulties, which arose in settling the articles, being agreed, they were concluded on, and ordered to be fair drawn for signing.

3d. This evening the articles were signed and exchanged; but it being late, we only took possession of the enemies' out-works, their stone-fort, and St. John's Gate, on the Irish town side.

4th. This morning four regiments of foot marched into the Irish town, which is indeed the strongest part of Limerick; leaving the English town for the Irish quarters, until Sarsfield, with those who were designed to go with him, could be shipped for France.

5th. The Irish having imprisoned a lieutenant-colonel, for denying to go with them for France, he was immediately enlarged, upon the general's taxing them with their breach of articles, and laying before them the consequence of such their violation; it having been granted them to take off only such as were willing to go, without any compulsion.

6th. This morning col. Earl's regiment marched from the camp towards Cork; which place, with the garrisons thereabouts, is assigned them for their winter-quarters.

7th. This morning the right-honourable the lords-justices, having seen us in quiet possession of the Irish town, set forward in their return to Dublin.

Articles Civil and Military, agreed upon the third Day of October, 1691; between the Right-honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq. Lords-justices of Ireland; and his Excellency, the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant-general, and Commander-in-Chief of the English Army, on the one Part: And the Right-honourable, Patrick, Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Galmoy, Col. Nicholas Purcel, Col. Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Col. Garret Dillon, and Col. John Brown, on the other Part. In the Behalf of the Irish Inhabitants, in the City and County of Limerick, the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

I. The CIVIL ARTICLES.

In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements, made between the said lieutenant-general Ginckle, the governor of the city of Limerick, and the general of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said city, and submission of the said army; it is agreed, that

I.

THE Roman-Catholicks of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in their exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second. And their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament, in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman-Catholicks such farther security, in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance, upon the account of their said religion.

II.

All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of king James, or those authorized to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or in any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience; their and every of their heirs shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold, and inheritance; and all the right, title, and interest, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them, held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of king Charles the Second, or at any time

since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of king Charles the Second, and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of their tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges incurred and become due, since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof. All persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them, belonging or remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any person or persons whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them. And all, and every the said persons, of what trade, profession, or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same, in the reign of king James the Second. Provided, that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person, now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised. Provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have and enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III.

All merchants, or reputed merchants, of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison, now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare, or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not borne arms since their majesties' declaration in February, 1688-9, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom, within the space of eight months, from the date hereof.

IV.

These following officers, *viz.* colonel Simon Lutterel, captain Rowland White, Morrice Eustace of Gormonstown, Cheevers of Mayestown (commonly called Mount-Leinster), now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrison and quarters of the Irish army who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or of the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article; provided they return hither within the space of eight months, from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V.

That all and singular the said persons, comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them, or any of them committed, since the beginning of the reign of king James the Second. And if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords-justices, and the general, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by the parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed *gratis*, all but writing-clerks' fees.

VI.

Whereas the present wars have drawn great violencies on both parties, and that, if leave were given for bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been so long on foot, and the public disturbance last. For the quieting and settling therefore of the kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniencies which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary; no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded, at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespass by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, and chattels, merchandise, or provision whatsoever, by them seized or taken, during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of this present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor

for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses. And it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual, and reciprocal, on both sides.

VII.

Every nobleman and gentleman, comprised in the said second and third articles, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or fowling.

VIII.

The inhabitants and residents of the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed or searched, or paying any manner of duty; and shall not be compelled to leave their houses or lodgings they now have therein, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX.

The oath, to be administered to such Roman-Catholicks as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

X.

No person or persons, who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make or cause any other person, or persons, to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI.

The lords-justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all persons, comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests, and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months, next ensuing the date hereof.

XII.

Lastly, The lords-justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles, within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours, that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

XIII.

And whereas colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgments of record; which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyrconnel, and lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army: for freeing the said lord Lucan of the said engagement, passed on the public account, for payment of the said Protestants; for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the said lord Lucan, and the rest of persons, aforesaid, it is agreed, That the said lords-justices, and lieutenant-general Ginckle, shall interpose with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman-Catholicks, by articles and capitulations in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debts, as the said lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said John Brown amount unto. Accounts are to be stated, and the balance certified by the said lord Lucan, in twenty-one days after the date hereof:

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands,

Present:	CHARLES PORTER.	N. PURCEL.
SCRAVENMORE.	THO. CONINGSBY.	N. CUSACK.
H. MACCAY.	BAR. DE GINCKLE.	THEOBALD BUTLER.
F. TALMASH.	LUCAN.	JOHN BROWN.
	GALLMOY.	GER. DILLON.

II. The MILITARY ARTICLES,

Agreed upon between the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant-general, and Commander-in-Chief of the English Army, on the one Side: and the Lieutenant-generals, D'Ussoon, and De Tesse, Commanders-in-Chief of the Irish Army, on the other Side; and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.

I.

THAT all persons, without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free leave to go beyond the seas, to any country (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household-stuff, plate and jewels.

II.

That all the general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse, dragoons, and foot-guards; troops, dragoons, soldiers of all kinds, that are in any garrison, place, or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or incamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, or Kerry; as, also, those called Rapparees, or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond seas, as aforesaid, shall have free liberty to embarque themselves wheresoever the ships are, that are appointed to transport them; and to come in whole bodies, as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III.

That all persons, above-mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland, and go into France, have leave to declare it at the places and times hereafter mentioned, *viz.* the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next, at Limerick; the horse at their camp, on Wednesday; and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, the 18th day of this instant, and on no other, before Monsieur Tumeron, the French intendant, and colonel Withers; and after such declaration so made, the troops, that will go into France, must remain under the command and discipline of their officers, that are to conduct them thither: and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

IV.

That all English and Scotch officers, that serve now in Ireland, shall be included in this capitulation; as well for the security of their estates and goods, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, if they are willing to remain here, as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V.

That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commissaries at war, and other artillery; the treasurer, and other French officers, strangers, and others whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have leave to pass into France, or any other country; and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all other effects whatsoever; and that general Ginckle will order passports for them, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick, to the ships where they shall be embarqued (without paying any thing for the said carriages, or those that are employed therein), with their horses, carts, boats, and shallops.

VI.

That if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandise, horses, money, plate, or other moveables, or household stuff, belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general; the said general will order it to be restored, or payment to be

made, according to the value that is given in, upon oath, by the person so robbed or plundered; and the said Irish troops to be transported, as aforesaid, and all persons belonging to them, are to observe good orders in their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make satisfaction for the same.

VII.

That, to facilitate the transporting of the troops, the general will furnish fifty ships, and each ship-burden two-hundred tons; for which, the persons, to be transported, shall not be obliged to pay; and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them: and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burden, he will furnish more in number to countervail, and also give two men of war to embarque the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burden.

VIII.

That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork, to visit the transport-ships, and see what condition they are in for sailing; and that, as soon as they are ready, the troops, to be transported, shall march with all convenient speed the nearest way, in order to be embarqued there; and if there shall be any more men to be transported, that can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation, where they shall remain, till the other twenty ships are ready, which are to be in a month's time; and may embarque in any French ship, that may come in the mean time.

IX.

That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horses, and all necessary provisions, to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers, and all other persons, that are shipped, to be transported into France; which provisions shall be paid for, as soon as all is disembarqued at Brest, or Nantes, on the coast of Brittany, or any other port in France they can make.

X.

And to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted), and the payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI.

That the garrisons of Clare-Castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons, in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this capitulation; and such part of the garrisons, as design to go beyond the seas, shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, colours flying, with all their provisions, and half the ammunition that is in the said garrison's town, with the horse that march to be transported; or, if then there is not shipping enough, the body of foot, that is to be transported next after the horse, general Ginckle will order, that they be furnished with carriages for that purpose, and what provision they shall want for their march; they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII.

That all the troops of horse and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France, shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, a-part from the troops commanded by general Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and, within their quarters, they shall pay for all things, excepting forage, and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished *gratis*.

XIII.

Those of the garrison of Sligo, that are joined to the Irish army, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV.

The Irish may have liberty to transport nine-hundred horse, including horses for the

officers, which shall be transported *gratis;* and as for the troops that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit; giving up their arms and horses to such persons as the general shall appoint.

XV.

It shall be permitted for those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates, whereever they can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any lett or molestation: and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and, for this purpose, the general will furnish convenient carriages for them, to the place where they shall be embarqued.

XVI.

It shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarqued; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats, wherever they shall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII.

That all prisoners of war that were in Ireland the twenty-eighth of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promises to use his endeavours, that the prisoners that are in England and Flanders, shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII.

The general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army, that cannot pass into France at the first embarquement; and after they are cured, will then order ships to pass into France, if they are willing.

XIX.

That, at the signing hereof, the general will send a ship express to France; and then, besides, will furnish two small ships, of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France, that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put a-shore at the next place of France, where they shall make.

XX.

That all those of the said troops, officers, and others, of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped, on the account of debt, or any other pretence.

XXI.

If, after the signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other transport-ship, shall arrive from France, in any other part of Ireland; the general will order a passport, not only for such as must go on-board the said ship, but to the ships to come to the nearest port, to the place where the troops, to be transported, shall be quartered.

XXII.

That after the arrival of the said fleet, there shall be a free communication, and passage, between it and the abovesaid troops; and especially for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from Monsieur Tumeron, the intendant.

XXIII.

In consideration of the present capitulation, the town of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, *viz.* the Irish town (except the magazines and hospital) on the day of signing the present articles; and as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island, and the free passage of Thomond-bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are in the garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above-mentioned, until there be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV.

And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrisons that the general

shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and island, (which they may do, until the troops be embarqued on the first fifty ships that shall be gone for France, and no longer,) they shall intrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communication of the said garrisons; and it shall be prohibited on both sides, to offer any thing offensive, and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV.

That it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march out all at once or at different times, as they can be embarqued, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will choose, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place. And for this purpose, an inventory of all the ammunition of the said garrison shall be made, in the presence of any person that the general shall appoint, the next day after the present articles shall be signed.

XXVI.

All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France; and that, if there shall not be sufficient in the stores for the support of the said troops, (while they stay in this kingdom and are crossing the seas,) that upon giving account of their number, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions, at the king's rates; and that there shall be a free-market at Limerick, and other quarters, where the said troops shall be: and in case any provisions shall remain in the magazines of Limerick, when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on ship-board.

XXVII.

That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, and also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they be returned to their respective harbours; and that, on both sides, they shall be furnished sufficiently with passports, both the ships and men; and if any sea-commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, troop, dragoon, soldier, or other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons, so acting, shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII.

That, for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article herein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages —— and the general shall give ——.

XXIX.

If, before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by general Ginckle; all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary, on any account whatsoever.

Octob. 1691. Baron De Ginckle.

The Inconveniencies of a long Continuance of the same Parliament.

Printed in 1680.

[Folio; containing four pages.]

THAT there is a necessity of a government among mankind, is admitted by all wise men; but to convince mad men and fools of this, is too great a task. Johannes Woolebius, in his compendium, Theolo. Christ. says, 'That it is unworthy in a Christian 'so much to seem to mistrust the Divine authority of the Scripture, as to make any question 'of it: it being a principle, so necessary to be believed, that it ought not to be brought 'into doubt, by disputes.' To the like purpose, it may be said, that it is unworthy, in an English commonwealth's-man, to bring it into debate, whether, or no, the sovereignty of this realm be in the king alone, disjoined from any other persons? And true it is, there are as yet but few, if any, that dare be so hardy, as positively to say otherwise, whatever their thoughts be, and though their actions seem to look that way. And forasmuch as the word *commonwealth* hath been of late years, for the most part, applied to the government, when it is in the hands of many: it might not be impertinent to insert here, what a commonwealth is.

A Commonwealth, therefore, is a lawful government of many families, and that which unto them, in common, belongeth; and the end and design thereof is, that the wicked be punished, and the good and just protected. So that it is as much, nay, rather more a commonwealth, and tends more to common good, when the government is in the hand of one man, than in the hands of many; and, for this, we have the general consent of all great politicians, in past ages, who after the trial of all sorts of governments, and comparing the conveniencies and inconveniencies of each, have concluded that government best for the generality of the people, when the sovereign power to command was in one man, and not in many. For oftentimes, even where a tyrant hath reigned, and he removed, and the commonwealth changed into a popular state, the people have been soon sensible, that the change hath been much for the worse, and that, instead of one tyrant, they had a multitude of tyrants to oppress them. Yet the dissolution, or prorogation of a parliament, hath been of late looked upon to be so high a violation of right, and so great a point of misgovernment, as if thereby our liberties were lost, and our lives and estates subjugated to the arbitrary power and pleasure of our king; or else we falsely conclude it impossible, that the king can be so wise, as to govern without their counsels. To remove which mistakes, and to quiet the minds of men misled, these following considerations and collections out of English history are offered to public view; whereby it will be most apparent, that not only the proroguing, but the frequent dissolving of parliaments, is absolutely necessary for the preservation of monarchy, our now established government, and the best sort of government for the people of England, and most suitable to their temper, in preservation whereof, our own preservation consists. But the long continuance of one and the same parliament, or the same members in parliament, (which are both alike,) is the most pernicious thing imaginable both to king and people.

It is necessary for the preservation of monarchy, that parliaments be often dissolved, because nothing makes it more manifest, in whom the sovereign power resides; for it puts them in mind, by what authority, they have their being; whereas, by a long continuance,

they are apt to plead prescription to their seats, and think themselves disseised, if removed thence, though by the same power that placed them there.

In former times, parliaments in this kingdom consisted only of some of the nobility and wise men of the nation, such as the king pleased to call: and the first time that ever the commons of England were admitted to parliament, was, in the sixteenth year of Henry the First; which parliament was assembled at Salisbury, and it was so assembled of the king's own pleasure, not of any obligation, that, by law, lay upon him so to do. And certain it is, the kings of England were no ways obliged to assemble parliaments, or being assembled, to permit them to sit, during their own pleasure; till of late years, that such vapours corrupted our region, with a destructive contagion. The ancient statutes of Edward the Third (whereby parliaments were to be holden once a year, and oftener, if need were,) cannot, by any reasonable construction, be intended, so much to oblige the king to call a parliament, as to oblige the subject to attend, being called; and this seems the rather to be so, for that, those statutes being but briefly penned, by a subsequent statute of Richard the Second, (as an act explanatory of the former acts,) a penalty is imposed upon every person, having summons to parliament, that should not come accordingly. But now, by an act of the sixteenth of his now majesty's reign, he was prevailed upon to pass it into a law, That parliaments should not be intermitted or discontinued above three years. However, (God be thanked!) it is yet in the king's power, that, if, when they are called, they behave themselves not well, his majesty may, without violation of any law, send them whence they came; and, I hope, it will never more be otherwise; lest that, if they had a grant of not being dissolved, without their own consent, they would do, as those did, that had the like power. And, sure it is no solœcism, that the like cause may have the like effect.

A parliament of the modern constitution is, without controversy, very necessary and useful, if they intend that, which properly belongs to them; the business of both houses being to consult with, and advise the king, in such things, as he shall require their advice in, and to represent to him public grievances, such as are real grievances, and not such as every whimble-pated fellow esteems so: but they are not to think to compel the king, under the plausible term of address, to exercise any point of government, or to make any new laws, that he likes not of. And it is proper and peculiar to himself only to judge, what advice is fit to be followed, and what to be rejected; for there may be some private reason of state, for his so doing, which might be inconvenient to be publicly known. This hath been the ancient settled practice, and under which this kingdom hath long flourished, and it is not safe to alter it; for, it being now the declining age of the world, most changes, violent ones especially, are from good to bad, and from bad to worse, and from worse to stark naught.

Is not the advantage of monarchy, above the government of many, apparent, at this time, to any seeing man? For, if his majesty, like the main-mast of a ship, had not been the stay of all; and had not, as it were, parted the fray, by the late dissolution of the parliament; all the aristocratical rigging and tackle of both houses (if it deserves to be so called) had been torn in pieces by faction, amongst themselves, and this poor kingdom thereby, before this, might have been a second time, in our memory, blown up by her own inbred divisions; and it is not without precedent, that parliaments are alike infallible as the pope or his college of cardinals, and have given as ill advice, and done as ill things, and of late have been more troublesome than ever.

If it should be so, that the advice of either or both houses of parliament, must of necessity be followed by the king, then would it not be properly an advice but a command in effect; and where, in a commonwealth, the sovereign power or command is in more than in one, that commonwealth is no longer a monarchy, but is degenerated, at best, into an aristocracy; the sovereignty being thereby divided amongst many: and, if we judge impartially, it must be acknowledged, that they that endeavour after that, *viz.* That the votes and ordinances of the house of commons might have the force of laws, are no less

enemies to the state, than they that would introduce popery; for in both cases, it is but endeavouring to alter the government; to prevent which fond and dangerous attempt, the frequent dissolving of parliaments is very necessary.

Divers other inconveniencies will be prevented by frequent proroguing and dissolving of parliaments; for, by that means, the privilege of parliaments will not over-long protect the members thereof, to delay and defraud their fellow-subjects of their just and due debts: which sort of practice, for many years past, hath been a killing oppression; when not only the members themselves made ill use of that privilege, but many of them gave their clerks liberty to sell blank protections by the dozens, as the pope doth his indulgences. And moreover, if any such, or other like vicious men, should, by flattery and bribery, get into the parliament, a dissolution gives opportunity of discharging such, from having hand in so high a trust; and great reason, such should be discharged: for how can it be expected, that men, unjust in their private concerns, should be otherwise in public administration, which they will always strive to make subservient to their by-interests?

By the long continuance of one and the same parliament, it hath happened, that the members thereof, having long beheld the tempting, though forbidden fruit of supremacy, they have not scrupled to grapple with the king, for a share of the sovereignty; and most commonly, when they are a little settled, they strive to spoil the king of his prerogative, to usurp it to themselves; and rather than fail of their designs, time hath been, that they have involved the people of this kingdom, in a miserable war and destruction of each other; when the thing, they seemed to insist on, was either of no moment at all to the people, or something that had a very remote possibility of ever happening; whereby, instead of preventing the mischief, they drew it hastily upon us. There are too many examples hereof in history, whereof to name a few: Let it be impartially considered, and then judge, if there was a justifiable cause for the insolency of that parliament, in Edward the Second's time, who (being set on by some lords, that envied Gaveston's favour with that king,) framed articles of some trifling grievances to be presented to the king; but added thereunto, 'The king must banish Gaveston;' else they declared, they would rise in arms against the king. An action much to the credit of parliaments, indeed, that they, to gratify an envious lord or two, would not stick to stir up the plague of a civil-war, in the bowels of their own country, by engaging in a rebellion, against the king! And they proceeded so far, that they murdered Gaveston, instead of bringing him to a fair and legal trial; for no reason in particular, that appears by Baker's Chronicle, other than that the king loved him, and that he was in more favour than they: and, not long after, they even deposed the king, and yet no intrenchment upon the people's liberty or property was committed by that king in all his reign, and it is expressly said of him, he took no base courses for raising money. And although, being forced to resign his crown, he was content to live a private life, and did so, very quietly; yet his seditious lords thought his liberty too much favour for him, and caused him to be imprisoned: and in carrying him to prison, he was most barbarously abused; for, being taken from his horse, and set upon a hillock, there, taking puddle-water to shave him with, his barber told him, cold water must serve for that time; whereat the miserable king, looking earnestly upon him, told him, "that whether they would or no, he would have warm water to wash withal;" and, to make good his words, he let fall a shower of tears. And being carried to prison, they lodged him in a chamber over carrion and dead carcasses, thinking, thereby, to have poisoned him: but, when they saw that would not do, a letter was devised from a lord, to the king's keepers, blaming them, for giving him too much liberty, and for not doing the service that was expected from them; and, in the end of the letter, was wrote this line; *Edvardum occidere nolite, timer bonum est:* which may be Englished either, 'It is good to kill Edward, do not fear it:' or, 'Do not kill Edward, it is good to be afraid to do it.' But they took it in the sense intended, and most inhumanly murdered the king. And (to see the fickleness of them) it is recorded, that they that despised him when living, so honoured him, being dead, that they could have found in their hearts to have made him a saint.

It cannot yet be forgot, nor will the ill effects a while be overcome of that parliament, infamous for *long*, and of sad and direful memory; how in the time of the best of kings, when they all ruled, there was no rule at all; but that, upon pretence of removing evil counsellors, they removed from us all happiness, and overwhelmed us with all the evils imaginable. And because some people would make the world believe there is no preservation against popery, but by means of a parliament; be it remembered, how poorly and sneakingly the parliament, in queen Mary's days, became apostates to the Protestant religion, drew up a supplication to the king and queen, wherein they shewed themselves very penitent for their former errors, and humbly desired their majesties to intercede for them to cardinal Pool, the pope's legate, and the see-apostolick, that they might be pardoned of all they had done amiss, and be received into the bosom of the church; being themselves most ready to abrogate all laws prejudicial to the see of Rome. That this is no fable, they that list may read it in Baker's Chronicle, fol. 320.

Is it not apparent, that what execution hath been done upon the late popish plotters, was by the king's immediate command? And the discoverers of plotters, and prosecutors of papists, are to this day encouraged by his majesty. Were not the lords in the Tower several times brought to Westminster-hall, by the king's command, in order to their trial? but the house of commons were not, or would not be ready for it, unless they might pluck a plume from the prerogative, or peerage, to feather their own caps withal. And whether they were not more ready to kindle coals of contention, when even in the house, not long since, some laid hands on their swords to draw at each other, I leave the world to judge. Can any man then, that loves the peace of his country, be troubled at the prorogation or dissolution of such a parliament?

It is, indeed, to be found in our English Chronicles, that one parliament had the name of *Good*, and that was in the reign of Edward the Third: but it seems to be so called in derision only; for the same author says, they wrought ill effects. To be plain, there seldom or never was a long parliament that did deserve much commendation, or that was free from faction: but that it was not otherwise, much may be imputed to the fault of the electors, who take not right measures in their choice. And because good parliaments are very useful to his majesty and people, it is to be wished men would observe the right means to obtain such, whenever it should please his majesty to give another opportunity of a new choice. And forasmuch as many of the commons of our late parliaments were so vile as to take pensions for their votes, as some of their own fellow-members give out; which, if true, in all likelihood were given by some corrupt minister of state, to promote the interest and designs of some foreign prince; and some others of them were under very gross errors touching succession, whether out of a real misapprehension, or a voluntary misfeasance, it is not proper here to determine. Only this I say, it is somewhat strange, that men that are all for religion, will not trust God Almighty himself with that prerogative, though he give us his word for it, 'That the hearts of kings are in his rule and governance, and he 'turneth them which way it pleaseth him;' and in another place it is said, 'By me kings 'reign, and princes do decree.' But of this more, perhaps, hereafter. Some others are mightily enraged at their dissolution, because it hath put them to charges at their new elections; and, perhaps, by the intermission of a parliament, were forced to pay some of their debts. These sort of men, if they meet again, unless they are become converts, will, in all likelihood, be doing mischief; therefore it would be well, that not one, suspected of such miscarriages, should be ever chose again. There can be no inconvenience in changing, for there is no country or place, but what hath several fitter to be parliament-men, than those; and the new men may the better, and, in more likelihood, act for the good of the nation, than the old ones; for these will meet without any private prejudice, or pre-engagement, in any faction.

It cannot well be expected there should ever be a good parliament, as long as men will be misled to their choice by extravagancy of expence; therefore they would do well to consider what will a belly-full of ale signify, in recompence of their peace; it will be but like Esau's selling his birth-right for a mess of pottage; neither ought the recommenda-

tion of any great man to have any influence upon our choice, but the good qualifications of the person ought only to be respected.

Men's care, in this concern, is of very great consequence; for a great politician says, that it is more dangerous to the publick, when there is an evil council, and a good king, than when there is an evil king, but a good council; and that we may always have a good council, above all other rules, God's own direction, for the choice of a council in Israel, ought to be followed: 'Assemble unto me (saith he) seventy of the most ancient of the 'people, wise men, fearing God;' Deut. i. It is of dangerous consequence, when the people have a slight opinion of the parts and abilities of their council: therefore it is, that old and not young men, ought to be chose into this great council; for most men are apt to think slightly of those of a like age with themselves: and though some young men may be good and virtuous, yet the heat and vigour of their youth and blood is apt to transport them into passion, and to too violent a prosecution of what their unripe and unexperienced judgments dictate. Solon, therefore, forbade any young man to be admitted into the senate, seemed he never so wise.

To conclude: God grant the great council the Parliament, whether the present or a new one, that when they meet next, they may remember it is great grace and favour in the king, to advise or consult with them at any time; and therefore may they not insist upon what belongs not to them, but 'render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the 'things that are God's;' and then God will bless both our king and us. *Amen.*

Absalom's Conspiracy: Or, The Tragedy of Treason.[1]

London, printed in the Year 1680.

[Folio; containing two pages.]

THERE is nothing so dangerous either to societies in general, or to particular persons, as ambition: the temptations of sovereignty, and the glittering lustre of a crown, have been guilty of all the fearful consequences that can be within the compass of imagination. For this, mighty nations have been drowned in blood, populous cities have been made desolate, laid in ashes, and left without inhabitants. For this, parents have lost all the sense and tenderness of nature, and children all the sentiments of duty and obedience; the eternal laws of good and just, the laws of nature and of nations, of God and religion, have been violated; men have been transformed into the cruelty of beasts, and into the rage and malice of devils.

[1] ['It has been hitherto generally supposed (says Mr. Wr. Scott in his introductory remarks to Dryden's poem) 'that the idea of applying to Charles and Monmouth the apt characters and story of "Absalom and Achito-'phel," and indeed the general plan of drawing a poetic parallel from Scripture history to modern times, was 'exclusively Dryden's This (he continues) appears to be a mistake. So far back as 1679, some favourer of 'lord Stafford and of the catholic cause, ventured to paraphrase the story of Naboth's vineyard, and to apply 'it to the condemnation of that unfortunate nobleman for the catholic plot. In that piece, the Scripture names 'and characters are given to the objects of the poet's satire, precisely on the plan adopted by Dryden in "Ab-'salom and Achitophel." Not only had the scheme of a similar poem been conceived, but the very passage of 'Scripture, adopted by Dryden, as the foundation of his parable, had been already applied to Charles and his 'undutiful son. There appeared in 1680, a small tract, called "Absalom's Conspiracy; or, The Tragedy of

Instances, both modern and ancient, of this, are innumerable; but this of Absalom is a tragedy, whose antiquity and truth do equally recommend it as an example to all posterity, and a caution to all mankind, to take care how they embark in ambitious and unlawful designs: and it is a particular caveat to all young men, to beware of such counsellors, as the old Achitophel; lest, while they are tempted with the hopes of a crown, they hasten on their own destiny, and come to an untimely end.

Absalom was the third son of David by Maachah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, who was one of David's concubines; he, seeing his title to the crown upon the score of lawful succession would not do, resolves to make good what was defective in it, by open force, by dethroning his father.

Now the arts he used to accomplish his design were these: First, He studied popularity; he rose up early; he was industrious and diligent in his way; he placed himself in the way of the gate; and when any man came for judgment, he courteously entered into discourse with him: this feigned condescension was the first step of his ambition. Secondly, He depraved his father's government. The king was careless, drowned in his pleasures; the counsellors were evil; no man regarded the petitioners: Absalom said unto him, "See thy matters are good and right, it is but reason that you petition for; but there is no man that will hear thee from the king; there is no justice to be found; your petitions are rejected." Thirdly, He insinuates what he would do, if he were in authority; how easy access should be to him; he would do them justice; he would hear and redress their grievances, receive their petitions, and give them gracious answers: "Oh that I were made judge in the land, that every man might come unto me, and I would do him justice." And, when any man came to do him obeisance, he put forth his hand, and took him, and kissed him: and thus he stole away the hearts of the people from their lawful king, his father and sovereign.

But all this would not do: he therefore joins himself to one Achitophel, an old man of a shrewd head, and discontented heart. This Achitophel, it seems, had been a great counsellor of David's; but was now under some disgrace, as appears by Absalom's sending for him from Gilo, his city; whither he was in discontent retreated, because David had advanced Hushai into his privy-council; and no doubt can be made, but he was of the conspiracy before, by his ready joining with Absalom as soon as the matters were ripe for execution.

Absalom having thus laid his train, and made secret provision for his intended rebellion, dispatches his emissaries abroad, to give notice by his spies, that all the confederates should be ready at the sound of the trumpet, and say, "Absalom reigneth in Hebron:" and immediately a great multitude was gathered to him; for the conspiracy was strong: some went out of malice, and some in their simplicity followed him, and knew not any thing.

David is forced to fly from his own son; but still he had a loyal party that stuck close to him. Achitophel gave devilish counsel, but God disappointed it strangely. For Hushai, pretending to come over to their party, put Absalom upon a plausible expedient, which proved his ruin. So impossible is it for treason to be secure, that no person who forms a conspiracy, but there may be some, who (under pretence of the greatest kindness) may

'Treason,'' which, though unnoticed by any former commentator, seems to have furnished the general argument of Dryden's poem.'——Vide Dryden's Works, ix. 197.

To this it may be added, that the political application of scriptural names, in Dryden's celebrated satire, seems to have been anticipated by Wither, the republican poet, when he desires to possess——

'So much worth, at least, as did commend
'His loyalty, whom *David* call'd his friend;
'And wit enough to make a parallel
'Of ev'ry traytor with *Achitophel:*
'Or shew to you the diff'rence 'twixt the faiths
'Of all your *Libas* and *Mephibosheths.*'

Verses intended to the King's Majesty. 1662. 8vo.

Vide also 'Britanicus his Pedigree,' in sir Francis Wortley's 'Characters and Elegies.' 1646. 4to.]

insinuate themselves, only to discover their secrets, and ruin their intentions, either by revealing their treason, or disappointing it. And certainly, of all men, traitors are least to be trusted: for they, who can be perfidious to one, can never be true to any.

The matter comes at last to the decision of the sword. Absalom's party are defeated, and many slain; and Absalom himself, seeking to save himself by flight in the wood, is entangled in a tree, by his own hair, which was his pride; and his mule, going from under him, there left him hanging, till Joab came, and, with three darts, made at once an end of his life and the rebellion.

Thus ended his youthful and foolish ambition; making him an eternal monument of infamy, and an instance of the justice of Divine vengeance, and what will be the conclusion of ambition, treason and conspiracy, against lawful kings and governors: a severe admonition to all green-heads, to avoid the temptations of grey Achitophels.

Achitophel, the engineer of all this mischief, (seeing his counsel despised, and foreseeing the event,) prevented the hand of the executioner, and, in revenge upon himself, went home and hanged himself; giving fair warning to all treacherous counsellors, to see what their devilish counsels will lead them to at last: mischievous counsel ever falling in conclusion upon the heads where first it was contrived, as naturally as dirty kennels fall into the common-sewer.

'Whatsoever was written aforetime, was written for our instruction:' for holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

The Causes and Manner of Deposing a Popish King of Sweden, truly described.

London, printed for R. Baldwin, in the Old Baily, 1688.

[Folio; containing two pages.]

GUSTAVUS ERISCON king of Sweden, having settled the Reformed religion in Sweden, and reigned thirty-eight years, left his kingdom to his son Erick; who, for his cruelty and ill government, was deposed, and his whole line exhereditated, to make way for John duke of Finland, his younger brother.

John had a son, called Sigismond, who being secretly bred up in the Romish religion by his mother (who was of the Sagellonian royal-family of Poland), was, in his father's time, elected king of Poland.

The said king John had also a younger brother, called Charles duke of Sudermania, Nericia, &c.; and a younger son of his own name, called duke of Ostrogothia.

King John died in the year 1592, in the absence of king Sigismond, his eldest son; during which, Charles, duke of Sudermania, his uncle, at the desire of the states, took upon him the government: but sent to invite his nephew Sigismond, to come and take possession of his native kingdom, as soon as might be: promising in the mean time, to keep all quiet, and intimating, 'that he hoped his majesty, when in possession, 'would maintain all in the true religion and divine worship; and preserve the laws of 'Sweden.'

At the end of the year he arrived in Sweden, having in his company Francesco Male-

spina, the pope's legate, who hindered him long from consenting to any security, either for religion or property; but finding the coronation would be obstructed without that, he gave way, as having yet (as the historian says) one starting-hole remaining; which was, that 'Faith was not to be kept towards hereticks.' In the mean time, he himself would have crowned the king in the cathedral at Upsal; but was opposed by the archbishop of Upsal, whose right it was, even if that kingdom had been popish.

The coronation being over, which had been delayed above a year, during which time several secret attempts had been made upon Charles, duke of Sudermania, to make him away: king Sigismond (contrary to his coronation-oath) erected a popish church in the capital city; made a great man of his religion, governor of the castle of Stockholm, in which the records of the chancery, and the arms and ammunition of the kingdom were kept; and in the port, were the best part of the royal navy, under the command of the castle. A certain jesuit, called Adam Steinhall, obtained the Arcentian temple, and the queen's island, with the Vastheman monastery, which was presently filled with Romish priests.

Sigismond, also by his followers and attendants, continually affronted the Established religion, and was sending into Poland, for a body of forces, able to subdue the kingdom; upon which discontentments grew so high, that he hastily withdrew thither himself.

He left Sweden in confusion, having only for form's sake, writ to his uncle Charles, to assume the administration jointly with the senate: but, at the same time, leaving others with greater power, both in Sweden and Finland: as appeared when he was gone.

Charles, duke of Sudermania, to avoid discord and confusion, called a convention at Sudertopia, which was opened with an oath of allegiance to king Sigismond, and did likewise assert the kingdom's right, to have the coronation-oath performed; which having been violated in the tender point of religion, they redressed the grievance, and suppressed the exercise of the Romish religion; banishing all priests and preachers of the same, and the ancient incumbents of the Vastheman monastery were restored.

Then they desired the duke Charles, to accept of the administration, for the good of the kingdom; which he did. Then began a treaty between Sigismond and the convention, with duke Charles at the head of it, which was by Sigismond spun out, and obstructed with much artifice: at length the convention made several decrees for security of religion and property, and entered into an association for the defence of them, which they desired the king to confirm, and gave six weeks time to all that dissented, to submit, on pain of being declared enemies to the public peace.

They invited him home, to return in a peaceable manner, and settle the other affairs of his native kingdom; but instead of that, he invaded them with an army of eight-thousand horse and foot, and a hundred sail; to which several Swedes joined themselves, whom he had gained with money.

An agreement was endeavoured, and after much intercourse of negotiation, (both armies being near one another,) it was consented to on both sides, that twelve of the nobility of each side should meet and decide the whole controversy. But, by the persuasion of the jesuits, the royal army in the night, conducted by Weyerus, set upon the ducal camp; in which onset, several thousands were slain; but at last, the king and all his army had been cut off, had they not called out for peace; which the duke yet hearkened to.

An agreement followed, in which the king demanded to be supplied with a navy to go to Stockholm, promising there to call an assembly of the states; but he no sooner had the shipping, but he sailed away for Calmar, in which place he left a garrison of foreigners, and then continued his voyage to Dantzic.

The king being gone, an assembly of the states met at Stockholm, where they declared king Sigismond fallen from the crown and government; and were so inclined to continue the succession, that they offered to receive his son, prince Vladislaus, provided he might be sent home, bred up a Protestant, and committed to the guardianship of duke Charles; but Sigismond refused it.

Afterwards, another parliament met at Lincopia, and there they first did expresly renounce king Sigismond, and his government; as also his laws.

Then they acknowledged duke Charles of Sudermania, for their lawful king; and after him settled the crown upon his son Gustavus Adolphus, and his heirs-male.

Duke John concurred with the parliament, and renounced his pretence to the crown, and was content to come in after the line of duke Charles.

The daughter and sister of Sigismond were also rejected.

Then followed the coronation of king Charles, in the year 1607, by the name of Charles the Ninth.

These were the proceedings in Sweden, whereupon I shall only make these few short reflections.

I. That the Swedes were desirous, to the last degree, to preserve the succession, according to one part of the laws of the kingdom; provided that might be done, without overturning all the rest. They were wise enough to preserve laws, while laws preserved the nation, (which is the true end of all laws,) but no longer.

II. That king Sigismond, according to the spirit of his religion, wherever it is grown up to bigotry, broke through his oaths, and all rules of justice and morality, when they crossed the insatiable ambition of his priests.

III. That though the Swedes, when they found that they could not keep their kings, his direct heirs, their religion and liberties, all together, resolved to part with the former; they were forced to be very cautious, and endeavour to gain time by treaties, to unite themselves against Sigismond, who had Poland and several allies to back him; without which considerations, the prudence they shewed on this affair may assure us, they would not have suffered the government in so loose a posture so long as they did.

IV. That the Swedes knowing, that it is impossible on any occasion that all men should be of the same mind, wisely ordained, that the minor part should submit to the major; or be declared enemies to the public peace. And sure this example will be followed, wherever reasonable and disinterested men meet on the like occasions: for sure no body can deny, but that it is better for any nation that some laws should be made and others broken, against the opinion of the minor part; than that all laws, morality, and good nature, should give place to passion, injustice and cruelty, through their obstinacy.

Now may God Almighty open the eyes of all Englishmen to see, and their hearts to embrace, this truth!

A Disclosing of the great Bull,[1] and certain Calues that he hath gotten; and specially the Monster Bull, that roared at my Lord Byshop's Gate.

Imprinted at London, by John Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate.

[Black letter; octavo, containing twenty pages.]

EXPERIENCE of the leud lustiness and unchastitie of popishe clergie hath long agoe ministred an olde tale, how a person of a towne having the lordship annexed to hys personage, (as many have) by reason thereof, was by speciall custome charged, as in many places there be, to keepe a common bull for the towne, whereby theyr cattle and hys tithe might be encreased; which bull had great libertie, and is, by custome, not poundable. It happened, that complaint was brought to hym by hys neighbors of the insufficiencie of hys bull, that he dyd not get calves so plentifully as in tyme past they were wont to have. The person (a wise man of good skill as it should seme) caused hys bull to be tyed fast and hys crowne to be shaven, and then let him goe; saying, "Now go thy way, there was never any bad of thys marke; he will get calves I warrant hym." So is it happened, that of late a holy bull, I thinke some Jupiter is come for love of hys Io; or rather, for lust, to some leud Pasiphae, arrived in thys land.

It is the great person's bull; which person was wont, by custome, to finde common bulls for all England, when he claimed or usurped the lordship of England, as annexed to hys personage. It is the same bull that begat the famous Mone-calfe, that, of late years, made the terrible expectation. Of late, being against custome empounded, or kept from breaking of hedges as he was wont to do, and from spoyling of severall pastures, he grew to some faintnesse. But now hath hys owner new shaven hys crowne, and sent hym to get calves agayne; for encrease of the towne's hearde, and the person's tithe.

And, surely, the experience is notable; for since he came over so lately disguised, he hath light upon certaine rank kyen, who, I thinke, by their long forbearing, are become the lustier; that is, treason, superstition, rebellion, and such other; and with them he hath so bestirred hym, that by the helpe of maister doctor Harding, Sanders, and other, some there, some here, jolly cowkeepers and heardemen of popish clergie, which sent and brought hym over, and brake open for hym the severall hedges and fenses of true religion, obedience, allegeance, fayth, and honestie, he hath begotten a marvellous number of calves in few yeares: that is, since the yeare 1567, he hath begotten multitudes of all the formes

[1] [That is, 'a bull graunted by the pope to doctor Harding, and other; by reconcilement and assoyling of 'English papists, to undermine faith and allegiance to the queene; anno 1567.' Thus it is described by Morton, the author of the tract here reprinted, who likewise wrote 'A true Declaration of the Intention and Frutes there-'of; and a Warning of Perils thereby imminent; Lond.' (1567) 8vo.; and also 'An Addition declaratorie to the 'Bulles, with a searching of the Maze; Lond.' 8vo. He appears (says Herbert, Typogr. Antiq. 674) to have been the state-amanuensis. Anth. Wood terms him 'a forward and busy calvinist, and noted zealot.' He was counsel to the Stationers' Company, in whose books are to be found accounts of the fees paid to him; the last of them bearing date between the years 1583 and 1584; within which period he is supposed to have died. Besides the assistance which he rendered to Sternhold and Hopkins, in versifying twenty-seven psalms, (to which his initials are prefixed) he also translated into English several small Latin pieces, and joined with Thos. Sackville (E. of Dorset) in composing a dramatic piece entitled 'Ferrex and Pollux,' afterwards reprinted with considerable alterations, under the title of 'Gorboduc.'

Vide Athen. Oxon. i. 77, 348. Ritson's Bibliogr. Poet. 289. Biogr. Dram. i. 340, ii. 124.

of calves hereafter mentioned, beside other in the wilde woodes not yet knowen; and lastly, he hath begotten a most horrible monster, of whom shall hereafter be entreated.

He hath begotten some traitorous calves, as the practisers and underminers of the state: some rebellious calves, as those that have combred the realme with unhappy sedition: some deinty calves with white faces, as dissembling hypocrites that watch theyr time: some calves with blacke faces, as blacke soule and hys fellowes common bleaters, and railers at true religion: some apostaticall calves, that have forsaken fayth, and do impugne the knowen truth: some tame drousy calves, that, with theyr brutishe superstition, can not raise up their heades from ground, nor their eyes to heaven: some mad wild calves, as roges and rumor spreaders: some running and gadding calves, wiser than Waltham's calfe, that ranne nine miles to sucke a bull, for these runne above nine hundred miles; and no marvell, for they desire not to sucke milke, but bloud: some calves with hornes, and some without; some with power, running fiercely; some, pushing with theyr unarmed heades as elvishly as they be able: some doctor calves, some proctor calves, and some of other degrees: some weyward calves, ever running backward and athwart, without regard of ditch behinde them, or hedge before them: some calves, whom no fense will hold, no, not the brode sea: some cow calves, some bull calves: some calves, that never wil be but calves, though they live these hundred yeares: some winking calves: some suttle undermining calves; and some fonde licking calves there be, that be none of the same bulles calves, but calves out of God's own hearde, seduced by leude companie of other stray calves. These, in seeking to licke woundes whole, do not onely licke poyson into theyr owne bodies, but also envenime other therby; and specially the good damme, with whose wholesome milke them selves be fedde. Thys bulle's calves, since they receaved theyr sire's blessing, are waxen wilder then they were; no heardeman can rule them; but, as if the gad flye were in theyr tailes, they runne whisking about, or, of mere elvishnishe, will taste no wholesome and naturall foode.

The monster, of whom I tolde you, is no way so fitly to be described, as by the olde tale of the ancient poetes, that seme, as it were, to have foreshewed hym in figure, as followeth: Pasiphae, queene of Creta, not sufficed with men, conceived inordinate, unnaturall, and therewith untemperable lust, to engender with a bull. Neither regard of vertue, honor, kindnesse, nature, or shame, in respect of God, her husband, her countrey, her selfe, or the whole world, could restrayne her violent rage of uncleane affection. Yet wist she neither how to wooe the bull, nor how to apply her selfe unto him. A meane, at length, was found to make thys unkindly coupling.

There lived then a cunning craftesman Dædalus; the selfe same Dædalus, of whom it is famous how he made hym winges, wherewith, by cunning guiding hym selfe, he passed seas and countries at hys pleasure: and winges he made also for Icarus hys sonne to fly with hym; but the uncunning Icarus climbing too neare the sonne's heate, hys winges, melting, fell into the water, and gave name to the sea. Thys fine Dædalus (to satisfie the wicked queene's fervor of lust, and to match her and the bull in abhominable copulation,) framed a cowe, and so made, covered and used it with leud devises, and therein so inclosed and placed the good, innocent, and vertuous lady, that of the bull she conceived the abhomination of the world, and, in time, brought forth the monster Minotaurus, halfe a bull and halfe a man, fierce, brutish, mischievous, cruell, deformed, and odious.

To shroud thys monster from common wonder, and yet therewithall to deliver hym the foode and contentment of hys crueltie, the destruction of men; a labyrinth, or maze, was builded by the same cunning Dædalus, wherein Minotaurus, the man-bull, or bull-man lurked; and men passing in thether to hym, by entanglement of the maze, and uncertayne error of wayes, were brought to a miserable end; till at length valiant Theseus, furnished with the policy of wise Ariadne, receaved of her a clew of thred, by which, leaving the one end at the entrie, he was continually guyded and preserved from the deceaving maze; and, having slayne the monster, by conduct of the same thred, safely returned.

The appliance hereof to the experience of our times hath an apt resemblance, not to

prove, but to shew the image of some doinges at these dayes; and therewith, by conference, not onely to sharpen an intentive sight of that which we winck at, but also to rayse a just lothing of that, whereof, by some hurtfull impedimentes, we have not discerned, or rather not marked the horror.

Lecherous Pasiphae may well be applyed to treason in hye estates addicted to papistrie, forsaking God's ordinance of humane royall governement; which when so ever it happeneth, (for happe it may, and hath oft so chaunced,) such treason destroyeth good and naturall affection; it kindleth vile and beastly desires; and, among all other, none comparable in filthinesse to the lust of yelding them selves to beare the engendring of the great bull of Basan, or rather of Babylon; the oppression, incumbence, and tiranny of Rome; the usurpation of the Romaine siege, the siege of all abhomination. Thys principall traitorous lust, that throweth downe the person under this uncleane desire, throweth away vertue and respect of God: for Romaine pride hath climbed into the seate of God, and shooved to shoulder hym out; and banished vertue, by open dispensing with vice. It expelleth remembrance of honor and kindnesse in regard of husband, for fayth of wedlocke hath no place in adulterers; and, by Romaine practises, neither doth superstition permit the soule to keepe her chastitie from idolatries, and from forsaking God's rules of religion; nor the wife her due fayth from wandering lust, nor the husband hys safetie from traitorous violence. It driveth out naturall love of countrey; for it prostituteth all dominions to the common adulterer, underminer, and forcer of kingdomes, the bull of Rome. It banisheth shame; for it boasteth her filthinesse to the worlde's sight, soliciteth it publikely, practiseth it openly, defendeth it impudently, and carieth it in glorious pompe and triumph; not, as Io, ryding on a bulle's backe through the water, but (as it were) carnally wallowing with a beast on the toppe of Trajane's piller. And, surely, no more sodomiticall is, in nature, the unnaturall mixture of a bull and a woman; than is sodomiticall, in policie and religion, the intermedling of the popish usurpation of Rome with a temporall prince, yelding hys or her realme to popish jurisdiction; or with the spouse of Christ, the universall church, ravished by that bulle's force, or defyled by hys abuses: but, as in Pasiphae, so, where such rage of traitorous and superstitious desire entreth, God's grace forsaketh, honest feare departeth, shame flyeth, and the lust is untemperable.

The Dædalus that must bryng the enjoyeng of thys horrible lust to effect, is the treason of popish clergie, full of cunning workmanshyp, as the world hath long had great experience; even the same popish clergie, that hath framed to hym selfe wynges, not naturally by God's ordinance growyng to the body therof, but made of fethers pulled from temporall princes, and from byshops in theyr owne dioceses, by usurpation; fastened together by art of symonie, and joyned to theyr bodyes with the glew of superstitious credulitie. With these have they passed landes and seas, clymbyng and flyeng in ayre, (that is, upon no stedfast ground,) above mountaines, trees, and countries; that is, above emperours, kinges, just prelates, and common-weales.

The sonne of this Dædalus (that is, of treason of popish clergie,) is Icarus, that is, aspiring treason of subjectes; which following his father and guide, popish-treason, (but not so well guiding hymselfe, for lacke of experience,) and desiring too sodenly to climbe too nere the sunne; or, perhappes, mounting with more hast than good speede, before his winges were well fastened, or while hymselfe could but yet flutter with them, and not perfectly flie; as God would, his glew melting, and his winges dropping away, fell downe in his climbing; and, no doubt, will geve name to the place where he lighteth, for perpetuall memorie of his undue presumption, surely yet piteously bewayled of papistes, as Icarus was of Dædalus his father.

This cunning Dædalus, popish-treason, to bryng thys copulation to contentment of the unchast Pasiphae, encloseth her in a counterfait cow; that is, such princes, or great estates, as desire to lie under the bull of Rome, popish clergie turneth into brutish shape, to serve brutish lust; maketh them beastly, forsakyng the dignitie of man and woman's shape, whom God made upright, to looke to God and God's seate the heaven; and it maketh them cowishly stoupe to earthward, without regard of the nature of man, the dignitie of

kyngdomes, the reverent aspect to divinitie, or any other manly and reasonable consideration; without any more vigor, agilitie of soule, and industrie to do noblely, than is in a cowe. A beast, in deede, profitable for worldly foode, as papistrie is, but (as most part of beastes be) redy to promiscuous and unchosen copulations, and specially meete for a bull; and, among other prety qualities, havyng one speciall grace (as one of theyr owne popish doctours preached) to swynge away flyes with her tayle wett in the water, as foolish papistes swynge away sinnes and temptations with a holy water sprinkle.

In thys beastly likenesse, degenerating from manly forme, and majestie of governance, by Dædalus' workmanship, (that is, by popish clergies traitorous practise,) ensued the copulation of a bull and a queene, in a cowishe shape; that is, sodomiticall and unnaturall mixture of popish usurpation with, and upon, royall governance, in brutish and reasonlesse forme.

Of this ingendring is begotten Minotaurus, a compounded monster, halfe a bull, and halfe a man, a beastly cruell bodie, roaring out (with the voyce or sound of a bull and wordes of a man) the sense of a devill. The selfe same monster-bull is he that lately roared out at the byshop's palace-gate, in the greatest citie of England, horrible blasphemies agaynst God, and villanous dishonors agaynst the noblest queene in the world, Elizabeth, the lawfull queene of England: he stamped and scraped on the ground, flong dust of spitefull speches and vaine curses about hym, pushed with hys hornes at her noble counsellers, and true subjectes, and (for pure anger) all-to berayed the place where he stoode: and all thys stirre he kept, to make a proofe if hys horned armye of calves would, or durst, come flyngyng about hym toward Midsommer-moone.

But he looked so beastly, and he raged so vaynely, that though the whole wood rang of hys noyse, yet hys syre, the great bull; hys damme, the prostitute cowe; and hys children, the foolish calves; were more ashamed of hym, than the noble lion was afraide of him: and, therefore, the bull, hys sire; the cowe, hys damme; and the wysest of hys calves, fled once agayne to Dædalus, (the treason of popish clergie,) for succour and good counsell: by whose good workmanship thys myngled monster is closed up in a maze; that is, in uncertainetie of vayne and false reportes. And (as it happeneth in a maze) by wayes leadyng to other places than they seme to tend unto, by crokednesse of devises, by spredyng into sondry creekes of rumors, to hyde whence the bull came, or where he lurketh, even as in the maze of Dædalus it happened; so it commeth to passe, that the Minotaure is not found out, and such as enter into the maze, (that is, into followyng of popish reportes and devises,) entangle them selves so, that, wanderyng uncertainely, at length they may hap to perish in Dædalus' engyne. And judgement they lacke, (the evident proufes considered, that are in that behalfe to be ministred,) that beleve the report to be true, of transferring that bull to protestantes devises. But I feare a worse thing: for, if they have no wisedome that say so, wise great persons can not beleve them, and, if they lacke not witte, then can not them selves beleve it; and so is their truth to the prince to be perillously suspected.

The remedie resteth, that some Theseus, some noble and valiant counseller, or rather one bodie and consent of all true and good nobilitie and counsellers, follow the good guiding thred, that is, godly policie; delivered them by the virgine whom they serve, and, conducted thereby, not onely may passe, without error, through the maze, and finde out the monster, Minotaure, that roared so rudely, but also destroy hym, and settle theyr prince and them selves in safetie; so as (Pasiphae duely and deservedly ordered, Dædalus unwynged and banished, hys fethers ryghtly restored, Icarus fayre drowned, the cowe transformed, the maze dissolved and razed, the monster destroyed, the calves, after the cowe perished, sent, with Waltham's calfe, to sucke theyr bull) Theseus may be victorious, the virgine ladie most honorable, the land quyet, the subjectes safe, and God's providence ever justly praysed, not vaynely tempted; hys kyndnesse thankfully embraced, his name lovyngly magnified, hys policies wisely followed, and hys religion zelously mainteyned.

But, till these noble enterprises be atchieved, it is not good to be hedelesse; the monster may be let out of the maze, when it pleaseth Pasiphae and Dædalus.

It is good to be awake. Some men be wakened with tickelyng, and some with pinchyng, or pullyng by the eare; that is, some with mery resemblances, and some with earnest admonitions. Some be raysed out of sleepe with noyse, as by the speech, or calling of men; or by brute voyces, as the roaring of bulles, and noyse of beastes; that is, either by advises of them that warne with reason, or with the bragges and threateninges of the enemies, or inklinges slipped out of uncircumspect adversaries' mouthes. Some be wakened with very whisperinges, as with secret rumors and intelligences. Some agayne are so vigilant and carefull, that the very weight of the cause, and pensive thinking of it, wil scarcely let them sleepe at all. But most miserable is theyr drowsinesse, or, rather, fatall semeth their sleepinesse, that, for all the meanes aforesayd, and specially so leude and loude roaring of so rude and terrible a bull, can not be wakened, or made to arme and bestirre them, till the tumult and alarme in the campe, the clinking of armour, the sounde of shotte and strokes, the tumbling downe of tentes round about them, the groning of wounded men dying on every side of them, treason, force, and hostilitie triumphing in theyr lustiest rage, and Sinon, that perswaded the safetie of the traitorous horse, insulting among them; yea, till the very enemies weapon in theyr body awake them. Such may happe so to sleepe, as they may never wake.

Let us all wake in prayer to God. Let us cry louder, in sinceritie and devotion, than the bull is able to roare in treason and blasphemie. Let us pray God to arme our queene and counsell with all wisedome and fortitude, and our selves with all fidelitie and manhoode, and to repose our selves upon confidence of theyr most blessed governance, and redy, with our lives and all that we have, to follow and serve them. Let us dayly and nightly pray God to send a curst cow and a curst bull short hornes, or to be well capped, or well sawed of, that they budde no more; for els it were better to take away head and all to be sure, least honester then these calves be made calves, or knocked on the head, as though they were calves. Surely, as of a body, there is but one head that can not be spared, so, in a body, may be many heads that must needes be spared; as perhappes twenty byles, and every one hath a head, in which case there is no perill, but least they goe into the body agayne, and then, perchance, infect the hart bloud, and put the body in danger; and the onely perill of driving them in agayne, you wote, is colde, and colde handling. Some of our botches be runne already; of some theyr heads be broken, some ryping, and, I trust, shall be well launced, or cleane drawne out in time. In the meane time beware cold, and God send and maintayne the warmth of his grace. Amen.

The Prophecy of Bishop Usher.[1] To which is added, Two Letters, one from Sir William Boswell (Ambassador at the Hague) to the most Reverend William Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury; the other from the Reverend John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry in Ireland, to the most Reverend James Usher, late Archbishop of Armagh.

London: Printed in the Year 1687.

[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

THE prediction of the most learned and pious archbishop Usher is very remarkable: as it was printed about seven years ago with licence, and the truth of the matter of fact therein delivered, never (that I know of) denied, but confirmed by many; which, in short, was thus: That the year before this holy primate died (who was buried in the Abbey at Westminster, the 17th of April, 1656, the usurper Cromwell allowing two-hundred pounds towards his funeral; so great his worth, that it even charmed that tyrant, otherwise far from being a friend to any of his profession,) an intimate friend of the archbishop's asking him, among other discourse, what his present apprehensions were concerning a very great persecution which should fall upon the church of God in those nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, (of which he had heard him speak with great confidence many years before[2], when we were in the highest and fullest state of outward peace and settlement,) and whether he did believe those sad times to be past, or that they were yet to come? He answered, "That they were yet to come; and that he did as confidently expect it as ever he had done:" adding, "That this sad persecution would fall upon all the Protestant churches of Europe." His friend arguing, that he hoped the affliction might now be over, and be intended of our late calamitous civil-wars: the reverend prelate turning towards him, and fixing his eyes upon him, with that serious and severe look, which he usually had when he spoke God's word, and not his own, and when the power of God seemed to be upon him, and to constrain him to speak, said thus:

"Fool not yourselves with such hopes: for I tell you, all you have yet seen, hath been but the beginning of sorrows, to what is yet to come upon the Protestant churches of Christ; who will, before long, fall under a sharper persecution than ever yet has been upon them: therefore, (said he to him) look you be not found in the outward court, but a worshipper in the temple before the altar; for Christ will measure all those that profess his name, and call themselves his people; and outward worshippers he will leave out, to be trodden down by the Gentiles. The outward court (says he) is the formal Christian, whose religion lies in performing the outside duties of Christianity, without having an inward life and power of faith and love, uniting them to Christ; and those God will leave to be trod-

[1] [What the authenticity of this prediction may be, the present editor cannot ascertain. It does not appear to be noticed by Dr. Parr, the writer of the Life of Usher.]

[2] [This would seem to allude to what is related by Dr. Parr, that the archbishop returning to his lodgings, (after an unsuccessful attempt to gain favour for the episcopal clergy from Cromwell,) 'said to some of his re-'lations, and myself, that came to see him —"This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to per-'form what he promised; well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long; 'the king will return: though I shall not live to see it, you may. The government both in church and state is 'in confusion; the papists are advancing their projects, and making such advantages as will hardly be pre-'vented."——Parr's Life of Usher, Lond. 1686. fo. p. 76.]

den down, and swept away by the Gentiles. But the worshippers within the temple, and before the altar, are those who do indeed worship God 'in spirit and in truth;' whose souls are made his temples, and he is honoured and adored in the most inward thoughts of their hearts; and they sacrifice their lusts and vile affections, yea, and their own wills to him; and these God will hide in the hollow of his hand, and under the shadow of his wings? And this shall be one great difference between this last, and all the other preceding persecutions: for, in the former, the most eminent and spiritual ministers and Christians did generally suffer most, and were most violently fallen upon; but in this last persecution, these shall be preserved by God, as a seed to partake of that glory which shall immediately follow, and come upon the church, as soon as ever this storm shall be over: for as it shall be the sharpest, so it shall be the shortest persecution of them all; and shall only take away the gross hypocrites, and formal professors, but the true spiritual believers shall be preserved till the calamity be over-past."

His friend then asked him, "By what means or instruments this great trial should be brought on?" He answered, "By the papists." His friend replied, "That it seemed very improbable they should be able to do it, since they were now little countenanced, and but few in these nations; and that the hearts of the people were more set against them, than ever since the Reformation." He answered again, "That it would be by the hands of the papists, and in the way of a sudden massacre; and that the then pope should be the chief instrument of it." He also added, "That the papists were (in his opinion) the Gentiles spoken of, Rev. xi. to whom the outward court should be left, that they might tread it under foot; they having received the Gentiles' worship in their adoring images and saints departed, and in taking to themselves many mediators: and this (said he) the papists are now designing among themselves; and therefore be sure you be ready."

This gracious man repeated the same things in substance to his only daughter, the lady Tyrril, and that with many tears; and much about the same time.

A Letter from Sir William Boswell, to the most Reverend William Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury; remaining with Sir Robert Cotton's choice Papers.

Most Reverend,

As I am here employed by our sovereign lord the king, your grace can testify that I have left no stone unturned for his majesty's advancement; neither can I omit (whenever I meet with treacheries or conspiracies against the church and state of England) the sending your grace an account in general. I fear matters will not answer your expectations, if your grace do but seriously weigh them with deliberation. For, be you assured, the Romish clergy have gulled the misled party of our English nation, and that under a puritanical dress; for which the several fraternities of that church have lately received indulgence from the see of Rome, and council of cardinals, for to educate several of the young fry of the church of Rome, who are natives of his majesty's realms and dominions, and instruct them in all manner of principles and tenets, contrary to the episcopacy of the church of England.

There are in the town of Hague, to my certain knowledge, two dangerous impostors, of whom I have given notice to the prince of Orange; who have large indulgences granted them, and known to be of the church of Rome, although they seem puritans, and do converse with several of our English factors: the one, James Murray, a Scotchman; and the other John Napper, a Yorkshire blade.

The main drift of these intentions is, to pull down the English episcopacy, as being the chief support of the imperial crown of our nation. For which purpose, above sixty Romish clergymen are gone, within these two years, out of the monasteries of the French

king's dominions, to preach up the Scotch covenant, and Mr. Knox's descriptions and rules within that kirk; and to spread the same about the northern coasts of England. Let, therefore, his majesty have an inkling of these crotchets, that he might be persuaded, whenever matters of the church come before you, to refer them to your grace, and the episcopal party of the realm. For there are great preparations making ready against the liturgy and ceremonies of the church of England; and all evil contrivances here and in France, and in other Protestant holdings, to make your grace and the episcopacy odious to all Reformed Protestants abroad. It has wrought so much on divers of the foreign ministers of the Protestants, that they esteem our clergy little better than papists. The main things that they hit in our teeth are, our bishops to be called 'Lords;' the service of the church, the cross in baptism, confirmation, bowing at the name of Jesus, the communion-tables placed altar-ways, our manner of consecrations, and several other matters which are of late buzzed into the heads of the foreign clergy, to make your grievances the less regarded in case of a change, which is aimed at, if not speedily prevented.

Your grace's letter is carefully delivered, by my gentleman's own hands, unto the prince.

Thus craving your grace's hearty prayers for my undertakings abroad, as also for my safe arrival, that I may have the freedom to kiss your grace's hands, and to tell you more at large of these things, I rest

Hague, June 12, 1640. Your Grace's most humble servant,

W. B.

A Letter from the Right Reverend John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, (afterwards Primate of Ireland,) to the most Reverend James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh.

Most Reverend,

I THANK God I do take my pilgrimage patiently, yet I cannot but condole the change of the church and state of England; and more in my pilgrimage than ever, because I dare not witness and declare to that straying flock of our brethren in England who have misled them, and who they are that feed them. But that your lordship may be more sensible of the church's calamities, and of the dangers she is in of being ruined, if God be not merciful unto her; I have sent you a part of my discoveries, and it, from credible hands; at this present having so sure a messenger, and so fit an opportunity.

It plainly appears, that in the year 1646, by order from Rome, above one-hundred of the Romish clergy were sent into England, consisting of English, Scotch, and Irish, who had been educated in France, Italy, Germany, and Spain; part of these within the several schools there appointed for their instructions. In each of these Romish nurseries, these scholars were taught several handicraft-trades and callings, as their ingenuities were most bending, besides their orders or functions of that church.

They have many yet at Paris a-fitting up to be sent over, who twice in the week oppose one another; one pretending Presbytery, the other Independency; some Anabaptism, and other contrary tenets, dangerous and prejudicial to the church of England, and to all the Reformed churches here abroad. But they are wisely preparing to prevent these designs, which I heartily wish were considered in England among the wise there.

When the Romish orders do thus argue *pro* and *con*, there is appointed one of the learned of those convents, to take notes, and to judge: and as he finds their fancies, whether for Presbytery, Independency, Anabaptism, Atheism, or for any new tenets; so accordingly they are to act, and to exercise their wits. Upon their permission when they be sent abroad, they enter their names in the convent-registry, also their licences. If a Franciscan, if a Dominican, or Jesuit, or any other order, having several names there entered in their licence; in case of a discovery in one place, then to fly to another, and there to change their names or habit.

For an assurance of their constancy to their several orders, they are to give monthly intelligence to their fraternities, of all affairs, wherever they be dispersed: so that the English abroad know news better than you at home.

When they return into England, they are taught their lesson, to say, if any enquire, from whence they come? that they were poor Christians formerly that fled beyond sea for their religion-sake, and are now returned, with glad news, to enjoy their liberty of conscience.

The hundred men, that went over in 1646, were most of them soldiers in the parliament's army, and were daily to correspond with those Romanists in our late king's army, that were lately at Oxford, and pretended to fight for his sacred majesty: for, at that time, there were some Roman-catholicks who did not know the design contriving against our church and state of England. But the year following, 1647, many of those Romish orders (who came over the year before) were in consultation together, knowing each other. And those of the king's party, asking some, "Why they took with the parliament side?" and asking others, "Whether they were bewitched to turn puritans?" not knowing their design: but, at last, secret bulls and licences being produced by those of the parliament's side, it was declared, between them, "there was no better design to confound the church of England, than by pretending liberty of conscience." It was argued then, "that England would be a second Holland, a commonwealth; and, if so, what would become of the king?" It was answered, "Would to God it were come to that point!" It was again replied, "Yourselves have preached so much against Rome and his Holiness, that Rome, and her Romanists, will be little the better for that change." But it was answered, "You shall have mass sufficient for an hundred-thousand in a short space, and the governors never the wiser." Then some of the mercifullest of the Romanists said, "This cannot be done, unless the king die." Upon which argument, the Romish orders thus licensed, and in the parliament army, wrote unto their several convents, but especially to the Sorbonists, 'Whether it may be scrupled to make away our late godly king, and his majesty his son?' our king and master; who (blessed be God!) hath escaped their Romish snares laid for him. It was returned from the Sorbonists, 'That it was lawful for Roman-catholicks to 'work changes in governments for the mother-church's advancement, and chiefly in an 'heretical kingdom; and so lawfully make away the king.'

Thus much, to my knowledge, have I seen and heard, since my leaving your lordship, which I thought very requisite to inform your grace: for myself would hardly have credited these things, had not mine eyes seen sure evidence of the same. Let these things sleep within your gracious lordship's breast, and not awake but upon sure grounds; for this age can trust no man, there being so great fallacy amongst men. So the Lord preserve your lordship in health, for the nation's good, and the benefit of your friends! which shall be the prayers of

July 20, 1654.

Your humble Servant,
J. DERENSIS.

These two letters were taken out of that treasury of choice letters, published by Dr. Parr, his lordship's chaplain, and printed for Nathaniel Ranew, at the King's-Arms, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1686.

The King's Cabinet opened: Or certain Pacquets of secret Letters and Papers. Written with the King's own Hand, and taken in his Cabinet at Nasby Field, June 14, 1645, by victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax; wherein are many Mysteries of State, tending to the Justification of that Cause, for which Sir Thomas Fairfax joined Battle that memorable Day, clearly laid open; together with some Annotations thereupon. Published by special Order of the Parliament.[1]

London: Printed for Robert Bostock, dwelling in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the Sign of the King's-Head, 1645.

[Quarto; containing seventy-two Pages.]

It were a great sin against the mercies of God, to conceal those evidences of truth, which he so graciously, and almost miraculously, by surprisal of these papers, hath put into our hands; nor dare we smother this light under a bushel, but freely hold it out to our seduced brethren; for so, in the spirit of meekness, labouring to reclaim them, we still speak, that they may see their errors, and return into the right way. For those

[1] [The publication of these letters gave rise to many animadvertary and exculpatory publications. It may be useful to those who wish further to investigate the subject, to be referred to some of these, among the valuable collection in the British Museum, known by the name of the King's Pamphlets.

No. 216. 'The King's Cabinet opened: with Animadversions thereupon, by W. Parker, Esq. 1645.' 4to.

No. 220. 'A Satyr occasioned by the Author's Survey of a scandalous Pamphlet, entituled, The King's Ca-'binet opened. Oxon. 1645.' 4to.

Ib. 'Some Observations upon Occasion of the publishing their Majesties Letters. Oxon. 1645.' 4to.

No. 221. 'A Key to the King's Cabinet. 1645.' 4to.

No. 222. 'A Letter of his Majesty, concerning a Misinterpretation of one maine Passage in his Letters. Oxon. '1645.' 4to.

It appears by the Appendix (No. xii.) to Hearne's Preface to the Chronicle of Peter Langtoft, that the learned and eminent mathematician, Dr. John Wallis, was charged, after the Restoration, with having been engaged in deciphering these papers, and that some (among whom were Henry Stubbe and Anthony Wood) looked upon this business of deciphering as a base act, and even insinuated that the doctor was "able to make black white, and white black, for his own ends," and that he had "a ready knack of sophistical evasion." Dr. Wallis, however, has denied the charge altogether, in a letter to his friend bishop Fell:

"My Lord,

"I understand there have of late been complaints made of mee, that I deciphered the late king's letters; meaning those taken in the late king's cabinet at Nase-by fight, and after printed. As to this, without saying any thing whether it be now proper to repeat what was done above forty years ago; the thing is quite otherwise. Of those letters and papers, (whatever they were) I never saw any one of them but in print: nor did those papers, as I have been told, need any deciphering at all, either by mee, or any body else: being taken in words at length, just as they were printed; save that some of them were, I know not by whom, translated out of French into English. 'Tis true, that, afterwards, some other letters of other persons, which had been occasionally intercepted, were brought to my hands; some of which I did decipher, and some of them I did not think fit to do, to the displeasing of some, who were then great men," &c.

These letters which the doctor alludes to are in the Bodleian library, at Oxford, thus inscribed by himself:

"*Hanc Epistolarum Collectionem, quas ciphris scriptas ipse exposuerat, celeberrimæ Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ in illustrissimâ Academiâ Oxoniensi dedit Johannes Wallis, ibidem geometria professor Savilianus. Reservatâ sibi in posterum potestate addendi vel emendandi,* &c.——Given to the public library there, *anno Domini* 1653."

For further information on the subject of these Letters, see the Life of Charles I. by W. Harris, Lond. 1768. 8vo.]

that wilfully deviate, and make it their profession to oppose the truth, we think it below us, to revile them with opprobrious language; remembering the apostle St. Jude, and that example which he gives us in his epistle. They may see here in his private Letters, what affection the king bears to his people, what language and titles he bestows upon his great council; which we return not again, but consider with sorrow that it comes from a prince seduced out of his proper sphere; one that has left that seat, in which he ought, and hath boundhimself to sit, to 'sit (as the Psalmist speaks) in the chair of the scornful;' and to the ruin, almost, of three kingdoms, hath 'walked in the counsels of the ungodly:' and though in our tenets we annex no infallibility to the seat of a king in parliament, (as the Romanists do to the papal chair,) since all men are subject to error; yet we dare boldly say, that no English king did ever, from that place, speak destruction to his people, but safety and honour; nor any that abhorred that seat and council, but did the contrary. Therefore, reader, to come now to the present business of these Letters; thou art either a friend or enemy to our cause: If thou art well affected to that cause of liberty and religion, which the two parliaments of England and Scotland now maintain against a combination of all the papists in Europe almost, especially the bloody tygers of Ireland, and some of the prelatical and court faction in England; thou wilt be abundantly satisfied with these Letters, here printed, and take notice therefrom, how the court has been *cajolled* (that is the new authentic word now amongst our cabalistical adversaries) by the Papists; and we, the more believing sort of Protestants, by the court. If thou art an enemy to parliaments and reformation, and made wilful in thy enmity, beyond the help of miracles, or such revelations as these are; then it is to be expected that thou wilt either deny these papers to have been written by the king's own hand, or else that we make just constructions and inferences out of them: or lastly, thou wilt deny, though they be the king's own, and bear such a sense as we understand them in, yet that they are blameable, or unjustifiable against such rebels as we are.

As to the first, know that the parliament was never yet guilty of such forgery; the king yet in all the letters of his, which have been hitherto intercepted, never objected any such thing, and we dare appeal to his own conscience now; knowing that he cannot disavow either his own hand-writing, or the matters themselves here written. All the cyphers, letters, all circumstances of time and fact, and the very hand by which they are signed, (so generally known, and now exposed to the view of all,) will aver for us, that no such forgery could be possible. As to our comments and annotations, if there be not perspicuity and modesty in them, there is no common justice nor place for credit left amongst mankind: but, indeed, most of the main circumstances want no illustration at all to the most vulgar capacities; and therefore we affirm nothing necessary to be believed, but what the printed papers will themselves utter in their own language; and yet, for that which is not so clearly warranted here, we have other papers for their warrant, were they not too numerous, and vast, and too much intermixed with other matter of no pertinence for publication at this time.

Touching the last objection, if thou art a perfect malignant, and dost not stick to deny that there is any thing in these Letters unbeseeming a prince who professes himself a defender of the true faith, a tender father of his country, and has been so sanctimoniously engaged with frequent, special vows of affection, candour, sincerity, and constancy, to his particular protestant subjects of England and Scotland: then know, that thou art scarce worthy of any reply, or satisfaction in this point. Our cause is now the same as it was when the king first took up arms, and as it was when the king made most of these oaths and professions. Our three propositions concerning the abolition of episcopacy, the settling the militia of the three kingdoms in good hands, (by advice of parliament,) the vindication of the Irish rebels; being all our main demands at the treaty in February last, and no other than the propositions sent in June 1642 before any stroke struck; will bear us witness, that we have rather straitened, than enlarged our complaints. But were our cause altered, as it is not; or were we worse rebels,

than formerly; as none can affirm which take notice of our late sufferings, and our strange patience even now after the discovery of these papers, and our late extraordinary success in the field; yet still this clandestine proceeding against us here, and condemning all that are in any degree Protestants at Oxford, (as also granting a toleration of idolatry to papists, and indemnity to the murtherous Irish, in a close trading way, for mere particular advantage,) cannot be defended by any, but by the falsest of men, papists; or the falsest of papists, jesuits.

Hitherto the English have had commission to chastise the Irish, the Irish have had the like to chastise the English; both have spilt each others blood, by the king's warrant; yet as both have been in part owned, so both have been in part disowned, and the king himself has not appeared with an open face in the business: but now by God's good providence the traverse curtain is drawn, and the king writing to Ormond, and the queen, what they must not disclose, is presented upon the stage. God grant the drawing of this curtain may be as fatal to popery, and all antichristian heresy here now, as the rending of the vail was to the Jewish ceremonies in Judea, at the expiration of our Saviour.

15.

Dear Heart, *Oxford, Jan.* 9.

SINCE my last, which was by Talbot, the Scots commissioners have sent to desire me to send a commission to the general assembly in Edinburgh, which I am resolved not to do; but, to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to London, and that I may have the more time for the making a handsome negative, I have demanded a passport for Philip Warwick, by whom to return my answer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that Lenthall the Speaker brags, that cardinal Mazarine keeps a strict intelligence with him: though I will not swear that Lenthall says true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for Sabran, I am confident, that either he or his instructions are not right for him, who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertised from London, that there are three or four lords and eight commons, besides four Scotch commissioners, appointed to treat; and they have named Uxbridge for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised, that general Goring prospers well where he is, and since Monday last hath taken eighty of the rebels' horse: and, upon his advance, they have quitted Peterfield and Coudry.

P. S. The settling of religion, and the militia, are the first to be treated on; and be confident, that I will neither quit episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into my hands.

29. 15.

Copy to my Wife, Jan. 9. 1644, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

31.

Dear Heart, *Oxford, Sunday, March* 30.

SINCE my last, which was but three days ago, there are no alterations happened of moment; preparations, rather than actions, being yet our chiefest business; in which we hope, that we proceed faster than the rebels, whose levies both of men and money, for certain, go on very slowly; and I believe they are much weaker than is thought, even here at Oxford. For instance: A very honest servant of mine, and no fool, shewed me a proposition from one of the most considerable London rebels; who will not let his name be known until he hath hope that his proposition will take effect. It is this: 'That since 'the treaty is so broken off, that neither the rebels nor I can resume it, without, at least, 'a seeming total yielding to the other; the treaty shall be renewed upon thy motion, with 'a pre-assurance, that the rebels will submit to reason.' The answer that I permitted

my servant to give, was, 'That thou art the much fittest person to be the means of so 'happy and glorious a work, as is the peace of this kingdom; but that upon no terms 'thy name was to be profaned: therefore, he was to be satisfied of the rebels' willingness 'to yield to reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to 'thee; and particularly, concerning religion and the militia, that nothing must be 'insisted upon but according to my former offers.' This, I believe, will come to nothing; yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

I must again tell thee, that most assuredly France will be the best way for transportation of the duke of Lorrain's army; there being divers fit and safe places of landing for them upon the western coasts, besides the ports under my obedience; as Shelsey near Chichester, and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.

By my next, I think to tell thee when I shall march into the field, for which money is now his greatest want. I need say no more, who is eternally thine.

18. 31.

To my Wife, March 30, 1645, by Petit.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

30.

Dear Heart, *Oxford, Thursday, March* 27.

I wrote to thee yesterday by Sakefield: the subject of it was only kindness to thee; which, I assure thee, shall ever be visible in all my actions. And now I come to Jermin's account, given me by thy command; which is very clear, hopeful in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care and industry. As for the main impediment in the duke of Lorrain's business, which is his passage; why may thou not procure him passage through France? If that of Holland be stuck at, it will much secure and facilitate the sea-transportation in respect of landing on the western coast, which, I believe, will be found the best; there being not so many places to chuse on, any where else. But this is an opinion, not a direction.

The general face of my affairs, methinks, begins to mend; the dissensions at London rather increasing than ceasing, Montrose daily prospering, my Western business mending apace, and hopeful in all the rest. So that, if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder, not to exclude any other, I am confident to be in a better condition this year, than I have been since this rebellion began; and, possibly, I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy company again; without which, nothing can be a contentment unto me. And so, farewel, dear heart!

I intend, if thou like it, to bestow Percy's place on the marquis of Newcastle; to whom, yet, I am no ways engaged, nor will be before I have thy answer. As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making of him master of the Wards; for Cottington had it long before thou went hence, and I intended it to secretary Nich. if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I desired thee to command lord Jer. to read to thee the duke's letter, which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the transportation of the duke of Lorrain's army.

23. 30.

To my Wife, March 27, 1645, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

39.

Dear Heart, *Oxford, Sunday, May* 4.

THE rebels' new brutish general hath refused to meddle with foreign passes, so as yet I cannot dispatch Adrian May to thee, by the way of London; which, if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the West. And now, if I could be assured of thy recovery,

I would have but few melancholy thoughts: for, I thank God, my affairs begin to smile upon me again; Wales being swept of the rebels, Farrington having relieved itself, and now being secured by Goring's coming; my nephews likewise having brought me a strong party of horse and foot, these quarters are so free, that I hope to be marching within three or four days, and am still confident to have the start of the rebels this year. I am likewise very hopeful, that my son will shortly be at the head of a good army: for this I have the chearful assurance of Culpeper and Hyde. Of late, I have been much pressed to make Southampton master of my horse; not more for goodwill to him, as out of fear, that Hamilton might return to a capacity of re-censuring me; wherein, if I had done nothing, both jealousy and discontents were like to arise; wherefore I thought fit to put my nephew Rupert in that place, which will both save me charge and stop other men's grumblings. I have now no more to say; but praying for, and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest eternally thine.

39.

To my Wife, May 4, 1645, by Malin St. Ravy.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

13.

Dear Heart, *Oxford, Jan. 2.*

HAVING decyphered thine, which I received yesterday, I was much surprized to find thee blame me for neglecting to write to thee; for, indeed, I have often complained for want, never missed any occasion of sending to thee; and, I assure thee, never any dispatch went from any of my secretaries, without one from me, when I knew of it.

As for my calling those at London 'a parliament,' I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction: this in general; if there had been but two, besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament: upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherways, and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation; but thou wilt find, that it was by misfortune, not neglect, that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it.

As for the conclusion of thy letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didst not know thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction, hath been presented to thee in the ugliest form; not having received the true reason and meaning of it. The fear of some such mischance made me the more careful, to give thee a full account by Tom Elliot, of the reasons of the duke of R. and earl of S. journey to London; which, if it come soon enough, I am confident will free thee from much trouble; but, if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou hearest the reasons of them from me, thou may be often subject to be doubly vexed; first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude; esteem me as thou findest me constant to those grounds thou left me withall; and so, farewel, dear heart!

21. 13.

Copy to my Wife, Jan. 2, 1645, by P. A.

4.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

21.

Dear Heart, *Oxford, Feb. 19. O. S.*

I cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of our treaty; only, the unreasonable stubbornness of the rebels gives daily less and less hopes of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours shall hinder thee from hastening, all thou may, all possible assistance to me, and particularly, that of the duke of Lorrain's; concerning which I received yesterday good news from Dr. Goffe, that the prince of Orange

will furnish shipping for his transportation, and the rest of his negotiation goes hopefully on; by which, and many other ways, I find thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether, in their several kinds, to esteem most. But I will say no more of this, lest thou may think that I pretend to do, this way, what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of my life. Though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyle by Montrose; who, upon surprise, totally routed those rebels, and killed fifteen hundred upon the place. Yesterday I received thine of the twenty-seventh of January, by the Portuguese agent; the only way (but expressed) I am confident on, either to receive letters from thee, or to send them to thee: indeed, Sabran sent me word yesterday, besides, some compliments of the ambassy of the rebels' ships in France, (which I likewise put upon thy score of kindness); but is well enough content, that the Portuguese should be charged with thy dispatches. As for trusting the rebels either by going to London, or disbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I esteem the interest thou hast in me, at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit (at least by the sympathy that is betwixt us) than to put myself into the reverence of perfidious rebels. So, impatiently expecting the express thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine.

I can assure thee, that Hertogen, the Irish agent, is an arrant knave; which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending pacquets.

11. 21.

To my Wife, Feb. 19, 1645, by P. A.

4

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

Dear Heart, 20.

THE expectation of an express from thee (as I find by thine of the fourth of February) is very good news to me; as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As for our treaty, there is every day less hopes than other, that it will produce a peace. But I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return. For I avow, that, without thy company, I can neither have peace nor comfort within myself. The limited days for treating are now almost expired, without the least agreement upon any one article: wherefore, I have sent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world. And, I assure thee, that thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty; for my commissioners are so well chosen, (though I say it,) that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them; which, upon my word, is according to the little note thou so well remembers. And, in this, not only their obedience, but their judgments concur. I confess, in some respects, thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to London: for, indeed, some amongst us has had a greater mind, that way, than was fit; of which persuasion, Percy is one of the chief, who is, shortly, like to see thee; of whom having said this, it is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee concerning our proceedings here. In short, there is little or no appearance, but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that in making peace, I shall ever shew my constancy in adhering to bishops, and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual parliament. But, as thou loves me, let none persuade thee to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine, *C.* R.

15 4

Oxford, Feb. 25. 1645.

3. 20.

To my Wife, Feb. 15, 1645, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

Dear Heart, 22.

NOW is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to a present peace) of this treaty; but I am still confident, that I shall find very good effects of it; for, besides that my commissioners have offered (to say no more) full measured reason, and the rebels have stuck rigidly to their demands; which, I dare say, had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner; so that, assuredly, the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the world, that the English rebels (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference, have, as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the crown of England to the Scots; which, besides the reflection it will have upon these rebels, will clearly shew, that reformation of the church is not the chief, much less the only end of the Scottish rebellion: but, it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawful means to maintain it; I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, than hitherto thou hast had: it is, that I give thee power to promise, in my name, to whom thou thinkest most fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman-catholicks in England, as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as, by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance, as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance; I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this business requires, yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee: for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else, but in this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us; and yet I know, thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this. I trusting thee, though it concern religion, as if thou wert a Protestant, (the visible good of my affairs so much depending on it,) I have so fully intrusted this bearer, Pooly, that I will not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new cypher; assuring thee, that none hath, or shall have, any copy of it but myself; to the end thou mayest use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any thing, which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me; and so likewise from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

20. 23.

To my Wife, March 5, 1645, by Pooly.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

33.

The little, that is here in cypher, is in that which I sent to thee by Pooly.

Dear Heart, *Oxford, Wednesday, April, 9, 1645.*

THOUGH it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow messenger, yet all occasions of this, which is now the only way of conversing with thee, are so welcome to me, as I shall be loth to lose any; but expect neither news or public business from me, by this way of conveyance: yet, judging thee by myself, even these nothings will not be unwelcome to thee, though I should chide thee, (which, if I could, I would do,) for thy too sudden taking alarms. I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is inseparably conjoined with thine; must not all my actions tend to serve and please thee? If thou knew what a life I lead, (I speak not in respect of the common distractions,) even in point of conversation (which, in my mind, is the chief joy or vexation of one's life,) I dare say thou would pity me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busy, others too reserved, many fantastick. In a word, when I know none better (I speak not now in relation to business) than 359. 8. 270. 55. 5. 7. 67. 18. 294. 35. 69. 16. 54. 6. 38. 1. 67. 68. 9. 66. thou may easily judge how my conversation pleaseth me. I confess, thy company hath, perhaps, made me in this hard to be pleased, but not less to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this disease. The end of all is this; to desire thee to comfort me, as often as thou can, with thy letters: and dost not

thou think, that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou spendest the time, are pleasing subjects unto me, though thou hast no other business to write of? Believe me, sweet heart, thy kindness is as necessary to comfort my heart, as thy assistance is for my affairs.

To my Wife, 9 April, 1645, by Binion.

This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

X.

Dear Heart, *Oxford, Thursday, March* 20.

UPON Saturday last I wrote to thee by Sabran, but this I believe may come as soon to thee; and I have received thine, of the seventh, upon Monday last, which gave me great contentment, both in present and expectation, the quick passage being likewise a welcome circumstance: and yet I cannot but find a fault of omission in most of thy later dispatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though I confess, that, in this, no news is good news, yet I am not so satisfied, without a more perfect assurance; and I hope thou wilt, by satisfying me, confess the justness of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation; I pray God send me a good unlading, for I look daily for some blow of importance to be given about Taunton, or Shrewsbury; and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from Ireland. Likewise the refractory horse (as the London rebels calls them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none; if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me: howsoever, I doubt not, but if they stand out, as it is probable, good use may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having sent to try their pulses: Petit came yesterday, but he, having at London thrust his dispatches into the states ambassador's pacquets, I have not yet received them; and I would not stay to lengthen this in answer of them, nor give thee half-hopes of good Western news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within these three or four days; only I congratulate with thee for the safe arrival of thy tin-adventure at Calais, and so farewell, sweet heart!

Thine of the tenth I have newly received, whereby I find that thou much mistakes me concerning Ireland, for I desire nothing more than a peace there, and never forbad thy commerce there; only I gave thee warning of some Irish in France, whom I then thought, and now know to be knaves.

To my Wife, March the 20th, 1644-5, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

XI.

Dear Heart, *Droitwich, Wednesday, May* 14.

MARCHING takes away the conveniency of sending my letters so safe and quick to thee, as when I was at Oxford; however, I shall not fail to do what I can to send often to thee. There is so little news for the present, as I will leave that subject for others; only, upon Saturday last, I received a dispatch from Montrose, which assures me his condition to be so good, that he bids me be confident, that his countrymen shall do me no great harm this year; and, if I could lend him but five-hundred horse, he would undertake to bring me twenty-thousand men before the end of this summer.

For the general state of my affairs, we all here think to be very hopeful; this army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing; my son's such, that Fairfax will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himself. It is true that I cannot brag for store of money, but a sharp sword always hinders starving at least; and I believe the rebels' coffers are not very full, (and certainly we shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they,) or they must have some greater defect, else their levies could not be so backward as they are; for, I assure thee, that I have at this instant many more men in the field than they. I am not very confident what

their Northern forces are, but expect they are much stronger than I am made believe. I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a complaint to thee of my son Charles, which troubles me the more, that thou mayest suspect I seek, by equivocating, to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee. It is this: he hath sent to desire me, that sir John Greenfield may be sworn gentleman of his bedchamber; but already so publicly engaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace both to my son and the young gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste; especially now, considering his father's merits, his own hopefulness, besides the great power that family has in the West: yet I have refused the admitting of him, until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore, I desire thee first to chide my son, for engaging himself without one of our consents; then, not to refuse thy own consent; and, lastly, to believe, that directly or indirectly I never knew of this while yesterday, at the delivery of my son's letter; so farewell, sweet heart, and God send me good news from thee.

To my Wife, May 14, 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

XII.

Dear Heart,

I know thy affection to me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much, if not more trouble to find my reputation, as my life in danger; therefore, lest the false sound of my offering a treaty to the rebels upon base and unsafe terms should disturb thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary, to assure thy mind from such rumours, to tell thee the ways I have used to come to a treaty, and upon what grounds. I shall first shew thee my grounds, to the end thou may the better understand and approve of my ways. Then know, as a certain truth, that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace; which obliged me so much the more, at all occasions, to shew my real intentions to peace: and likewise I am put in very good hope (some hold it a certainty,) that if I could come to a fair treaty, the ring-leading rebels could not hinder me from a good peace: first, because their own party are most weary of the war; and likewise for the great distractions, which, at this time, most assuredly are amongst themselves; as Presbyterians against Independents in religion, and general against general, in point of command. Upon these grounds a treaty being most desirable, not without hope of good success, the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety: amongst the rest, (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably counselable,) the sound of my return to London was thought to have so much force of popular rhetorick in it, that, upon it, a treaty would be had; or, if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and advantage to me: yet, lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joined conditions with the proposition (without which this sound will signify nothing), which thou wilt find to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace. Then observe, if a treaty at London with commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used; nor, in case they will treat with no body but myself; so that the condition save any aspersion of dishonour, and the treating at London, the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse into this treaty upon this subject.

This, I hope, will secure thee from the trouble, which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours; and though I judge myself secure in thy thoughts, from suspecting me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary; to the end thou may make others know, as well as thyself, this certain truth, That no danger of death or misery, which I think much worse, shall make me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the state of my present affairs, I refer thee to 92: concluding, as I did in my last to thee, by conjuring thee, as thou lovest me, that no appearance of peace, (and now I add, nor hopeful condition of mine,) make thee neglect to haste succour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, December, 1644, by Thomas Elliot.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

XIII.

Dear Heart, *Oxford, March* 13, *O. S.*

WHAT I told thee the last week, concerning a good parting with our lords and commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed; and now if I do any thing unhandsome, or disadvantageous to myself or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault: for, I confess, when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures, to renew the treaty; knowing that there was great labouring to that purpose. But now I promise thee, if it be renewed, (which I believe will not, without some eminent good success on my side,) it shall be to my honour and advantage; I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions, (that is to say, our mongrel parliament here,) as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them, (Wilmot being already there, Percy on his way, and Sussex, within few days, taking his journey to thee,) but that I know, thou carest not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniencies: yet I must tell thee, that, if I knew not the perfect steadiness of thy love to me, I might reasonably apprehend, that their repair to thee would rather prove a change, than an end of their villainies; and I cannot deny, but my confidence in thee was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of March, by which thou puts me in hope of assistance of men and money; and it is no little expression of thy love to me, that, because of my business, festivals are troublesome to thee: but I see that assemblies in no countries are very agreeable to thee, and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their companies; and excuse me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder, that mere statesmen should desire to be rid of thee: therefore, I desire thee to think, whether it would not advantage thee much to make a personal friendship with the queen-regent, without shewing any distrust of her ministers, though not wholly trusting to them; and to shew her, that when her regency comes out, and possibly before, she may have need of her friends, so that she shall but serve herself by helping of thee; and to say no more, but certainly, if this rebellion had not begun to oppress me when it did, a late great queen had ended more glorious than she did. In the last place, I desire thee to give me a weekly account of thy health, for I fear, lest in that alone thou takest not care enough to express thy kindness to him, who is eternally thine.

The Northern news is rather better than what we first heard; for what, by sir Marmaduke Langdale's, and Montrose's victories, Carlisle and the rest of our Northern garrisons are relieved, and we hope for this year secured; and, besides all this, the Northern horse are already returned, and joined with my nephew Rupert.

To my Wife, March 13, 1644-5, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

XIV.

Dear Heart, *Daintry, Sunday, June* 8.

OXFORD being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee, than otherwise I could have expected; which makes me believe, that my good news will not be very stale; which, in short, is this. Since the taking of Leicester, my marching down hither to relieve Oxford made the rebels raise their siege, before I could come near them; having had their quarters once or twice beaten up by that garrison, and lost four-hundred men at an assault before Bostoll-house. At first I thought they would have fought with me, (being marched as far as Brackley,) but are since gone aside to Brickhill, so as I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be; whether by their distractions, which are certainly very great, (Fairfax and Brown having been at cudgels, and his men and Cromwell's likewise at blows together, where a captain was slain,) or wasting their men, I will not say. Besides, Goring hath given a great defeat to the Western rebels, but I do not yet know the particulars; wherefore I may, without being too much sanguine, affirm; that, since this rebel-

lion, my affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way; though among ourselves we want not our own follies, which it is needless, and (I am sure) tedious to tell thee; but such as, I am confident, shall do no harm, nor much trouble me. Yet I must tell thee, that it is thy letter by Fitz-Williams, assuring me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted kindness, which makes me capable of taking contentment in these good successes; for, as divers men propose several recompences to themselves, for their pains and hazard in this rebellion, so thy company is the only reward I expect and wish for.

To my Wife, June 9, 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

Dear Heart, XV.

SUNDAY last, I received three letters from thee; one a duplicate of the thirtieth of December, another of the sixth of January, and the last of the fourteenth of January; and even now one Petit is come with a duplicate of the last; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of me, so I must extremely wonder, that any, who pretends to be a friend to our cause (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lyes, That thou hast had ill offices done to me by any; or that thy care for my assistance hath been the least suspected: it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For, I protest to God! I never heard thee spoken of, but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance: but I am confident, that it is a branch of that root of knavery, which I am now digging at; and of this I have more than a bare suspicion. And, indeed, if I were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health, as of my assistance; at least, not giving me so often account of it, as I desire; these three last making no mention of thyself. Now, as for the treaty (which begins this day), I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such an one as will not stand with my honour and safety; of which I will say no more, because, knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me.

I send thee herewith my directions to my commissioners; but how I came to make them myself, without any others, Digby will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning military, as cabalistical matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things (only not answering for words) truly shew myself to be eternally thine.

The Portuguese agent hath made me two propositions: first, concerning the release of his master's brother, for which I shall have fifty-thousand pounds, if I can procure his liberty from the king of Spain; the other is for a marriage betwixt my son Charles and his master's eldest daughter. For the first, I have freely undertaken to do what I can; and, for the other, I will give such an answer as shall signify nothing.

I desire thee not to give too much credit to Sabran's relations, nor much countenance to the Irish agents in Paris; the particular reasons thou shalt have by Pooly, whom I intend for my next messenger. In the last place, I recommend to thee the care of Jersey and Guernsey; it being impossible for us here to do much, though we were rich, being weak at sea.

To my Wife, Jan. 30, 1644-5. By Legge.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

Ormond, XVI.

THE impossibility of preserving my Protestant subjects in Ireland, by a continuation of the war, having moved me to give you those powers and directions, which I have formerly done, for the concluding of a peace there; and the same growing daily much more evident; that alone were reason enough for me to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more positive. But, besides these considerations, it being now manifest, that the English rebels have, as far as in them lies, given the command of Ireland

to the Scots; that their aim is at a total subversion of religion and regal power; and that nothing less will content them, or purchase peace here; I think myself bound in conscience not to let slip the means of settling that kingdom, if it may be, fully under my obedience; nor to lose that assistance, which I may hope from my Irish subjects, for such scruples as, in a less pressing condition, might reasonably be stuck at by me. For their satisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost, so that my Protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority preserved; but, for all this, you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not discover your enlargement of power, till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary work entirely to you; yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poyning's act, for such bills as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present taking away of the penal laws against papists by a law, will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargain; so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance, against my rebels of England and Scotland; for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience, or honour.

Copy to Ormond, Feb. 27, 1644-5.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

To Ormond.

Ormond, *Oxford, Feb.* 16, 1644.

I should wrong my own service, and this gentleman, sir Timothy Fetherston, if I did not recommend him and his business to you; for the particulars of which, I refer you to Digby. And now again I cannot but mention to you the necessity of the hastening of the Irish peace, for which I hope you are already furnished by me, with materials sufficient; but in case (against all expectation and reason) peace cannot be had upon those terms, you must not, by any means, fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the cessation, according to a postscript in a letter by Jack Barry, a copy of which dispatch I herewith send you. So I rest.

P. S. In case, upon particular men's fancies, the Irish peace should not be procured, upon powers I have already given you; I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needless) to seek to renew the cessation for a year; for which, you shall promise the Irish, if you can have it no cheaper, to join with them against the Scots and Inchequin; for I hope, by that time, my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept less, or I be able to grant more.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

To Ormond.

Ormond, *Oxford, Jan.* 7, 1644-5.

UPON the great rumours and expectations, which are now of peace, I think it necessary to tell you the true state of it, lest mistaken reports from hence might trouble my affairs there: The rebels here have agreed to treat; and, most assuredly, one of the first and chief articles they will insist on, will be, to continue the Irish war, which is a point not popular for me to break on; of which, you are to make a double use. First, to hasten, with all possible diligence, the peace there; the timely conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience, which otherways I may be subject to, by the refusal of that article, upon any other reason. Secondly, by dextrous conveying to the Irish the danger there may be of their total and perpetual exclusion from those favours I intend them, in case the rebels here clap up a peace with me, upon reasonable terms, and only exclude them: which, possibly, were not counselable for me to refuse, if the Irish peace should be the only difference betwixt us, before it were perfected there. These, I hope, are sufficient grounds for you to persuade the Irish diligently, to dispatch a peace upon reasonable terms, assuring them, that you having once fully engaged to them my word, in the conclusion of a peace, all the earth shall not make me break it.

But not doubting of a peace, I must again remember you to press the Irish, for their speedy assistance to me here, and their friends in Scotland: my intention being to draw from thence into Wales, (the peace once concluded,) as many as I can, of my armed Protestant subjects; and desire, that the Irish would send as great a body as they can, to land about Cumberland, which will put those northern counties, in a brave condition: wherefore, you must take speedy order to provide all the shipping you may, as well Dunkirk as Irish bottoms; and remember that, after March, it will be most difficult to transport men from Ireland to England, the rebels being masters of the seas. So expecting a diligent and particular account, in answer to this letter, I rest

Your most assured constant friend, CHARLES R.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

To Ormond.

Ormond, *December* 15, 1644.

I am sorry to find, by colonel Barry, the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot find so good and speedy remedy as the peace of Ireland, it being likewise to redress most necessary affairs here: wherefore, I command you to dispatch it out of hand; for the doing of which, I hope my public dispatch will give you sufficient instruction and power; yet I have thought it necessary, for your more encouragement in this necessary work, to make this addition with my own hand.

As for Poyning's act, I refer you to my other letter; and for matter of religion, though I have not found it fit to take public notice of the paper which Brown gave you, yet I must command you to give him, my lord Muskery and Plunket, particular thanks for it: assuring them that, without it, there could have been no peace, and that, sticking to it, their nation in general, and they in particular, shall have comfort in what they have done: and to shew that this is more than words, I do hereby promise them, and command you to see it done, That the penal statutes against Roman-catholicks shall not be put in execution; the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience: and further, that when the Irish give me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this rebellion, and I shall be restored to my rights, then I will consent to the repeal of them by a law; but all those against appeals to Rome and Premunire must stand.

All this in cypher you must impart to none, but those three already named, and that with injunction of strictest secrecy. So again, recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Ireland, and my necessary supply from thence, (as I wrote to you, in my last private letter,) I rest.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

The Earl of Glamorgan's Instructions to me, to be presented to your Majesty.

THAT (God willing) by the end of May, or beginning of June, he will land with six-thousand Irish.

That the gentlemen of the several counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Caermarthen, will very speedily for your majesty's service, in securing these parts, raise and arm four-thousand men.

That, with the ships, which shall bring over the Irish, his lordship designs to block up Milford haven; at which time, he doubts not to draw these Welch forces into Pembrokeshire.

That, to advance these his undertakings, he hath thirty-thousand pounds ready, ten-thousand muskets, two-thousand case of pistols, eight-hundred barrels of powder, besides his own artillery; and is ascertained of thirty-thousand pounds more, which will be ready upon his return.

That he hath intelligence from his ships, that divers Hollanders and Dunkirkers come in daily to him.

In order to this service, he commanded me humbly to put your majesty in mind of his commission, and that he may in fitting time have such command in these counties, as may be suitable to his employment, and conducing to the service in hand: (these being counties in which, if other designs of landing fail, he can land in.) And that your majesty will seriously consider the services, he hath done you, in composing the distractions of the county of Monmouth; and that you will be pleased to countenance sir Thomas Lundsford, and graciously relieve the country, in such things, as without prejudicing your service, may ease them.

Concerning the County of Monmouth only.

That, by his lordship's means, who hath now raised two regiments himself, sir Thomas Lundsford's forces will be one-thousand eight-hundred foot, and seven-hundred horse; which horse is intended to be quartered in the forest of Dean, in places of secure quartering, as Langot, attempted to have been taken by sir John Winter; a place of great concernment, both for the reducing the forest, and securing Monmouthshire.

That by his lordship's intervention and endeavours, your majesty really sees he hath much qualified the sense of the grievances of the county, and moderated their complaints, by subducting the intended petition; and therefore hopes your majesty will so specially commend their humble suit to prince Rupert, as it may be successful.

That though the prayer of their petition is to reduce the contribution to the proportion set by the parliament at Oxford, yet his lordship hath so wrought, as these petitioners have under their hands obliged themselves to continue the double payment for two months more; and doubts not, but in relation to the exigence of your majesty's service, to prevail for further time.

His humble suit is, That I may carry with me into the country your majesty's order, that the forces of sir Thomas Lundsford may not be removed, but upon urgent occasion, until his return; and that only upon your majesty's or prince Rupert's special order; otherwise, it will be a great obstruction and discouragement in raising or continuing the number proposed.

That your majesty will be pleased, in their favour, to write your letter to prince Rupert, and that the country may have the honour to present it; to the end, they may be eased of free quarter, exactions above their contribution, and unnecessary garrisons; that Chepstow and Monmouth may be the better strengthened.

That sir Thomas Lundsford may be qualified with authority, to protect them according to such order, as the prince shall make.

March 21, 1644. These presented by your loyal subject, EDWARD BOSDON.

This is a true copy, Zouch Tate.

Colonel Fitz-Williams humbly prays and propounds as followeth:

THAT your sacred majesty will vouchsafe to prevail with his majesty, to condescend to the just demands of his Irish subjects, the confederate Catholicks in his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, at least in private.

That, upon the consideration thereof, colonel Fitz-Williams humbly propounds and undergoeth (with the approbation of Mr. Hardegan now employed agent, for the said confederate Catholicks in France,) to bring an army of ten-thousand men, and more of his majesty's subjects in his kingdom of Ireland, for his majesty's service, into England.

That colonel Fitz-Williams undertakes, for the sum of ten-thousand pounds sterling, to levy, ship, and arm the said ten-thousand men, and so proportionably, for more or less; and that the said money may be put into such hands, as may be safe for his majesty, as

well as ready for the colonel; when it shall appear, that the said army shall be in a readiness to be transported into England.

That, upon the landing the said men, there shall be advanced to the colonel one month's pay for all the army, according to the muster; for the present support of the army.

That colonel Fitz-Williams may be commander-in-chief thereof, and dispose of all the officers; and only be commanded by his majesty, his highness the prince of Wales, and prince Rupert; and qualified with such commissions, as have been formerly granted to his majesty's generals, that have commanded bodies a-part from his majesty's own army; as the marquis of Newcastle, the earl of Kingston, and others; hereby, the better to enable him in the levies, as well as in the general conduct of the business; and that, in respect the parliament gives no quarter to his majesty's Irish subjects, therefore, that the said forces shall not, by any order whatsoever, be divided.

That the colonel may be supplied with a body of horse, of at least two thousand, to be ready at the place of landing.

That the colonel may be provided with ammunition and artillery, or with money requisite for himself, to provide necessary proportions for to bring with him.

That the army shall be paid, as other armies of his majesty.

Having taken these propositions into consideration, we have thought fit to testify our approbation and agreement thereunto, under our sign manual; assuring, what hath been desired of us therein shall be forthwith effectually endeavoured; and not doubting, to the satisfaction of the confederate Catholicks of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, and to the said colonel Fitz-Williams; so that we may justly expect an agreeable compliance and performance accordingly, from all parties, in these several concernments.

This is a true copy of the original, sent by her Majesty to the King, May 16, 1645.—A. Lowly, secretary to the right-honourable the lord Jermin.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

To my Wife; by Choquen.

Dear Heart, *Jan.* 14, 1644-5.

POOLY came the $\frac{12}{22}$ Jan. to whose great dispatch, (though for some days I cannot give a full answer,) I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy letter; not without relating to something of his discourse.

As I confess it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftener from me, so excuse me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentions, if their affections were so real, as they make show of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each letter will shew my diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to find out ways of sending; wherefore, if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty. But to imagine it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every man should know (excuse me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it, though he say it. And, for my affection to thee, it will not be the miscarrying of a letter or two that will call it in question; but take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their weariness of thy company, than the true image of their thoughts; and of this is not the proposal of thy journey to Ireland a pretty instance? For, seriously of itself, I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard; thy giving ear to it being most assuredly only to express thy love to me, and not thy judgment in my affairs. As for the business itself (I mean the peace of Ireland), to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it, I have sent thee the last dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thy self; only thou mayest, in general, let the queen-regent and ministers there understand, that I have offered my Irish subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue; which I really believe. But, for God's sake, let none know the particulars of my dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am

much beholden to the Portuguese agent (and little to the French), it being by his means that I have sent thee all my letters, besides expresses, since I came hither, though I expected most from Sabran.

I will not trouble thee with repetitions of news; Digby's dispatch, which I have seen, being so full, that I can add nothing: yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his superstitious observation. It is this; Nothing can be more evident, than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's just judgments upon this nation, by a furious civil war; both sides hitherto being almost equally punished, as being in a manner equally guilty; but now, this last crying blood being totally theirs, I believe it is no presumption hereafter to hope, that his hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed by our faults.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

Copy to the Duke of Richmond.

Richmond,

I thank you for the account you sent me by this bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you that my going to Westmorland is not to be mentioned, but upon probable hopes of procuring a treaty with commissioners there or thereabouts, and that you mention the security I ask with my coming to Westmorland: and I hope I need not remember you to cajole well the Independents and Scots. This bearer will tell you how well our Western and Northern associations go on, to whom I refer you for other things. I rest.

This is a true copy, Zouch Tate.

Memorials for Secretary Nicholas, concerning the Treaty at Uxbridge.

Oxford, Feb. 1644.

FIRST, for religion and church-government, I will not go one jot further than what is offered by you already.

2. And so for the militia, more than what ye have allowed by me: but even in that you must observe, that I must have free nomination of the full half; as, if the total number, Scots and all, be thirty; I will name fifteen. Yet, if they (I mean the English rebels) will be so base, as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English; and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular persons; besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services, not sparing to engage for places; so they be not of great trust, nor be taken away from honest men in possession, but as much profit as you will. With this last you are only to acquaint Richmond, Southampton, Culpeper, and Hyde.

This is a true copy, Zouch Tate.

Directions for my Uxbridge-Commissioners.

First concerning Religion.

IN this, the government of the church (as I suppose) will be the chief question; wherein two things are to be considered, conscience and policy. For the first, I must declare unto you, that I cannot yield to the change of the government by bishops; not only as I fully concur with the most general opinion of Christians in all ages, as being the best; but likewise, I hold myself particularly bound by the oath I took at my coronation, not to alter the government of this church from what I found it. And as for the church's patri-

mony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it; it being (without peradventure) sacrilege, and likewise contrary to my coronation-oath; but whatsoever shall be offered, for rectifying of abuses, if any hath crept in, or yet for the ease of tender consciences, (so that it endamage not the foundation,) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto. For the second, As the king's duty is to protect the church, so it is the church's to assist the king in the maintenance of his just authority; wherefore my predecessors have been always careful (and especially since the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the clergy entirely upon the crown, without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the king's head: therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency

Next concerning the Militia.

After conscience, this is certainly the fittest subject for a king's quarrel; for, without it, the kingly power is but a shadow, and therefore, upon no means to be quitted; but to be maintained according to the ancient known laws of the land: yet because (to attain to this so much wished peace, by all good men,) it is in a manner necessary, that sufficient and real security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon; I permit you either by leaving strong towns, or other military force, in the rebels' possession, until articles be performed, to give such assurance for performance of conditions, as you shall judge necessary, for to conclude a peace. Provided always, that ye take, at least, as great care, by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to me. And to make sure, that, the peace once settled, all things shall return into their ancient channels.

Thirdly, for Ireland.

I confess, they have very specious popular arguments, to press this point; the gaining of no article more conducing to their ends, than this: and I have as much reason, both in honour and policy, to take care how to answer this as any. All the world knows the eminent inevitable necessity, which caused me to make the Irish cessation, and there remain yet as strong reasons, for the concluding of that peace; wherefore, ye must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear way be shewn me, how my Protestant subjects there may probably, at least, defend themselves; and that I shall have no more need to defend my conscience and crown, from the injuries of this rebellion.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

At Uxbridge, on Wednesday the twenty-ninth of January, 1644, the Protestation under-written was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all his Majesty's Commissioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded Peace.

XXV.

I A. B. being one of the commissioners, assigned by his majesty, for this present treaty at Uxbridge, do protest and promise (in the sight of Almighty God), that I will not disclose nor reveal, unto any person or persons whatsoever, who is not a commissioner, any matter or thing, that shall be spoken of, during the treaty by any one, or more of his majesty's commissioners, in any private debate amongst ourselves, concerning the said treaty; so as to name, or describe directly or indirectly, the person or persons, that shall speak any such matter or thing; unless it be, by the consent of all the said commissioners, that shall be then living.

Memorandum, That it is by all the said commissioners agreed, that this shall not bind, where any ten of the commissioners shall agree to certify his majesty the number of assenters or dissenters, upon any particular result, in this treaty, not naming or describing the persons.

This is a true copy, examined by Zouch Tate.

The Queen to the King: from York.

My Dear Heart, *March* 30, 1644; also *April* 3.

I need not tell you, from whence this bearer comes; only I will tell you, that the propositions, which he brings you, are good, but 260. and I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution; therefore, find some means, to send them back, which may not discontent them, and do not tell, who gave you this advice. Sir Hugh Cholmley is come, with a troop of horse, to kiss my hands: the rest of his people he left at Scarborough, with a ship laden with arms, which the ships of the parliament had taken and brought thither, so she is ours. The rebels have quitted Tadcaster, upon our sending forces to Wetherby, but they are returned, with twelve-hundred men: we send more forces to drive them out, though those, we have already at Wetherby, are sufficient; but we fear lest they have all their forces thereabouts, and lest they have some design; for they have quitted Selby and Cawood, the last of which they have burnt. Between this and to-morrow night, we shall know the issue of this business, and I will send you an express. I am more careful to advertise you of what we do, that you and we may find means to have passports to send; and I wonder, that upon the cessation, you have not demanded, that you might send in safety: this shews my love. I understand to-day, from London, that they will have no cessation, and that they treat, at the beginning of the two first articles, which is of the forts, ships, and ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the army. Certainly, I wish a peace more than any, and that with greater reason: but I would have the disbanding of the perpetual parliament, first; and, certainly, the rest will be easily afterwards. I do not say this of my own head alone; for generally, both those who are for you and against you, in this country, wish an end of it; and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the first, in case it be not granted, Hull is ours, and all Yorkshire; which is a thing to consider of: and for my particular, if you make a peace and disband your army, before there is an end to this perpetual parliament, I am absolutely resolved to go into France; not being willing to fall again into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remain with them, it will not be well for me in England. Remember what I have written to you in three precedent letters, and be more careful of me, than you have been; or at the least dissemble it, to the end, that no notice be taken of it. Adieu, the man hastens me, so that I can say no more.

York, this thirtieth of March.

THIS letter should have gone by a man of master Denedsdale, who is gone, and all the beginning of this letter was upon this subject; and therefore by this man it signifies nothing; but the end was so pleasing, that I do not forbear to send it to you. You now know, by Elliot, the issue of the business of Tadcaster, since we had almost lost Scarborough, whilst Cholmley was here. Brown Bushell would have rendered it up to the parliament; but Cholmley, having had notice of it, is gone with our forces, and hath retaken it; and hath desired to have a lieutenant, and forces of ours, to put within it, for which we should take his: he hath also taken two pinnaces from Hotham, which brought forty-four men, to put within Scarborough, ten pieces of cannon, four barrels of powder, and four of bullet. This is all our news: our army marches to-morrow, to put an end to Fairfax's excellency. And I will make an end of this letter, this third of April. I have had no news of you, since Parsons.

March 30, *April* 3.

A true copy, P. W.

The Queen to the King: from Bath.

My Dear Heart, *April* 21, 1644.

FREDERICK CORNWALLIS will have told you all our voyage as far as Adbury, and the state of my health: since my coming hither, I find myself so ill, as well in the ill rest, that I have, as in the increase of my rheum.

I hope, that this day's rest will do me good. I go to-morrow to Bristol, to send you back the carts; many of them are already returned. My lord Dillon told me, (not directly from you, though he says you approve it that it was fit,) I should write a letter to the commissioners of Ireland, to this effect: That they ought to desist from those things for the present, which they had put in their paper; and to assure them, that when you shall be in another condition than you are now, you will give them contentment.

I thought it to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command: therefore, if it please you, that I should do so, send me what you would have me write, that I may not do more than what you appoint; and also that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promise: for I should be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to; and when you have promised it me, I will be confident. I believe also, that to write to my lord Muskery, without the rest, will be enough: for the letter which I shall write to him, shall be with my own hand; and, if it be to all your commissioners, it shall be by the secretary. Farewell, my dear heart! I cannot write any more, but that I am absolutely

A true copy, Zouch Tate. Yours.

XXIX.

The Queen to the King.

Paris, January 1644-5.

I have received one of your letters, dated from Marleborough, of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer. I will say nothing concerning this, but only concerning the affair of *(Gor.)* If it be not done, it is time; being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand that the commissioners are arrived at London: I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour, and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need. Also I do not see, how you can be in safety, without a regiment of guards: for myself, I think I cannot be; seeing the malice which they have against me and my religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both: but, in my opinion, religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat. For if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholicks, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours, either from Ireland, or any other Catholic prince; for they would believe, you would abandon them, after you have served yourself. I have dispatched an express into Scotland, to Montrose, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to Mr. of Lorrain, and into Holland; I lose no time; if I had more of your news, all would go better. Adieu, my dear heart.

My Wife, $\frac{16}{27}$ December, January 1644-5.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

XXX.

The Queen to the King. Paris, Jan. 27, 1644-5; also, March 13.

My Dear Heart, *Paris, Jan.* $\frac{16}{27}$.

TOM ELLIOT, two days since, hath brought me much joy and sorrow: the first, to know the good estate in which you are in; the other, the fear I have that you go to Lon-

don. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsel, unless it be to hazard your person to save theirs. But, (thanks be to God,) to-day I received one of yours, by the ambassador of Portugal, dated in January; which comforted me much to see that the treaty shall be at Uxbridge. For the honour of God, trust not yourself in the hands of these people: and, if you ever go to London, before the parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are lost. I understand, that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the army: if you consent to this, you shall be lost, they having the whole power of the militia; they have done, and will do whatsoever you will. I received yesterday letters from the duke of Lorrain; who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten-thousand men. Dr. Goffe, whom I have sent into Holland, shall treat with him in his passage upon this business; and I hope very speedily to send good news of this, as also of the money.

Assure yourself I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire, and that I will hazard my life, (that is, to die by famine,) rather than not send to you: send me word always by whom you receive my letters, for I write both by the ambassador of Portugal, and the resident of France. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the bishops, as the poor Catholick. Adieu. You will pardon me, if I make use of another to write, not being able to do it; yet myself in cyphers shew to my nephew Rupert, that I entreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reason why I write not to him. I know not how to send great pacquets.

My Wife, $\frac{17}{27}$ Jan. 1644-5.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

My Dear Heart, *Paris, March* 13.

SINCE my last, I have received one of your letters, marked 16. by which you signify the receipt of my letters by Pooly, which hath a little surprised me; it seeming to me, that you write, as if I had in my letter something which had displeased you. If that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I only did believe, that it was necessary you should know all. There is one other thing in your letter, which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to myself your dispatches; as if you believe that I should be capable to shew them to any, only to lord Jermyn to uncypher them, my head not suffering me to do it myself; but, if it please you, I will do it, and none in the world shall see them. Be kind to me, or you kill me. I have already affliction enough to fear, which without you I could not do; but your service surmounts all. Farewell, my dear heart. Behold the mark, which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest, +; and I pray, begin to remember what I spoke to you concerning Jack Barclay for master of the wards. I am not engaged, nor will not be, for the places of Lord Per. and others: do you accordingly.

March 13, 1644.

My Dear Heart, *Newark, June* 27.

I received just now your letter by my lord Saville, who found me ready to go away; staying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two days stop: it is, to have Hull and Lincoln. Young Hotham, having been put in prison by order of parliament, is escaped, and hath sent to 260. that he would cast himself into his arms, and that Hull and Lincoln should be rendered. He is gone to his father, and 260. writes for your answer; so that I think I shall go hence Friday or Saturday, and shall go lie at Werton; and from thence to Ashby, where we will resolve what way to take; and I will stay there a day, because that the march of the day before will have been somewhat great, and also to know how the enemy marches; all their forces at Nottingham, at present, being gone to Leicester and Derby, which makes us believe, that it is to intercept our passage. As soon as we have resolved, I will send you word. At this present, I think it fit to let you know the state in which we march, and what I leave behind me, for the safety of Lincolnshire

and Nottinghamshire. I leave two-thousand foot, and where-withal to arm five-hundred more, and twenty companies of horse; all this to be under Charles Cavendish, whom the gentlemen of the county have desired me not to carry with me, against his will, for he desired extremely to go. The enemies have left within Nottingham one thousand. I carry with me three-thousand foot, thirty companies of horse and dragoons, six pieces of cannon, and two mortars. Harry Jermyn commands the forces which go with me, as colonel of my guard, and sir Alexander Lesley the foot under him, and Gerard the horse, and Robin Legge the artillery, and her she-majesty generalissima, and extremely diligent, with an hundred and fifty waggons of baggage to govern, in case of battle. Have a care, that no troop of Essex's army incommodate us, for I hope that for the rest we shall be strong enough; for at Nottingham we have had the experience, one of our troops having beaten six of their's, and made them fly. I have received your proclamation, or declaration, which I wish had not been made, being extremely disadvantageous for you; for you shew too much fear, and do not what you had resolved upon. Farewell, my dear heart.

The Queen to the King, June 27, 1643.

CHARLES Rex.

IT is not unknown, both to the French king and his mother, what unkindnesses and distastes have fallen between my wife and me; which hitherto I have borne with great patience, (as all the world knows,) ever expecting and hoping an amendment; knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty counsels of her servants, for advancing of their own ends, rather than her own inclination. For, at my first meeting of her at Dover, I could not expect more testimonies of respect and love, than she shewed; as, to give one instance: Her first suit was, that she, being young, and coming to a strange country, both by her years and ignorance of the customs of the place, might commit many errors; therefore, that I would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance, before I had with my instructions learned her to eschew them; and desired me, in these cases, to use no third person, but to tell her myself, when I found she did any thing amiss. I both granted her request, and thanked her for it, but desired that she would use me as she had desired me to use her; which she willingly promised me: which promise she never kept. For, a little after this, Madam St. George, taking a distaste, because I would not let her ride with us in the coach, when there were women of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due (which, in England, we think a strange thing), set my wife in such an humour of distaste against me, as from that very hour to this, no man can say, that ever she used me, two days together, with so much respect as I deserved of her; but, on the contrary, has put so many disrespects on me, that it were too long to set down all. Some I will relate. As I take it, it was at her first coming to Hampton-Court, I sent some of my council to her, with those orders that were kept in the queen my mother's house, desiring she would command the count of Tilliers, that the same might be kept in her's. Her answer was, "She hoped, that I would give her leave to order her house as she list herself." Now, if she had said, that she would speak with me, not doubting to give me satisfaction in it, I could have found no fault with her, whatsoever she would have said of this to myself, for I could only impute it to ignorance; but I could not imagine, that she affronted me so, as to refuse me in such a thing publicly. After I heard this answer, I took a time, when I thought we had both best leisure to dispute it, to tell her calmly both her fault in the public denial, and her mistaking of the business itself. She, instead of acknowledging her fault and mistaking, gave me so ill an answer, that I omit (not to be tedious) the relation of that discourse, having too much of that nature hereafter to relate. Many little neglects I will not take the pains to set down: as, her eschewing to be in my company; when I have any thing to speak to her, I must means her servant first, else I am sure to be denied; her neglect of the English tongue, and of the nation in general. I will also omit the affront she did me before my going to this last unhappy assembly of parliament, because there has been talk enough of that already, &c. the author of it is before you in France.

To be short, omitting all other passages, coming only to that which is most recent in memory: I having made a commission to make my wife's jointure, &c. to assign her those lands she is to live on, and it being brought to such a ripeness, that it wanted but my consent to the particulars they had chosen: she, taking notice that it was now time to name the officers for her revenue, one night, when I was in bed, put a paper into my hand, telling me it was a list of those that she desired to be of her revenue. I took it, and said I would read it next morning; but, withal, told her, that, by agreement in France, I had the naming of them. She said, there were both English and French in the note. I replied, that those English, I thought fit to serve her, I would confirm; but, for the French, it was impossible for them to serve her in that nature. Then she said, all those in the paper had breviates from her mother and herself, and that she could admit no other. Then I said, it was neither in her mother's power, nor her's, to admit any without my leave; and that, if she stood upon that, whomsoever she recommended should not come in. Then she bade me plainly take my lands to myself; for, if she had no power to put in whom she would in those places, she would have neither lands nor houses of me; but bade me give her what I thought fit in pension. I bade her then remember to whom she spoke; and told her, that she ought not to use me so. Then she fell into a passionate discourse, how miserable she was, in having no power to place servants, and that businesses succeeded the worse for her recommendation; which when I offered to answer, she would not so much as hear me. Then she went on, saying, she was not of that base quality to be used so ill. Then I made her both hear me, and end that discourse. Thus, having had so long patience with the disturbance of that, that should be one of my greatest contentments; I can no longer suffer those, that I know to be the cause and fomenters of these humours, to be about my wife any longer; which I must do, if it were but for one action they made my wife do, which is, to make her go to Tyburn in devotion to pray: which action can have no greater invective made against it, than the relation. Therefore, you shall tell my brother the French king, as likewise his mother, that this being an action of so much necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with it; especially since he hath done the like himself, not staying while he had so much reason. And, being an action that some may interpret to be of harshness to his nation, I thought good to give him an account of it; because that, in all things, I would preserve the good correspondency, and brotherly affection, that is between us.

His Majesty's Instructions, given me at Wanstead,
July 12, 1626, signed 24.
A true copy, Zouch Tate.

Dear Heart, *Oxford, Jan.* 1, 1644-5.

I receive it as a good augure thus to begin this new year, having newly received thine of the thirtieth of December, which I cannot stay to decypher, for not losing this opportunity; it likewise being a just excuse for this short account. This day I have dispatched Digby's secretary, fully relating the state of our affairs; therefore, I shall only now tell thee, that the rebels are engaged into an equal treat, without any of those disadvantages, which might have been apprehended when Thomas Elliot went hence; and that the distractions of London were never so great, or so likely to bring good effect, as now: lastly that assistance was never more needful, never so likely as now to do good to him, who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, Jan. 1, 1644, by P. A.
This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

37.

Harry, *Oxford, Thursday, April* 24.

LEST my wife should not yet be fit for any business, I write this to you; not to excuse my pains, but ease her's; and that she may know, but not be troubled with my kindness

I refer to your discretion, how to impart my letter to her, or any other business; that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affairs. And now I must tell you, that undoubtedly, if you had not trusted to Digby's sanguine complexion, not to be rebated from sending good news, you would not have found fault with him, for sending mistaken intelligence; for if he should strictly tie himself to certain truths in this kind, you must have nothing from him, but my proclamations or ordinances from the pretended houses. But tell me, can you not distinguish between what we send you unto certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an oath the mark of distinction; and are you obliged to publish all the news we send you? Seriously I think news may be sometimes too good to be told in the French court; and certainly, there is as much dexterity in publishing of news, as in matters which at first sight, may seem of greater difficulty; for as I would not have them think that all assistance bestowed upon me were in vain, so I would not have them believe, that I needed no help, lest they should under-hand assist any rebels, to keep the balance of dissension amongst us equal.

For matter of news and present state of my affairs, I refer you to Digby: only this in general, that if shall please God to assist us this year but half so miraculously as he did the last, (my present state compared with that it was, this time twelve-month,) I am very hopeful to see a joyful harvest before next winter: nor do I think this, in any human probability, possible, except my wife can procure me considerable assistance, both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to despair, your last giving me good hope, concerning Lorrain; and though I say not that for the other, I have so good an author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149. in her's, the tenth of March, says, *J'ay une affaire assures que vous donnere* 40,000 *pistols, que je vous eussi envoyé si j'eussi lu mon navir revenu avec l'estain.*

In the last place I will impose that upon you, that is not reasonable to expect from my wife; which is, to give me a continual account what letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or comes slowly: to which end take notice, that all my letters to her are numerarily marked on the top, (as this with 37.) and likewise I now begin the same with you; so farewell.

In your next, let me know particularly how my wife is, which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worse than she is: if well, then every word will please me. I have commanded Digby to write to you freely, concerning William Murry, which I hold to be as necessary concerning Montrose's business.

To the Lord Jermyn, April 24, 1645, concerning France.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my last by Choquen, I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter; that which is now, is the progress of the treaty, of which these inclosed papers will give thee a full account; but if thou have them sooner from London than me, thou hast no reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to send by, in respect of the other. For the business itself, I believe thou wilt approve of my choice of treaters; and for my propositions, they differ nothing in substance, very little in words, from those which were last, wherefore I need to say nothing of them; and for my instructions, they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them. Now upon the whole matter, I desire thee to shew the queen and ministers there the improbability that this present treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference, if not contrariety of grounds that are betwixt the rebels' propositions and mine; and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little assistance, by thy means, will soon make them so: for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive, (which a reasonable sum of money would do,) they would be easily brought to reason. Concerning our intrigues here at Oxford, I desire thee to suspend thy judgment; for I believe few but partial relations will come to

thee, until I shall send some, whom I may trust by word of mouth; it being too much trouble to us both, to set them down in paper.

Copy to my Wife, Jan. 22, 1644.

This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

Dear Heart,

I never, till now, knew the good of ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape; we having had a pleasing false report, of thy safe landing at Newcastle; which thine of the 19 Jan. so confirmed us in, that we, at least, were not undeceived of that hope, till we knew certainly how great a danger thou hast passed, of which I shall not be out of apprehension, until I may have the happiness of thy company. For indeed I think it not the least of my misfortunes, that for my sake, thou hast run so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to me, that I confess it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can do, much less by words: but my heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something; leaving the rest to be read by thee, out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee, of the second of February, has bred great discourse in several persons, and of several kinds; as my saying, I was persecuted for places, is applied to all and only those that I there name to be suitors; whereas the truth is, I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time, I had not time to name as well as some there mentioned; for I confess 174. and 133. are not guilty of that fault: some find fault of too much kindness to thee; thou may easily vote from what constellation that comes, but I assure such that I want expression, not will, to do it ten times more to thee on all occasions: others press me, as being brought upon the stage; but I answer, that having professed to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it. As for our treaty, (leaving the particulars to this inclosed,) I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning my part in it; for all the soldiers are well pleased with what I have done, but expect no cessation of arms: for the lower house will have none without a disbanding, and I will not disband, till all be agreed. Lastly, for our military affairs, I thank God, that here, and in the west, they prosper well: as for the north, I refer thee to 226. 140. information. So daily expecting and praying for good news from thee, &c.

Copy to my Wife, Feb. 13, 1643. Oxford, Feb. 13, 1643.

A true copy, Zouch Tate.

Instructions to Colonel Cockran, to be pursued in his Negotiation to the King of Denmark.

YOU are to inform the king of Denmark, that, by his majesty's command, (as to the nearest ally of his crown,) his uncle, and whom he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, as well in interests as affection, you are sent to give a particular account of the state of his majesty's affairs; to renew the ancient league and amity that hath been between the two kingdoms, and families royal; and to reduce it to more exact particulars, such as might be useful to the present affairs of England, and all occurrences in the future of those of Denmark.

That the present affair of your negotiation is to demand an assistance from his majesty; such a one as the present state of affairs in England requires, against a dangerous combination of his majesty's subjects, who have not only invaded his majesty in his particular rites, but have laid a design to dissolve the monarchy and frame of government, under pretences of liberty and religion; becoming a dangerous precedent to all the monarchies of Christendom, to be looked upon with success in their design.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been such, as hath not admitted any foreign treaty to be interested in suppressing their design, without giving them advantage of

scandalizing his majesty's intentions, and drawing away universally the hearts of his people; whom they had insinuated, under pretence of reformation of particular abuses of government, and ministers of state, to concur generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous consequence and design were visible to his majesty) a present compliance was necessary; lest any public opposition on his majesty's part, that might seem to defeat the great expectations which they had raised in the commons in those plausible particulars, might have occasioned a general revolt throughout the kingdoms; great jealousies being dispersed and fomented amongst them of his majesty's foreign treaties and force, to be used to oppose and suppress those their desires, and the movers therein.

Upon the credit they had herewith built on the people's opinions, they proceeded under pretence of reformation of religion, to dissolve the government of the church, according to its constitution in England; a chief column and support to that monarchy and crown.

They lastly invaded his majesty in all the prerogatives of his crown, and under pretence of ill ministers and counsellors of state, (whom they pretended to remove,) endeavoured to invest in themselves, in all times for the future, the dominion of all ministers of state, and his majesty's family; withdrew all his revenues into their own hands, and (to confirm themselves in an absolute power of disposing his estate) entered upon possessing themselves of the militia of the kingdom, his navy, and magazines; in which his majesty being forced to appear in opposition, dangerous tumults were raised against him, so that he was forced to forsake London, for preservation of his person, his queen, and children.

That since, for the safety of the queen, he had been forced to send her into Holland, to retire himself to the best affected party of his subjects, from whence, by declarations (setting forth the sinister proceedings of that faction, discovering their designs of innovating the government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to him,) he hath had the advantage generally to undeceive his people, to draw to him universally the nobility and gentry of the kingdom. But the other faction, still keeping up some interest and credit with the commons, in the desperate estate they find themselves; begin to make head against him; have appointed a general, and are levying forces to maintain their party, committing divers acts of hostility, violence, and rebellion.

That his majesty having great encouragements given him, by the exceeding numbers of gentry and noblemen that resort to him, is already advanced near them with six-thousand horse, and ten-thousand foot.

That the states of Holland have condescended to give her majesty, the queen, a convoy of the greatest part of their fleet now at sea, for her return into England.

That divers forts and countries, upon his majesty's personal appearance, have declared for him; so that his affairs at home grow daily into a better estate; as he likewise expects and hopes, that all his neighbour princes and allies will not look upon so dangerous a precedent to their own crowns and monarchies, without contributing to suppress this so pernicious a design, began within his kingdom.

That to give his majesty the juster ground to reflect upon the dangerous consequences, in relation to his own interest, of their success: it hath been by them publicly moved in the commons house long since, to interpose in the accommodation of the Dutch, and to set out a fleet, to take away his customs of the Sound.

That they have since imputed to his majesty (as a ground to scandal him with his people), that he did negotiate the introducing, by his uncle the king of Denmark, a foreign power to settle his affairs; and under that pretext, have given large commission and particular instructions to the fleet, to visit, search, and intercept, all such Danish ships as they should meet; and to fight with, sink, or destroy, all such as should resist them, not permitting the same; or to take and detain them, having any arms or ammunition on board; according to which, they have searched, visited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the Norway-trade driven commonly in this kingdom, in their

own bottoms: and that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation, being bound for the West-Indies, and put in by stress of weather in the West of England.

That in pursuance of their great design of extirpating the royal blood, and monarchy of England, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon his royal family; endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his sister, at once to cut off the interest and pretensions of the whole race; which their most detestable and scandalous design they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances and times, to colour their pretensions in so great a fault: and which, as his sacred majesty of England (in the true sense of honour to his mother) doth abhor, and will punish, so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a sister of so happy memory, and by whom so near an union and continued league of amity, hath been produced between the families and kingdoms.

That the particulars, in which his majesty doth desire his assistance, are, in the loan, and raising of men, money, arms, and ships; all, or such of them, as may consist best with the convenience of his own affairs: and of such, in the first place, as may be most requisite and wanting to his majesty.

That to set his levies on foot, and put him in a posture to protect his subjects in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution, one-hundred-thousand pounds will be necessary for him, which his majesty desires may be by way of loan. And, for the restitution of it, besides his kingly word, and solemn engagement upon this treaty, he is contented of such his crown-jewels, as are in his disposure, to leave his royal pledge, if it shall be desired.

The particulars of arms that he desires are six-thousand muskets, one-thousand five-hundred horse-arms, and twenty pieces of field-artillery mounted.

Assistance of men he desires only in horsemen; and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Island, or New-Castle, are designed for the landing of the said horse, and magazine of the said provisions; for reception, likewise, and protection of such his ships as he shall think fit to employ, for the countenance and security of those his subjects that shall trade upon these coasts, and for ascertaining the correspondence and intelligence between the two kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned, as may best sort and agree with his own affairs. And for which the Holy Island is conceived one of the aptest harbours in his majesty's dominions; being capable of any ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent road at the entrance, a ready outlet, and a strong fort, under his majesty's command.

That in lieu of this assistance, contributed by the king of Denmark, his majesty will oblige himself, and ratify in express articles, to restore into the magazines of Denmark a like proportion of arms and ammunition, to repay and defray the charges of money lent, and levies of horse; and so soon as his affairs shall be settled, and himself in a condition to do it, upon all occasions to contribute to the assistance of his fleet, in maintaining his right and title to the customs of the Sound, against all persons whatsoever; and to ratify the treaty that was made last by sir Thomas Roe, to enter into a league offensive and defensive, against intestine rebellions. In pursuance of which treaty, while the negotiations and articles may be severally perfected, his majesty doth expect this first supply of money and arms, his present affairs not admitting a delay in the same.

That in case the king of Denmark will lend money upon jewels, there is in Holland a great collar of rubies, and another of rubies and pearl, that may be sent to him, or delivered to his agent here, who may have order to pay the money here; or any other jewels.

That there have been in discourses several propositions of accommodation made by them to the king, to which the king hath at all times made more advances on his part, than in reason could have been expected from him, and the difficulties have still risen on theirs.

And that, whereas his majesty doth understand, that a person is addressed to the king of Denmark from his parliament, to insinuate misunderstandings abroad with his majesty's allies, as they have done at home among his people; his majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his dominions, to become an intelligencer and spy upon the treaty and negotiations between their majesties; but that he be dismissed, and sent away, so soon as ever he shall arrive.

N. B. *This paper, concerning Cockran, was not intercepted among the king's letters, but is otherwise attested.*

ANNOTATIONS.

MUCH use may be made of these precedent papers, and many things therein will appear very worthy of notice: for,

1. It is plain, here, first, that the king's counsels are wholly governed by the queen; though she be of the weaker sex, born an alien, bred up in a contrary religion, yet nothing, great or small, is transacted without her privity and content. (See pap. 28.) If the prince makes suit to bestow a place in his own bedchamber upon a gentleman of extraordinary merit; the king cannot grant it, to save his son's reputation, already engaged by promise, till he hath sent into France, and begged the queen's grant. (See pap. 11.)

2. The queen's counsels are as powerful as commands. The king professes to prefer her health before the exigence and importance of his own public affairs. (See pap. 14, &c.) He avows constancy to her grounds and documents. (See pap. 5, &c.)

3. The queen appears to have been as harsh and imperious towards the king, (pap. 34.) as he is implacable to our religion, nation, and government. She doth the offices of a resident in France, to procure embargoes of our ships, to raise foreign forces against us; and in this she is restless, to the neglect of her own health: she vows to die by famine, rather than to fail the king in such-like negotiations. (See pap. 30.) She confines not her agency to France, but solicits Lorrain for men, and the prince of Orange for shipping. She sends arms for Scotland to Montrose, speeds col. Fitz-Williams's commission for Ireland; (pap. 20, 21.) The counsels also in England, which she gives the king, are of very pernicious consequence. Thereby the parliament must be disbanded; (pap. 27.) Treaties must be suspected; great care must be had in them of her, and her religion: (pap. 30.) Bishops and Catholicks must be specially provided for; (pap. 31.) The king must be forewarned, that he cannot be safe longer than he defends all that have served him; (pap. 31.) That peace cannot be safe to him without a regiment for his guard *à la mode du France*; (pap. 30.) She interposes so in the business of Ireland, that the king is not seen therein, nor obliged to any thing immediately; (pap. 29.)

4. The king doth yet in many things surpass the queen for acts of hostility, and covering them over with deeper and darker secrecy. He employs col. Cockran to solicit the king of Denmark, making not only papists our enemies for religion-sake; but all princes, though Protestants, for monarchy's sake: rather than fail of aid from thence, he stirs rumours about his mother's chastity; he promises to disoblige the Hollander in the business of the Sound: he pawns the jewels of the crown, (pap. 39:) he presses the queen, beyond her own fiery propension; urges her to make personal friendship with the queen-regent; furnishes her with dextrous policies and arguments, to work upon the ministers of state in France. Of his own accord, without entreaty, he proposes to the queen the taking away all penal statutes against recusants in England. It is true, he doth all by way of bargain, for his own particular advantage: but the papists' conditions are better than ours; in regard that the queen herself is trusted with that merchandise, (pap. 8.) He

prostitutes his pardon and grace to the Irish rebels, importuning Ormond to use importunity to them, that they will accept of indemnity, and free use of popery; and desire nothing in lieu thereof, but that they will transport six-thousand men into England, and some other supplies into Scotland. For this purpose he sends posts after posts, and hastens the business; the rather-because, being in treaty with the two parliaments of England and Scotland, about prosecution of the Irish, he may be prevented therein, and pre-engaged not to consent. (See pap. 16, 17, 18, 19.) He only excepts against appeals to Rome, and premunires; all other things he thinks cheap enough for the Irish. He must not now stand upon *scruples*, (it is his own word;) all things, not disagreeable to conscience and honour, are to be admitted; and so to grant free exercise of idolatry, though abjured formerly, to the most odious, flagitious murderers in the world, is but a scruple not disagreeable either to conscience or honour. To bargain away our acts of parliament by such clandestine engagements, as pass only by papers, and dare not look upon the light; especially such acts as concern our greatest interest, even those of religion, supposes us to be slaves of the basest alloy. And it is strange, that the Irish and papists should at all rest upon the strength of such assurances; when they see records and parliament-rolls are of no virtue at all, either to the English or Protestants. (See pap. 16, 17, 18, 19.) He calls us a parliament publicly, yet acknowledges us not a parliament secretly. He suppresses still his not acknowledgment, only he enters it in the council-book at Oxford; and so, though it be smothered to us, whom it most concerns, yet it is registered for our enemies' use, upon all occasions of advantage. This favour we found from the council at Oxford, that the name, though not the thing, should be imparted to us. But even this was not willingly and freely allowed by the king: had but two of his advisers sided with him, all the rest should have balanced nothing at all in this case. This is a sign they sit there to great purpose; for though they are more worthy to be consulted with than parliaments, yet their votes are but indifferent things, mere formalities; especially if there be any dissent at all amongst them. (See pap. 5.) He, in show, seeks treaties, and wins upon the people by that show; yet chooseth such commissioners, and binds them up with such instructions, that all accommodation is impossible. His aim is to win upon our commissioners, and for this purpose gives authority to propose rewards, and other allurements; (pap. 24.) gives advices to cajole the Scots and Independents. As to the duke of Richmond, (pap. 23.) presses for foreign auxiliaries the more eagerly; (pap. 12. 35.) hopes to cast the odium of the breaking off the treaty upon our side; (pap. 1. 7. 12. 15. 25. 37.) He seems more zealous for bishops and papists (called his and the queen's friends) than the queen herself; and therefore assures her of his resolution therein, without any request of her's; (pap. 7.) He doth not think fit to treat with the rebels only by the interposition of the queen, or of Ormond; but he sends particular thanks to Brown, Muskery, Plunket; (pap. 19.) He pretends sometimes to have the hearts of the major and better part of his Protestant subjects firm to him in this cause, yet trusts none but papists; and therefore is advised by the queen, (pap. 31,) by no means to disband for this reason, because all the militia is generally in the parliament's hands. We see what opinion the king hath of Wilmot, Percy, Sussex. We see what opinion he hath of the lords and commons at Oxford, who have deserted their trust here, out of confidence in him: the 13th paper here tells us plainly what use the king makes of them.

The king will declare nothing in favour of his parliament, so long as he can find a party to maintain him in this opposition; nor perform any thing which he hath declared, so long as he can find a sufficient party to excuse him from it.

And, indeed, it is a sad consideration, to think what unhappy use the king hath ever made of the obedience, and patient loyalty of this nation; finding always that he might, without any opposition, or danger at least, deny their just liberties, laws, and the very use of parliaments: or if some urgency, or his own necessities or advantages, had caused him to call a parliament; he might afterwards, with as little opposition, deny whatsoever he granted under his own hand; as the Petition of Right, obtained with some difficulty, and broken immediately after without any scruple, may sufficiently testify. The pacifi-

cation with Scotland was not assented to, until the English people shewed some averseness to that wicked war, and were loth any longer to fight for their own slavery; nor was that pacification any longer kept, than till a party strong enough was found to maintain the breach of it. But, without other instances, this parliament had been happy, the king glorious, and his people flourishing, if the king had found none to side with him against all these; and it is strange, that so long experience had not taught them more wisdom. But they are now justly rewarded, and if they will but view the king's letter, dated March 13, 1644, where it will be apparent to them, he calls those, who have deserted their trust in parliament, and given up their fortunes and consciences to a compliance with his will, by the name of a base, mutinous, and mungrel parliament; and despises them for retaining some little conscience to religion, and this parliament. Lords and gentlemen, make the right use of this, and if you be not wicked enough to serve that purpose fully, to which you are designed; endeavour to repent, and learn so much goodness, as may bring you back to the right side. There will shortly be no medium left you; whatsoever you thought in the beginning, (as our charity may think you were deceived,) you will find at last, that unless you think and act the same things, which those inhuman Irish rebels, or the worst foreign enemies to our religion and state, could wish to see done, you are no fit instruments for that cause, which you have unhappily chosen: unless you return to the right way, you must go as far in the wrong one, as that will lead you.

The Chronicles tell us, that Henry, duke of Buckingham, was dear to Richard the Third, whilst he had so much wickedness, as to further the deposing or disinheriting of his two nephews; but when he was not bad enough to consent to the murder of those princes, he was rejected by that king, and afterwards beheaded. If you cannot learn how to go through with wickedness, learn a better lesson, to return to goodness; or else, perhaps, the wrong which you have done your country, in betraying her trust, and by consequence shedding so much innocent blood, may be at last revenged upon you by them, for whom you did it. The king, who despiseth you by the name of mungrels, (as not altogether firm enough to his own design,) in another late letter to the earl of Ormond, gives thanks to Muskery, Plunket, and Brown, the chief actors in that horrid massacre of Ireland; which may teach the world what kind of men he confides truly in, and who they are that must reap the benefit of his conquest, if God, for the sins of our English Protestants, should permit it. If Muskery had been at Oxford, the king had had one man more of his own opinion, in not acknowledging the parliament of England: for want of such he is forced to complain. And you may plainly see, what a dishonourable use is made of your persons there, as men merely *operis secundi;* a number only that serve to give countenance and credit to the design of a dearer party, and to persuade your country, not for your own behoofs. What is said to you, may be said to all, that are led by you; to all those thousands which have followed the king as your train: for the same opinions, which render you now contemptible to the king, render you acceptable to the major part of Protestants, which sides with you, and did at first make the king's power so considerable, as it is. If there be any thing of Protestants, of Englishmen, of men remaining in you, resume that, whatsoever it be. Either acknowledge yourselves such, as the king calls you, under the rose, when he opens his breast to the only partaker of his thoughts; or declare yourselves such patriots, such true sons of the church, as the king pretends you to be, when he spreads his oratory before the people. If we be rebels at London, because we are not so servile as you are; and you are mutineers at Oxford, because you are not so servile as the king would have you: let us know by what definition either you or we are measured, and how we are distinguished; and let us see that other third remaining party, which the king owns as his loyal faithful party indeed.

It concerns you to look both forward and backward; and having now taken the dimension of the king's mind, by his secret letters; turn about a while, and look upon the same in his public declarations. See if you can reconcile his former promises to his present designs: for, as you have had some representation of the latter in the former part, you shall now be made spectators and judges of the former in this latter part. The king,

according to Digby's superstitious observation, in his letter of January the fourteenth last, takes it as evident, that Strafford's innocent blood has brought the judgment of this civil war equally upon both sides; both being equally guilty thereof. The king's meaning is, that he, and his side, was as guilty in permitting, as the parliament was in prosecuting; but now for Canterbury's blood, that being totally put upon the parliament's score, he doubts not, but the hand of justice will from henceforth totally lay the weight of this guilt upon the parliament's side. The truth is, Strafford and Canterbury were the chief firebrands of this war; the two ill counsellors, that chiefly incensed the king against the Scots, and endeavoured to subject all these three kingdoms to a new arbitrary government, and were justly executed for attempting that subversion of law, which the king has perfected since. The king and Digby both adjudged Strafford worthy of death, yet not for treason, as it was charged: but not being able to save his life, without using force; and finding force very dangerous, they left him to the block; against conscience, as is now alleged. Canterbury remains in the same case, and now remorse of conscience (or rather the old project of altering law) suggests to the king, that if no resistance be used, Strafford's precedent will cast Canterbury, and Canterbury's all the rest of the conspirators; and so the people will make good their ancient freedom still. Hereupon, discontents break out; the king withdraws into Scotland: during his abode there, the rebellion in Ireland, some attempts against marquis Hamilton, and others, in Scotland, and some other dangerous machinations in England, put us into strange terrors and apprehensions.

The king, at his return, December the 2d, 1641, complains of these jealousies, frights, and alarms, with this profession: 'I am so far from repenting of any act done this session, for the good of my people, that if it were to do again, I would do it, and will 'yet grant what else can be justly desired.' He concludes with a recommendation of the business of Ireland, and, finding the preparations for the same slow; again on the fourteenth of December, he is pathetical in quickening thereunto. All this notwithstanding, the parliament finds the old faction at court to grow strong, and daily to attain to more prevailance with the king; which, besides other causes of jealousy, makes them lay open the indisposition of the whole state, in a plain and sharp remonstrance, December the fifteenth, with the remedies thereof proposed. The king, as to the business of religion, answers: 'For preserving of the peace and safety of the kingdom from the designs of a 'popish party, we have, and will concur with all just desires of our people in a parliamentary way. For Ireland, we thank you for your care, and cheerful engagement for 'the speedy suppression of that rebellion, the glory of God in the Protestant profession, 'the safety of the British there, our honour, and this nation's, so much depending thereupon, &c. Your promise to apply yourselves to such courses as may support our royal 'estate with honour and plenty at home, and with power and reputation abroad, is that 'which we have ever promised ourselves, both from your loyalties and affections.'

Here are words that sound nothing but grace, and here is a clear testimony from the king's own mouth, concerning the merit of this nation to this day; but, notwithstanding these promises and testimonies, the king discovers daily more and more regret for Strafford's execution, sticks closer to the counsels of the same faction, and, instead of hearkening to this parliament, he commands a charge of treason to be framed against six members, the most eminent and active in both houses. Also, upon the fourth of January, the king comes in person, with a great train armed, into the house; and missing the five members there, tells the rest, that he must have them wheresoever he found them. Here was the fatal commencement of the war: for, the next day, the house declares, that they cannot sit in safety any longer at Westminster, and therefore they adjourn for some days, and retire into the city. December the thirty-first, they petition for a guard out of the city, under the command of the king's lord-chamberlain, the earl of Essex; which is denied, yet with these expressions: 'We are ignorant of the grounds of your apprehen'sions, but protest before Almighty God, had we any knowledge or belief of the least design, 'in any, of violence, either formerly, or at this time against you; we would pursue them

'to condign punishment, with the same severity and detestation, as we would the greatest 'attempt upon our crown: and we do engage solemnly the word of a king, that the se- 'curity of every one of you from violence is, and shall be ever as much our care, as the 'preservation of us and our children.'

These words were sweetly tempered, but won no belief, nor could overpower contrary actions; wherefore, the mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, seeing nothing but symptoms of war in the court, framed a petition; praying the king, that the Tower of London may be put into the hands of persons of trust; that, by removal of doubtful and unknown persons from about Whitehall and Westminster, a known and approved guard may be appointed for the safety of the parliament; and that the accused members may not be restrained, or proceeded against, otherwise than according to the privileges of parliament. The king grants nothing; but answers, 'That his reception of such an 'unusual request is a sufficient instance of the singular estimation he hath of the good 'affections of the city; which he believes, in gratitude, will never be wanting to his just 'commands and service.'

Hitherto the king speaks nothing, but in justification both of the city's, parliament's, and people's loyalty. The tumults about Whitehall, &c. amounted to no war, are imputed by the king to the rabble, and by us to the king's party: the parliament is acquitted, except six members, and the prosecution of them also is after declined by the king; yet the king departs from the city, as unsafe, seeing plainly it could not be averted from the parliament.

Upon the twentieth of January, the king sends a message to the parliament, to state the differences on both sides, promising, that, when they are digested into a body, fit to be judged of, it shall appear what he will do. In answer hereunto, the commons-house (the lords refusing to join) only petition for the raising up unto them, and the state, a sure ground of safety and confidence; that the Tower of London, and the militia of the kingdom, may be put into such persons' hands as they should recommend.

The king replies, 'That the militia by law is subject to no command but his own, 'which he will reserve to himself, as a principal and inseparable flower of his crown; pro- 'fesses to take care of peace, and the rights of the subject, equally with his life, or the 'lives of his dearest children. He further also conjures them, by all acts of duty and 'favour received, by hopes of future mutual happiness, by their love of religion, the 'peace both of this kingdom and Ireland, not to be transported with fears and jea- 'lousies.'

The parliament could not believe themselves secured by these professions, or asseverations; and the king would not understand, that the settling the militia, at this time, in confiding hands, to prevent a civil war, was any other, than the taking the crown from his head. *Hinc ille lachrymæ!* The king, nevertheless, persists to declare his abhorrence of the Irish rebellion, frequently inciting the parliament to send succours. He also strangely abjures any privity to plots, or designs against the laws, &c. and, further, makes strict proclamation, March the sixteenth, for putting laws in execution against the papists.

The parliament, seeing cause to suspect that the king and queen did still favour Digby and others, flying from the justice of parliament, and appearing to be incendiaries by letters intercepted; knowing also, that the queen was going into Holland to pawn the jewels of the crown for arms; and having divers other grounds of further apprehensions; again petition concerning the settling of the militia, and the king's return, but are denied in both.

Thoughts of peace are now laid aside, and Hull being a strong town, and a magazine of arms, as also Newcastle being the public magazine of fuel, and a rich place, are looked upon with solicitous eyes; but, as the parliament prevents the king in Hull, the king prevents the parliament in Newcastle. Yet, the war, being so far advanced, is scarcely avowed on either side, nor is it agreed which part was put to the defensive; and therefore, on the second of June, 1642, before any bloodshed, another essay is made for peace, and

the parliament's cause (stated fully in nineteen propositions) is dispatched to the king: the main things desired were reformation in church-government, that power military and civil might be put into confiding hands, that justice of parliament might pass upon delinquents. But the answer returned is, 'that, if these things were granted, the king should remain 'but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king.' This, though it was the trumpet of war, and the sound of defiance in effect, yet was not so owned; for still the king says, 'He intends not to fix any disloyal design upon both, or either house of parliament; 'he is rather most confident of the loyalty, good affections, and integrity of that great 'body's good intentions; but the malignity of the design (he says) hath proceeded from 'the subtle informations, mischievous practices, and evil counsels of ambitious turbulent 'spirits, not without a strong influence upon the very actions of both houses.' This was the utmost charge of treason that could be then brought against the parliament; and the propositions of the parliament treated lately at Uxbridge, in February 1644, being no other in effect, than those of June 1642, this inference may be truly made, that the king hath no cause to look upon us now, otherwise than as he did then; and if he have varied since from those vows and asseverations which he made then, the blame will not remain on this side, but on his: so that the very calling to mind what hath been said by the king, will be now sufficient for our purpose.

1. Wherefore, as to the taking up of arms at all against the parliament, June the third, 1642, the king, in his declaration to the freeholders of Yorkshire, renounces any intention of war. His words are, 'To the end this present posture wherein we meet, should not af- 'fright you with the distempers of the times, we wish you to look into the composition and 'constitution of our guard; and you will find it so far from the face or fear of war, that 'it serves to secure you, as well as us, from it,' &c. Also June the 16th, in his declaration at York, he useth these words: 'We again, in the presence of Almighty God, our 'Maker and Redeemer, assure the world; we have no more thought of making war against 'our parliament, than against our own children.' To the same purpose, he made all his lords sign a testimonial with their own hands, in affirmance of his profession. It is true, afterwards, when he took the field with his increased guard, and became the assailant at Hull, having possessed himself of Newcastle, he was driven to save himself by distinctions; for he had not disclaimed all war in general, but all invasive war: and if the siege of Hull had some shew of invasion, yet, indeed, it was but in order to his defence; and this was a subtlety that all the subsigning lords, and others, it is thought, had not foreseen till now.

2. As to the waging war against the parliament, June the sixteenth, the king disclaims all thoughts of war against his parliament; and, in July, after the date of the earl of Essex's commission, he abhors the like; desiring no longer the protection and blessing of Almighty God upon himself and his posterity, than he and they shall solemnly observe the laws in defence of parliaments. Also, on August the twelfth after, he acknowledges, 'that the king and parliament are like the twins of Hyppocrates, which must laugh and 'cry, live and die together.' So this guides us to more distinctions, that the king may defend himself against a parliament, yet not fight against it; or he may assail a malignant party in parliament, yet not touch the parliament itself. These distinctions hold good on this side, not on that. But by what distinction will the king put a short period to this perpetual parliament without violence? Or, how can he deny it the name of a parliament without hostility? Examine the letters further about this.

3. As to the waging of war by papists: the king, (August the fourth, when the earl of Essex's army was in forming,) in his speech to the gentry of Yorkshire, avers, 'That he 'had taken order, that the power of the sword should not come into the hands of 'papists.' And, August the tenth, he makes strict proclamation, 'That all papists, pre- 'suming to list themselves under him as officers or soldiers, should be punished;' and a way, by oath, was prescribed for discrimination of them. Also, August the twenty-ninth, the king gives instructions to his commissioners for arrays to disarm all papists. So, October the twenty-seventh, after the battle at Edge-hill, the king thinks it worth his excuse,

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that he had some few popish commanders in his army, taken in of great necessity; he concludes thus: 'We shall never forget our several oaths in our several declarations: we 'are too much a Christian to believe that we can break those promises, and avoid the jus- 'tice of Heaven.' It is true, afterwards, a new distinction came to light; for, upon a petition from the Lancashire papists, the king did avow, 'The papists were, by law, pro- 'hibited arms in time of peace, not in time of war; and, therefore, he did not only au- 'thorize, but require them to arm themselves, servants, tenants, and use the same arms,' &c. This distinction bore date long after the war begun; but that was want of invention only.

4. As to managing the war by Irish papists, he had never before named them but with a bleeding heart. His words once were: 'We hope the lamentable condition of Ireland 'will invite us to a fair intelligence and unity; that we may, with one heart, intend the 'relieving and recovering of that unhappy kingdom, where those barbarous rebels practise 'such inhuman and unheard-of cruelties upon our miserable people, that no Christian ear 'can hear without horror, nor story parallel.' At another time, thus: 'We conjure all our 'subjects, by all the bonds of love, duty, or obedience, that are precious to good men, to 'join with us for recovery of that kingdom.' In July, at the siege of Hull, he conjures both houses, 'as they will answer the contrary to Almighty God, to unite their force 'for recovery of Ireland.' In October, from Ayno, in his proclamation, he excuses the taking of clothes and draught-horses sent for Ireland, as done of necessity, and against his will. In December, the king answers some Irish Protestants thus: 'Since the beginning 'of that monstrous rebellion, I have had no greater sorrow than for the bleeding condition 'of that kingdom.' Nay, since the treaty at Uxbridge, the king, in public, washes his hands of all countenance given to the rebels, and turns the blame upon the parliament; though in private he had been, as it were, a suitor to them for peace, and some assistance from them, by private letters to Ormond. Query, How this may be reconcileable, &c.?

5. As to the granting of a toleration, the king, March the ninth, 1641, in answer to the parliament's declaration, uses these words: 'Our faithful and zealous affection to the true 'Protestant profession, and our resolution is, to concur with our parliament in any possible 'course for the propagation of it, and suppression of popery.' In April, 1642, he calls God to witness, with this assurance, 'That he will never consent, upon whatsoever pre- 'tence, to a toleration of the popish profession, or abolition of laws now in force against 'recusants.' Also, April the twenty-fifth, 'He has no other end but to defend the true 'Protestant profession, &c. God so deal with us, as we continue in these professions.' So, in his speech at the head of his army, September the nineteenth. So, in his proclamation of pardon to London, October the twenty-ninth, 'All the professions we have made in 'our several declarations for suppression of popery and maintenance of religion, the laws, '&c. shall be as inviolably observed by us, as we expect a blessing from Almighty God, 'and obedience from our subjects.' Query, then, How this may be consistent with taking away statutes in England and Ireland, made for suppression of popery, and that by the arms of papists.

6. As to the bringing-in of foreign force, the king, March the ninth, 1641, in his declaration from Newmarket, saith, 'Whatsoever you are advertised from Rome, Venice, 'and Paris, of the pope's nuncio's soliciting Spain, France, &c. for foreign aids, we are 'confident no sober honest man can believe us so desperate or senseless to entertain such 'designs, as would not only bury this our kingdom in sudden destruction and ruin, but 'our name and posterity in perpetual scorn and infamy.' Also, March the twenty-sixth, 1642, about solicitation suspected of the king of Denmark, his words are, 'We have nei- 'ther so ill opinion of our own merits, or the affections of our subjects, as to think our- 'self in need of foreign force.' Also, August the fourth, the king, in his speech to the gentry of Yorkshire, acknowledges, 'He is wholly cast upon the affections of his people, 'having no hope but in God, his just cause, and the love of his subjects.' What distinc- tion can now satisfy us, that neither Irish, French, Lorrainers, Dutch, nor Danes, are foreigners? The concealing of this, by sealing up the lips of the queen, and Ormond, and Cockran, must supply all distinctions.

An Account of the late Scotch Invasion; as it was opened by my Lord Haversham[1] in the House of Lords, on Friday, the Twenty-fifth of February, 1708-9. With some Observations that were made in the House of Commons, and true Copies of Authentick Papers. In a Letter from a Gentleman in South-Britain to his Friend in North-Britain.

'The princes of Zoan are become fools, the princes of Noph 'are deceived; they have also reduced Egypt, even they that 'were the stay of the tribes thereof.'

ISAIAH, xix. 13.

Printed in the Year 1709.

[Quarto; containing forty-six pages.]

I WAS not, Sir, till now, able to give you the account you desired; Whether the intended invasion would have any further notice taken of it, than what I sent you an account of; with the address of the house of lords, for the papers to be laid before them? But can now tell you, with good assurance, that one of the chief reasons, why those lords, who first moved that matter, let it sleep so long, was out of the just apprehension they had, that should they awaken that enquiry sooner, it might prove a disturbance to the necessary preparations of the next campaign, by hindering subscriptions, or weakening the credit of the bank. And it was for this reason, (as I have been told) that the lord who opened this matter, would not take notice of a very remarkable particular, which he had good vouchers in his hand to prove: but to let the world see, though those lords had been so long silent, they had not forgot that matter, they took the first opportunity that offered, after the subscriptions were finished, and the bank-books made up, to put the house in mind of it, and if possible, to get this invasion looked into. They thought themselves obliged to do so, in duty to her majesty, that she might see in how much greater danger she then was, than they had reason to believe she thought herself; and in duty to the nation too, that the publick might be convinced how little care the ministry took of them in such a dangerous conjuncture of affairs: and lastly, in justice to themselves, to demonstrate it beyond exception, that they were not only willing but desirous too, to have this matter searched to the bottom, and those concerned in it, have the just reward of their crimes; and accordingly my lord Haversham did again put the house in mind of what seemed to have been so long forgot, and spoke, as I am told, to this effect:

'My Lords,

'THE temper of this house, with relation to your enquiry into the late intended invasion, since your address to her majesty to have the papers laid before you, and since they

[1] [Vide the last edition of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. iv. p. 33, wherein is given a memoir of Lord Haversham, communicated by Mr. Courtier. The duchess of Marlborough speaks of this lord as 'a great speech-'maker, and publisher of his speeches; and one who was become the mouth of the party, for any extraordinary 'alarm.' Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 163.]

have been upon your table, is so very visible, I need not take notice of it; but ought rather to ask forgiveness for myself, that I should dare so much as to mention that matter once more to your lordships: nor should I do it, were it not from an absolute necessity and justice, which I think is due to myself and those lords who did me the honour to second the motion I made for addressing her majesty for those papers. For to me it seems too much like fear or guilt, to sit down tamely under any reflection a man has in his power to wipe off, and there are some which we perhaps may hereafter be reproached with: one is, that these lords, who made you this motion, never so much as looked into the papers they called for, or have thought on, or mentioned that matter since. Perhaps they will say too, that they never intended it should come to any thing, that it was only a cover to hide some design they had under it: nay, I do not know but they may go so far as to say, that under hand they were trying how an act of grace would relish. Should such a thing be offered, I know myself so innocent, as in our present circumstances, I should not give my consent to it; for I shall always think, that when horses are skittish, vicious, and head-strong, let whoso will be upon their back, it is fit they should never be without a good strong curb in their mouths. And as to these papers, my lords, I have looked into them; and those who have done so cannot, in my opinion, but think of them: but that your lordships may not have my word only for this, I will, with your lordships' leave, take notice of some particulars that are in them; and that you may be certain of the truth of what I observe, I beg your clerk may read for vouchers the papers themselves, as they shall be called for.

It will not, I presume, be denied me, that upon the twenty-third of February, Mr. Boyle received certain intelligence, that the intended armament at Dunkirk was designed for Scotland: there had been several advices before of great preparations making, and by the great quantity of fire-arms it was judged to be for some land-design. The states were apprehensive, and acquainted her majesty by their minister with it; and Scotland had been in several intelligences named: but I do not find there was a certain account till that of the twenty-third of February, to Mr. Boyle.

The queen, in her letter of the twenty-fifth of February, to the council of Scotland, thinks it necessary to acquaint them with it, and that she does expect they should do their utmost for the protection of her subjects, and preservation of the public peace; that nothing on her part should be wanting; that she has given orders that some of her troops in Flanders should be ready to embark, in case the embarkation at Dunkirk should go on; and that her troops in England and Ireland are so disposed as to give what assistance may be necessary: in the mean time, authorizes and empowers them, the privy-council, to give such orders as were proper to put her forces, forts, and garrisons there, in the best order.

This then being allowed, the first question is, What number of forces (effective regular troops I mean) were in Scotland at this time; that is, the twenty-third or twenty-fifth of February, 1708? I cannot but observe to your lordships, that there has been a great deal of care taken to conceal this from us, although this very account was particularly asked for by your address: yet in all that great bundle, there is not one paper from whence we can learn the number. I was therefore forced to get the best light and intelligence I could elsewhere, and have very good authority for what I am going to say, and do affirm to your lordships, that the regular forces in Scotland, upon the twenty-fifth of February, 1708, were not above fifteen hundred men. If I am mistaken, I hope some lord here will set me right, and take upon him to say what the real number was at that time.

And since there were but fifteen hundred men, it is certain that was not a number or strength that could be thought by any man sufficient to secure and protect the kingdom against the invasion that threatened it: and the ferment that was then in the nation was such, that I do not find they durst so much as trust their militia with their own defence. We are therefore in the next place to consider, what additional strength or augmentation

this handful of men had; or what assistance, either from the forces from Ostend, or those from Ireland, or English troops from hence.

As to augmentations or additions, I find there was little or nothing done, as to that part. The parliament indeed had, on the twentieth of December, 1707, raised the establishment of the forces in Scotland from 2834 to 5932; but it appears by a letter from the earl of Leven, to the earl of Mar, of the seventh of March, that little notice had as yet been taken of what the parliament had done: for in that letter to the earl of Mar, he entreats him again to mind the establishment, and let him know if he shall give encouragement to any who should be willing to take arms to join them; and says further, he hopes at least, that so much of the levy-money, as is due since the twenty-fourth of December, will be given now; for that would buy some horses, and levy some men. So that, by this letter, it appears there was no money given to levy men, or increase the forces in Scotland, though there were 3600 men wanting at that time, and had been so ever since the parliament had voted the establishment in December; and though our danger at that time, from the want of them, was so very great and evident; which seems very astonishing. Nor does it appear that any directions, or money, for this or any other service, till the invasion was over, was ordered here till the twelfth of March; and then indeed, on the thirteenth, the earl of Mar writes from hence, to the earl of Leven, that my lord-treasurer had ordered the people of the customs and excise to answer the earl of Leven with money for provisions, and other necessary charges; and further says, that my lord Marlborough told him that very morning (which was the thirteenth), that the Scotch establishment would be ended that day: he knows not how they have made it, or if they have altered any thing that we had concerted with St. John, or if any thing be omitted; but he hoped they had not.

It is very true, her majesty, in her second letter, of the eighth of March, to the council of Scotland, recommends to them to give present directions to put her forts, garrisons, and magazines there, in a good posture of defence; and says, 'That what shall be expended 'towards these ends, by their warrants, shall be repaid; for which she has already given 'orders.' What those orders were, or to whom given, are not to be found among the papers; but it is very evident, that there was no order for one farthing of money, to answer either the orders of the council or the earl of Leven's necessary charges, out of any branch of the revenue, or otherwise: for in a letter of the earl of Leven to the earl of Mar, of the thirteenth of March, he has these words, which will likewise shew the condition of the nation, at that time: 'My lord, (says he,) I leave it to your lordship, to consider 'my circumstances. Here I am, not one farthing of money to provide provision, or for 'contingencies, or intelligence, none of the commissions yet sent down, few troops, and 'those almost naked: it vexes me sadly to think, I must retire towards Berwick, if the 'French land on this side the Firth.' And, that you may not have his lordship's single word for it, the lord-advocate confirms very much the truth of this, in his letter of the eleventh of March, to the earl of Mar; for after he had said, that 'he was ordered to lay 'before her majesty the inclosed information, for the castle of Edinburgh, and a particular 'account of what it wants, to put it in a case of defence; and also the castles of Sterling, 'Dumbarton, and Blackness, to shew their present condition, and what great disorder 'and want they are in, and that he had formerly sent a memorial of Mr. Slezer's, for a 'train of artillery; all which he hopes will be considered:' he adds, 'I believe (says he) 'there was never a country more destitute and defenceless, than we are; nor have we so 'much as a treasury, or any money for incident charges; so that I must again, by the 'council's order, lay these things before your lordship, and that at least some order may 'be given, whereby necessary expences may be defrayed.' And the earl of Mar's letter of the thirteenth, from hence, is the first account, we have of any money, that was ordered for Scotland. By all which, it plainly appears, that notwithstanding the orders the queen mentions in her letter of the eighth of March, the council had not a shilling for necessary expences, on the eleventh; nay, not so much as one penny ordered, till the thirteenth: and as to the establishment, notwithstanding all the pressing instances, that was

not settled till after the invasion, as appears by the earl of Mar's letters, of the twelfth and thirteenth of March.

This, my lords, is the true state, as appears from the papers themselves given in, relating to the force of that, I had almost said, deserted, but I may say defenceless nation: few men, and those almost naked; three-thousand six-hundred men wanting of the establishment voted by parliament, for the year 1707-8, near three months before; no levy-money, no establishment settled, no commissions sent down, not a shilling ordered by the ministry, out of any branch of the revenue, or otherwise, to the privy-council or earl of Leven, for necessary expences, or to buy provision, or for contingencies, or intelligence; and all this in a time of the utmost danger.

In the next place, I shall shew your lordships, when Scotland was in this defenceless condition, what assistance they had from Ostend, England, and Ireland. As to the transports, that were to come from Ostend, though all the dispatch was made, that could be made, they did not arrive at Tinmouth-Bar, till ten days after the enemy were seen upon the Scotch coast; so that the dispute, if there had been any, would have been over; and the enemy (in all human probability) would have been masters both of Edinburgh, the castle, and all that was in it, before they could come up to their assistance. And the very orders to Baker is so extraordinary, a man cannot but take notice of it; for, after that he is required and directed to make the best of his way to Tinmouth-Bar, with her majesty's ships under his command, and the transport-ships with troops, which he brought with him from Ostend, &c. there is a further order in these words, 'But in regard there are several 'dismounted troopers on-board the transports, you are to send a vessel with them to 'Harwich, if you can conveniently; their horses being now in Essex:' so that instead of taking the horses to Tinmouth, the dismounted troopers are first to be sent to Harwich, to their horses, and from thence to proceed to Scotland; which, one would think, were a very round-about way.

And as to our troops from hence, which were to assist them, the several regiments of horse-dragoons and foot had not their orders to hold themselves in a readiness to march till the eleventh of March. The next day, orders were given for them to augment; and on the fourteenth, they were ordered to march northward; which was certainly too long a delay, considering what a march it is from hence to Edinburgh: yet this was all the readiness they were in, to assist them.

But there is one thing which is most amazing; and I must again desire, if I am wrong in fact, that some lord here, who I am sure can, will set me right.

The queen, as I shewed to your lordships, in her letter of the eighth of March, (which your clerk just now read,) told the council of Scotland, 'Our troops from Ireland, which 'we mentioned in our last, are ready to embark in transport-ships, provided in those 'places, with all necessaries for that service:' and yet it does appear plainly, that there were no transports provided at that time here, nor were any transport-ships ordered in Ireland: nay, the very orders to provide transports were not given by my lord Sunderland, till the twelfth of March here, nor by my lord-lieutenant for Ireland, for the troops to be in a readiness to be transported, till the thirteenth; and then my lord Sunderland sends an order to the commissioners of transports, telling them, 'that it is her majesty's pleasure, 'that they forthwith take up shipping, for the transportation of six-hundred horse, that 'are to embark at the White-house between Carrickfergus and Belfast; and it is left (says 'he) to your discretion, to hire these ships, either at Whitehaven, Liverpool, or Chester, 'as you can do it, with most expedition and conveniency:' and, upon the thirteenth, his lordship sends another letter, acquainting them, 'that they are to provide a-board those 'ships hay and oats sufficient to serve six-hundred horse for a fortnight, and as many 'water-casks, as may be necessary to carry water;' particulars that were, it seems, forgot in the first orders: and in an extract of the earl of Pembroke's letter to the lords justices of Ireland, of the thirteenth, he tells them, 'I do not in the least doubt, but that your 'lordships will issue proper orders for one regiment of horse, and two of dragoons, to be

'provided with necessaries ready to embark, whenever there shall be occasion for them; 'and it is her majesty's opinion, that the regiments under the command of lieutenant-'general Langston, major-general Ecclyn, and lord Tunbridge, should be on this service: 'and I am of opinion, that it will be for the service of the queen, to have these three re-'giments move with all convenient speed, and take their quarters in and about Belfast 'and Carrickfergus, that they may be in readiness to embark. I desire your lordships to 'give directions to the proper officers, to provide and get ready hay, oats, and water, for 'at least a fortnight.'

And here, if we consider, that these letters were dated the twelfth and thirteenth of March from hence; that they were to go to the commissioners of transports here, and to the lords-justices in Ireland; that after these transports were to be agreed for, and hay, oats, and water, to be provided, and the three regiments to be ordered to march, what time all this would take up: it seems very evident, that her majesty was not truly acquainted with the danger she was in; that she thought these things were in a readiness, which were not; and that the orders she had given had not been observed, as she concluded they were: and in the last place, that these three regiments must arrive in Scotland, very late.

But there is one thing more so very new, and without precedent, that it cannot but be very astonishing, which is, that in the earl of Leven's instructions, of the fourth of March, in that part where he is ordered to Ireland, for assistance, there is a blank left, as to the person to whom he is to write; the words are these: 'You are, upon the first appearance 'of any squadron of French ships upon the coast, to send to Ireland to ——— to adver-'tise him thereof, who has orders to send troops to your assistance;' and yet, (as was just now proved both from lord Sunderland's letter to the commissioners of transports, and from my lord-lieutenant's to the lords-justices,) there was not so much as orders given, for any transports here till the twelfth, nor any ever in Ireland; nor were the three regiments directed to move, in order to embarking, till the thirteenth.

I confess, when I read this, I thought it was a mistake of the transcriber, till I saw these words in the earl of Leven's own letter, of the 7th of March, to the earl of Mar: 'I desire you (says the earl of Leven) to send down the name of the person I am to 'write to in Ireland, if there be occasion; and must still entreat your lordship that orders 'be sent for some horse and dragoons to embark.' And again, in his letter of the 13th, where he has these words to the earl of Mar, he repeats the same thing; 'Pray endeavour 'to get orders sent straight to Ireland, for the officers there to embark; for you know I 'have no person's name to whom I should write. This convinces me, beyond what any man can say, that his lordship did not know to whom to write; for sure his lordship would not repeatedly affirm what was not fact: and whoever considers, that there were no orders lodged any where for any person from Ireland, upon advice from the earl of Leven, of the appearance of the enemy, to follow his direction, and hasten to his assistance; nor any orders at all for transports there; nor any direction here for transports till the 12th; must, I think, be convinced, that this blank in the instructions did not happen by chance, but was a premeditated and designed omission.

I would not forget any care that was taken, and therefore must take notice, that on the 27th of February, there were a hundred barrels of powder ordered to be sent from Berwick to Edinburgh; but the earl of Leven was not writ to about it till the 2d of March, which was four days delay: and the order itself was so very preposterous, (I had almost said ridiculous, much like that of Baker's,) that it had full as well been omitted; for, instead of ordering the store-keeper of Berwick immediately to carry a hundred barrels of powder to Edinburgh, they sent an order to one Mr. James Robb, deputy store-keeper of Edinburgh, 'to get carts, and go with them to Berwick, and take three-hundred barrels 'of powder, and bring it to Edinburgh:' and Mr. Grieve, store-keeper of Berwick to the board of ordnance, writes a letter, dated March 10, 1707-8, hither, 'That Robb was 'come to Berwick, and the carts would be there that night.' And I appeal to a lord, who cannot but know, whether the powder came to Edinburgh before the danger was

past, and the French off our coast? And whoever will reflect, that the earl of Leven's letter, dated here the 2d of March, was to go to Edinburgh; that then at Edinburgh carriages are to be taken up for the powder; then they are to go to Berwick, and from Berwick they are to return again to Edinburgh; will find it could hardly be there sooner.

The next thing I shall take notice of to your lordships, is the state of the garrisons. The parliament had given, the 20th of December, the sum of 13098*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* for the garrisons of North-Britain, for the year 1708. But I cannot but think your lordships will be greatly surprized, when you find in what a wretched condition they were. I will give your lordships but an instance or two, the rest are much in the same state.

STERLING-CASTLE.—This is a very considerable post, a place of great importance; and yet what an account is there of the arms and ammunition in that place?

One barrel of powder.

550 fire-locks; of which, about a hundred for service; and some of that hundred want ram-rods, and some nails; all the rest unserviceable.

780 musquets; which may be for service, when furnished with ram-rods; some nails, and some shattered in the stocks.

380 musquets, with broken stocks and locks; and many wanting locks, and all unserviceable.

150 bundles of match; all damnified with lying in rain.

300 bayonets, most of them broken and spoiled; altogether unserviceable.

300 cartridge-boxes; all broken and unserviceable.

200 pikes, damnified by long lying.

40 cannon-ball, 18-pounders.

70 cannon-ball, 12-pounders.

1200 balls, 9-pounders.

3400 four-pounders.

20 small bomb-shells, without mortars.

1200 hand-grenado shells.

50 stands, back and breast.

ORDNANCE-STORE in Blackness-castle.—Two barrels of corn-powder, one hundred each.

100 yards of match.

4 hand-spikes.

59 musquet-barrels, repairable.

7 scimitar-blades, useless.

100 pounds of musquet-bullets.

3 ladles; one serviceable, the other useless.

2 cannon, 3-pounders.

1 train-carriage, unserviceable.

2 minions.

3 falcons on ship-carriages; unserviceable.

77 balls for minion.

25 balls for 3-pounders.

149 hand-grenado shells.

DUMBARTON-CASTLE, as *per* memorial.—There are several breaches in the wall; there are twelve brass guns, none of them mounted, all want carriages; there is no powder in the garrison, and few flints; all the lodgings in a ruinous condition; no coals in the garrison, nor any other provision: the fire-locks, being long since they were gotten, are ill fixed.

Edinburgh, March 9, 1707-8.

The above-mentioned is the true condition of the castle of Dumbarton, at present.

I need not, my lords, I think, make any observations upon the castles, after your lordships have seen the wretched state of them; and, therefore, in the last place, shall only take notice to your lordships, that after the invasion was over, there were estimates made, what it would cost to put the fortifications of Scotland in good repair. The total (as appears by your schedule) amounts to 23156*l.* of which there could be but 3000*l.* laid out this year; and yet there has been but poor 1500*l.* expended upon that service this year, as appears by your paper.

I will not trouble you further. I think this matter is now very plain before your lordships. I could wish I had not said one word of truth in what I have said to you; but the vouchers shew it to be so: and, if all this be true, it is a very strange, a very surprizing, and a very astonishing truth.

I shall not move any thing to your lordships further in this matter: I believe there has been enough now said, to justify those lords for moving this enquiry, and shall add but this word, that if there be no greater care taken for the future, than there was at this time of such eminent danger, it will be the greatest miracle in the world, if (without a miracle) the pretender be not placed upon that throne.'

This is the substance of what was observed by that noble lord, as exactly as I can get it put into a thread; though there happened some interlocutories between him and another lord, and the observations were made upon the papers as they were read.

I cannot say, as you do in your letter, 'that the ministry, if you are not very ill informed, have altered some of the papers and letters laid before the parliament; lest their negligence, or somewhat that is worse, should appear:' but I have it immediately from those who have very exactly looked over the papers laid before the house of lords, that though there are a great many more in that mighty heap which was laid on the table, than ever were asked for, by the address, (perhaps to discourage the looking into them,) yet several material papers that were desired, have carefully been left out, and several that are in that bundle, are very imperfect, being such extracts as they thought fit to give; and, in some, where it was material to know the point of time, the dates are omitted: but as imperfect as they are, (and notwithstanding the want of many which should have been there,) you will find enough to convince you, whether the observations out of them were well grounded, and whether the conduct of our ministry, in such a critical juncture of affairs, is to be paralleled. That you yourself may the better judge of the whole, I send you the true copies of so many authentic papers.

To this account of what passed in the house of lords, relating to the invasion, I shall only add, that I hear the same papers being laid before the house of commons, pursuant to their address, produced the like observations there; and that the Scotch gentlemen concurred with the English, in blaming the conduct of the ministry; affirming, 'it was such as gave great encouragement to the enemies of the government, while its friends look on their country to be perfectly given up.' This, they said, was their general sense. In the house of commons, some observations were also made upon the imprisoning many persons in Scotland at that time; several lords and gentlemen, of the best quality and estates, were apprehended and seized, by virtue of warrants sent from hence, for suspicion of treason, and treasonable practices; though it does not appear from the papers there was any cause to suspect them; nor that any of their countrymen (who were the properest persons to be advised with on this occasion) were consulted in it. For the earl of Mar, in his letter to the earl of Leven, March the 9th, writes, 'That he, with the dukes of Queensberry and Montrose, the earls of Lowdon and Seafield, were summoned to the cabinet; and were there told, that since both houses had, for securing suspected persons, suspended the *Habeas-corpus* act; it was fit, persons in Scotland should be apprehended: and a list was read to them, which they took down in writing, and warrants were ready drawn.' This was certainly a very extraordinary way of proceeding; and

the more extraordinary, because the greatest part of the lords and gentlemen taken up by these warrants, had given undoubted testimonies ever since the revolution (in which, some of them had been very active and instrumental) of their fidelity and good affection to the government; they had taken all oaths that have been enjoined for its security; they had sat in parliament, and some of them had been in offices and employments of great trust, in the reign of king William, and of her majesty. Others, under the like circumstances, were taken up by warrants, bearing date the 29th of March, when the danger was over; which made the Scotch gentlemen very free in declaring, 'That the taking them up could 'be for no other reason, than to influence the approaching elections to parliament; and 'for their disaffection to the interests some courtiers then promoted, rather than for their 'disaffection to her majesty's person and government: in which they were the more con-'firmed, because they saw there was no evidence in the papers against any of them.' There was, indeed, some evidence of high-treason pretended against five gentlemen, taken up by warrants from the privy-council of Scotland; but that was such as the lord advocate writes, 'neither he, nor the other advocates employed for her majesty, did think would 'convict them;' and, therefore, he humbly offered it as their opinion, 'That it would be 'more for the honour and service of her majesty, and of her government, that they should 'not be prosecuted.' The earl of Sunderland, in his answer, acquainted him, 'He had 'laid his memorial before her majesty, who was well satisfied with what he had done, in 'procuring evidence against the prisoners: and though possibly, upon their trial, the 'evidence might not be sufficient to convict them by the law of Scotland; yet, consider-'ing all the circumstances of that affair, and the noise it has made in the world, her 'majesty thought it absolutely necessary for her service, that it be carried as far as it will 'bear.' Accordingly, they were brought upon their trials, and acquitted.

After all the observations made upon the papers, the considerations of them ended in the house of commons, in the resolution which you have seen in their votes, *viz.* 'That it ap-'pears to this house, that timely and effectual care *was* taken by those employed under her 'majesty, at the time of the intended invasion of Scotland, to disappoint the designs of 'her majesty's enemies, both at home and abroad; by fitting out a sufficient number of 'men of war; ordering a competent number of troops from Flanders; giving directions 'for the forces in Ireland, to be ready for the assistance of the nation; and by making the 'necessary and proper dispositions of the forces of England.'

The gentlemen that were against this resolution desired, that all the papers laid before the house, relating to the intended invasion of Scotland, might be printed; that the world might see and judge, how well grounded it was. But those who had justified the ministry in their debates, and voted for the resolution, would not suffer the papers to be printed: so that the question was carried in the negative.

The true Account of the Condition of the Castle of Dumbarton.

Imprimis,

THERE are several breaches in the wall. There are 12 brass guns.

There are none of the guns mounted; all of them want carriages.

There is no powder in the garrison, and few flints.

All the lodgings in a ruinous condition.

There are no coals in the garrison, nor any other provisions.

The fire-locks, being long since they were gotten, are very ill fixed.

Edinburgh, March 9, 1707-8. The above is the true condition of the castle of Dumbarton, at present.

An Account of Remains of Ordnance-Stores in her Majesty's Castle of Blackness, in the North of Britain.

Brass Guns.

Two cannon, 3-pounders, on train-carriages, unserviceable.

Iron Guns.

1 minion long, 5 foot $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
1 minion long, 3 feet $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
2 falcons long, 4 feet $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
1 ditto long, 3 feet $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—All on ship-carriages, unserviceable.

Round Shot.

77 balls for minion.
25 balls for 3-pounders.
2 barrels of corn-powder, 100 pounds weight each.
149 hand-grenado shells.
100 yards of match.
4 hand-spikes.
100 pounds of musquet-bullets.
59 musquet-barrels, repairable.
3 ladles; one serviceable, and the other two useless.
7 scimitar-blades, useless.

The contents above is the present state of the stores of ordnance in her majesty's castle of Blackness, the 16th of November, 1708. T. Dury.

An Account of Arms and Ammunition in the Castle of Sterling; March 6, 1707-8.

One barrel of powder.
550 fire-locks; of which about 100 for service, and some of that hundred do want ram-rods, and some nails; all the rest are unserviceable.
70 chests of musquet-ball.
780 musquets, which may be fit for service when furnished with ram-rods; some nails, and some shattered in the stocks.
380 musquets with broken stocks and locks; many wanting locks, all unserviceable.
150 bundles of match; all damnified with long lying, and rain.
200 pikes, damnified by long lying.
40 cannon ball, 18-pounders.
70 cannon ball, 12-pounders.
1200 ball, 9-pounders.
3400 4-pounders.
20 small bomb shells, without mortar.
1200 hand-grenado shells.
50 stands, back and breast.
300 bayonets; most of them broken and spoiled, all wanting scabbards, altogether unserviceable.
300 cartridge-boxes; all broken and unserviceable.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Sunderland, to the Commissioners for Transports; March 13, 1707-8.

I have lately writ to you, to take up shipping for six-hundred horse, to be brought over from Ireland. I am now to acquaint you, that you are to provide, and put on-board the ships employed in that service, hay and oats sufficient to serve them a fortnight, and as many water-casks as may be necessary to carry water for them for that time.

SIR,

Mr. Burchet, *Whitehall, March* 13, 1707-8.

I return you, by the earl of Sunderland's command, the draught of instructions for rear-admiral Baker, or the commander in chief of her majesty's ships, coming from Ostend with the transports; with some alterations, as you will find in the inclosed.

I am, &c. THO. HOPKINS.

His Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark, &c. Lord-High-Admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, &c. and of all her Majesty's Plantations, &c. and Generalissimo of all her Majesty's Forces, &c.

Instructions for Rear-Admiral Baker.

YOU are hereby required, and directed forthwith, upon your receipt hereof, to make the best of your way to Tinmouth-Bar, with her majesty's ships under your command, and the transport-ships with troops, which you brought with you from Ostend; and when you come off the said Bar, you are (if you do not find orders there) to continue there, with the aforesaid transport-ships, till further orders. But if you should be there credibly informed, that the French have landed their forces in the north of Scotland; you are then to make the best of your way to the Frith, in order to land the forces at Leith, or as near Edinburgh as may be. But, in regard there are several dismounted troopers on-board the transports, you are to send a vessel with them to Harwich, if you can conveniently; their horses being now in Essex. And, in case rear-admiral Baker shall himself proceed with the transport-ships, and that the enemy's ships, said to be in Flemish road, were there when he sailed from Ostend; he is forthwith to return with her majesty's ships off of Dunkirk: but, if the enemies' ships shall be gone from Dunkirk, when he sails from Ostend, he is then to make the best of his way to the Downs.

But if he has detached any of her majesty's ships, to be convoy to the transports, and continues himself off of Dunkirk; then the commander in chief of the said ships is hereby required, after having landed the troops, to make the best of his way to a proper station off of Dunkirk, and join the said rear-admiral Baker: and, in case the Lenox, Ipswich, and Nottingham, shall be in your company, you are to bring them back with you.

Given under my hand, the 13th of March, 1707-8.

By command of his Royal Highness, J. BURCHETT.

To John Baker, esq. rear-admiral of the White; or the commander-in-chief of her majesty's ships coming from Ostend with the transports.

Extract of the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's Letter, of the Thirteenth of March, 1707, to the Lords Justices of that Kingdom; concerning some Horse and Dragoons, designed to be transported from thence to Scotland.

My Lords,

I herewith transmit your lordships her majesty's letter of the eleventh instant, and must desire your lordships, to direct an account of the horse and dragoons to be sent over, in order to my laying the same before her majesty.

I shall now acquaint your lordships, that the officers are all under orders, and moving to their posts in Ireland, pursuant to her majesty's commands; and do not in the least doubt, but your lordships will issue proper orders, for one regiment of horse, and two of dragoons, to be provided with necessaries ready to embark, whenever there shall be occasion for them. And it is her majesty's opinion, the regiments, under the commands of lieutenant-general Langstone, major-general Echlin, and the lord Tunbridge, should be sent on this

service; and since they are to go, as they now stand on the Irish establishment, I hope care will be taken that they be complete.

And her majesty having ordered the commissioners of transports to take up at Chester, Liverpool, and Whitehaven, tonnage for six-hundred horse; I am of opinion, it will be for the service, to have those three regiments move with all convenient speed, and take quarters in and about Belfast and Carrickfergus; that they may be in a readiness to embark at the White House, which lies between these two places, as soon as the transport-ships shall arrive.

And though the passage from the White House, to the place to which they may be ordered, may not be above twelve hours; yet I desire your lordships to give directions to the proper officers, to provide and get ready hay, oats, and water, for, at least, a fortnight, &c.

A true extract, by George Doddington. PEMBROKE.

The Earl of Mar's Letter to the Lord Leven.

My Lord, *Whitehall, March* 13, 1707-8.

I writ to your lordship two letters yesterday by a flying-pacquet, which I hope you will get safe. In one of them I told you, that if major-general Cadogan got intelligence, that the French landed at Aberdeen, it was probable he would land his forces at Leith: since that time, the queen thinks it so reasonable that he should do so, that I believe there were orders dispatched to him last night to that purpose; and her majesty thought it worth while to give you notice of it by this flying-pacquet, that in the mean time, you may be looking for provisions and forage about Edinburgh for these forces, against they arrive, which will surely be ere long. They are about seven-thousand; so that your lordship will know what to be providing for them. If the French, either by design, or be obliged by this wind, to put into the Frith, and land near Edinburgh; then major-general Cadogan will land his forces at Tinmouth, and there will be no occasion for your providing these provisions. My lord-treasurer has ordered the people of the customs and excise, to answer your lordship with money for provisions, and other necessary charges.

I am glad the Presbyterian ministers have shewn themselves so hearty for the queen on this occasion, and so zealous against the invasion: every body is pleased with their declaring themselves as they have done, for the queen, and against the invasion; and I hope they will continue themselves more and more so.

My lord Marlborough told me this morning, that the Scots establishment would be ended to-day. I asked to meet with Mr. Walpole about it; but his grace desired me to tell his grace of any thing I had to say about it. Now this I can hardly do, until I see the establishment; for I know not how they have made it, or if they have altered any thing that we had concerted with St. John, or if any thing be omitted. I hope they have not; but I shall see it soon, and then I shall lose no time to represent any thing in it, which chances not to be as your lordship expects; though I hope there will be no occasion for this. There is no intelligence to-day, either of the fleet or otherways; but we expect it every minute.

I am, &c.

The duke of Marlborough desired me to write to your lordship, to send him an exact and particular account of your train of artillery.

The Earl of Leven's Letter to the Earl of Mar, shewing the sad Circumstances he is in, and desiring to know to whom he must write in Ireland.

My Lord, *Edinburgh, March* 13, 1707-8.

YOU have here a copy of letters I received this morning, which I thought of so great importance, as to acquaint your lordship, and his grace, the duke of Marlborough, of them by a flying-pacquet. I think the fleets, mentioned in these letters, are two different ones:

the wind is South-west, so it is not possible for them to enter the Frith. Some five or six ships were seen this morning near the May from the castle, but it has been foggy ever since, so we can have no further account of them: I believe it is the Dunkirk squadron, and therefore am still expecting some good news of our fleet's appearing.

My lord, I leave it to your lordship to consider my circumstances. Here I am, not one farthing of money to provide provisions, or for contingencies, or intelligence; none of the commissions yet sent down; few troops, and those almost naked. I beg to hear from you very frequently, and allow me to write freely: I hope you will only read such parts of them to others, as you judge proper. Pray cause always to advertise my son when any flying-pacquet is sent to me; and let Weems know too. It vexes me sadly, to think I must retire towards Berwick, if the French land on this side the Frith. Adieu, my Lord.

Pray endeavour to get orders sent straight to Ireland, to the forces there to embark; for you know I have no person's name to whom I should write.

A Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Sunderland, to the Commissioners for Transports; March the 12th, 1707-8.

IT is her majesty's pleasure, that you forthwith take up shipping sufficient for the transportation of six-hundred horse, that are to embark at the White House, between Carrickfergus and Belfast, in Ireland; but, it being not yet determined where they are to land, you are to make your contract by the week, or such other time as you shall think proper. It is also left to your discretion, to hire the ships for this service, either at Whitehaven, Liverpool, or Chester; as you shall find you can do it with most expedition and conveniency.

The queen's letter, of March the eighth, to the council of Scotland, takes notice, that she had sent one of the twenty-fifth of February before, and adds, 'We do again recommend to you to get intelligence, &c. and to give present directions for putting our forts, garrisons, and magazines, in a good posture of defence; and what shall be expended herein, by your warrants, shall be repaid, for which we have already given orders.' Our troops from Ireland and Flanders, which were mentioned in our last, are ready to embark in transport-ships, provided in those places with all necessaries for that service. So that the orders of the lord Sunderland were not given till four or five days after, and the lord-lieutenant's letter to Ireland was dated five days after; which shews to me evidently, either that the queen was not rightly informed of facts, or (let her majesty say what she will) the ministry will do what they please.

The Earl of Mar's Letter to the Earl of Leven; March the 12th, 1707-8.

My Lord,

I writ to your lordship yesterday morning by a messenger, and sent you the copy of general Cadogan's letters, giving an account of the French sailing on Tuesday morning by three of the clock: we have since got intelligence, that sir George Byng sailed after them that same day, at six of the clock at night. The queen came to the house yesterday, and after passing several accounts, gave an account, in a short speech, of the news of the French sailing. There was a cabinet-council at night, in the Cockpit; where I and the other four I formerly writ of, were: the first thing that was talked of, was the troops to be sent from Ireland; my lord-lieutenant said, "That one regiment of horse, and two of dragoons, was all that could possibly be spared from thence:" these three regiments will make about six-hundred men. Next, transport-ships for these forces were spoke of, and resolved on; as the best way, to get them from Whitehaven, Liverpool, and Chester, and the troops to be shipped off at the White House, between Carrickfergus and Belfast. If the French

and in the North, about Aberdeen, it is thought your lordship will write to these troops to and at Portpatrick; but if the French land in the Frith, or any where else, whereby you hink the troops from Ireland can be of no use to you, or whereby these troops would run risk; then it is expected, that your lordship will advertise them to land at Whitehaven. This was left to me to tell your lordship; and the duke of Marlborough said he would write to you himself, and order copies of the orders, given to the troops here, to be sent you.

We talked also, how your lordship would dispose of the few troops you have: but I have nothing of this in charge to write to you, only for your own use I tell it you, that I thought that the men you had were such an handful, that you would not think of taking the field; but that you would divide your foot, and put good garrisons in Edinburgh and Sterling castles, and some in Dumbarton, to defend these, the best you could, till succour come from Flanders and Ireland; Edinburgh and Sterling, particularly the first (besides other reasons) for the money there, and the other for a pass, and the fitness of it for a garrison; and that, with the horses and dragoons, you would endeavour to keep the country quiet, and from joining with the enemy.

I believe there are ordered from hence seven or eight regiments of foot, amounting to about five-thousand men; Northumberland's regiment of horse, two troops of the horse-guards, the horse-grenadiers, and the half of two regiments of dragoons; but you will know the particulars of this from the duke of Marlborough. This, with those from Ireland and Flanders, will make such a force, that the French, and all who will join them, will not be able to overcome: so there is no fear of the main chance; but I am afraid our country, and particular persons, will suffer extremely.

All the officers here were ordered away yesterday, and they will be gone to-day. Colonel Erskin sets out this afternoon; I wish he were at Sterling, to which place he will make all the dispatch he can. I believe the troops from Flanders were designed to land at Tinmouth, if the French go to the Frith; but if they go to the north, I believe they will land at Leith; which I think most probable. My lord-treasurer has promised, that money shall be ordered for every thing that is necessary; the commons have voted, that whatever the queen expends on this affair shall be made good; they are also come to a resolution, and are bringing in a bill upon it, that if any Highland chieftain join the pretender, then his estate shall belong to his vassal, and they to hold of the crown, if they do not join; and if any vassal join, that his estate shall belong to the landlord, if he do not. The bill, for every body in public trust taking the abjuration, passed yesterday; and also the bill, suspending the *Habeas-corpus* act, till the thirteenth of October next.

I hope the powder from Berwick is in the castles in Scotland before this: I ordered Holbourn to send your lordship the cannon ball, which I hope he did. We long very much to hear from your lordship, and what is doing in Scotland.

I had almost forgot to tell your lordship, that yesterday the queen gave the negative for the new militia of Scotland: the establishment for the Scots troops will be adjusted to-day I believe, or to-morrow. This is all I have to say now; but if any thing else occur before the express goes of, I shall add it.

Whitehall, Friday, 12 o'clock,
March 12, 1707-8. I am, &c.

I conclude your lordship is at Edinburgh, so I thought it not needful to write to any other of the queen's servants.

My lord-treasurer has ordered three months subsistence to be advanced to your lordship's troops, until other things be adjusted: the duke of Argyle spoke to the duke of Marlborough for Finab's Independent company, going into Argyleshire, which his grace thinks reasonable; and the duke of Argyle desired me to shew this to your lordship.

The Lord-Advocate's Letter to the Earl of Mar; shewing the destitute Condition of Scotland, at that Time; never a Country more destitute and defenceless; and that at least, some Order may be given, whereby the necessary Expence may be defrayed. March the 11th, 1707-8.

May it please your Lordship,

THE council met again yesterday, and dispatched their orders, for calling in suspected persons, to appear before them, with the proclamation for the fast; of all which, your lordship had a full account: there was presented to the council the memorial here inclosed for the castle of Edinburgh, a large and particular account of what it wants, to put it in a case of defence; and memorials also, for the castles of Sterling, Dumbarton, and Blackness, to shew their present condition, and what great disorder and want they are in; and all these memorials I am ordered to lay before your lordship, for her majesty's information. I sent Mr. Slezer's memorial formerly for a train of artillery, and I hope, all will be considered; for I believe there was never a country more destitute and defenceless than we are; nor have we so much as a treasury or any money, for incident charges: so that, I must again, by the council's order, lay these things before your lordship, and that at least some orders may be given, whereby necessary expences may be defrayed.

I am, &c.

The Earl of Mar's Letter to the Earl of Leven, to secure the Bank. Whitehall, March the 9th, 1707-8.

My Lord,

THE Queen called a cabinet-council last night, where she was pleased to call the dukes of Queensberry and Montrose, the earls of Loudon, Seafield, and me: we gave an account there, of what orders the queen had sent to Scotland, since the news of the invasion; and the letter now to the council was read, of which you have a copy. It is expected, that the council of Scotland will secure the horses and arms of those, they think disaffected; and also will be assisting to give their advice and directions, for securing the money, in the mint and bank: in case of a landing, or any apparent danger, certainly the enemies will have a design of seizing that. It was told us, that since both houses had addressed the queen, to apprehend and secure such persons, as she had cause to suspect, and are now upon a bill for suspending the *Habeas-corpus* act; it was fit, that suspected people in Scotland should be apprehended and secured. There was a list of them read to us, which we took down in writing: there were warrants ready drawn conform to the style here, which was thought inconvenient to be altered; but, as to the way, they are ordered to be put in execution, &c.

The Queen's Letter to the Council of Scotland; March the 8th, 1707-8.

ANNE *R.*

Right Trusty, &c.

WE did by our letter of the twenty-fifth of February last, acquaint you with the intended invasion, on some part of our kingdom of Great-Britain, and with our royal pleasure on that occasion: we doubt not, but you have used the utmost care, pursuant to our command. We have since further confirmation of our enemy's designs: the pretended prince of Wales is at Dunkirk, with some battalions of French and Irish papists, ready to embark for Scotland; and our enemies give out, that they have invitations from some of our subjects there. We are hopeful, that this desperate attempt will (by the blessing of God on our arms and councils) be disappointed, and turned to the confusion of all concerned in it. But that nothing be omitted on our part, for preventing the least danger, which

threatens our people: we have emitted a proclamation, by advice of our privy-council of Great-Britain, which we herewith send to you; and we do require you to cause the same to be published at all places needful, as proclamations of our privy-council in Scotland have been published.

We think it necessary, that the landlords in the high-lands, and chieftains of clans, be called to Edinburgh, to give the security, appointed by law, for preserving the peace and order; and we do require you forthwith to do the same.

We do again recommend to you, to get intelligence of the designs of our enemies, and evil affected people there; and to give present directions, for putting our forts, garrisons, and magazines in a good posture of defence: and what shall be expended towards these ends by your warrant shall be repaid, for which we have already given orders.

We take this occasion to let you know, that our fleet is now at sea, and much increased since our last. The Dutch fleet is in great forwardness, and both are so disposed, that our enemies cannot reasonably hope to escape an engagement: our troops from Ireland and Flanders, which we mentioned in our last, are ready to embark in transport-ships, provided in those places, with all necessaries for that service: the troops from England are also posted in the best way, for the relief of our people in Scotland, if our enemies shall have the boldness to pursue their design.

We have dispatched the earl of Leven from hence, to command our forces there, and given him such instructions, as we judged necessary on this occasion; to whom you will give your advice, assistance, and due encouragement.

We expect that you will assemble frequently in council, and use such vigour in your proceedings, as hath been done on like occasions formerly; which will be acceptable to us, and may prevent the misleading of our people, and their conjunction with French and Irish papists, the irreconcileable enemies of their religion and liberties.

We do also require you, to transmit to us full and constant accounts of the state of affairs there; and, not doubting of your zeal and diligence, we bid your heartily farewell.

Given at our Court, at Kensington, the eighth day of March, 1707-8. And of our reign the seventh year.

By her Majesty's command. Counter-signed, MAR.

The Earl of Leven's Letter to the Earl of Mar, to press for Orders to Ireland for the Troops; and that he may know, to whom he must write.

My Lord, *Stamford, March* 7, 1707-8, *Sunday, ten o'clock.*

YOU will have a memoir, by the earl of Weems, which I sent from Stilton. I must again entreat you to mind the establishment, and all my concernments; both personal, and what relates to the garrisons: I desire the three commissions for the three adjutants, to the grenadiers and dragoons, as I gave in the list: I desire you to send down the name of the person, I am to write to in Ireland, if there be occasion; although I must still entreat your lordship to press, that orders be sent to some horse and dragoons to embark. By my letters from Scotland, I understand that there is a great ferment there, and particularly, in the West-Country; and that the Jacobites are very uppish: my letter also says, 'That the officers can hardly get money for the bills sent from London;' therefore, I pray you, represent it so, that some method may be taken, to send money down; for you may be sure, if the invasion be, there can none be got there; and how inconvenient the want of it will be, is obvious. My lord, adieu.

Pray, write by every occasion, and let me know if I shall give any encouragement to any, who shall be willing to take up arms to join us. I hope, at least so much of the levy-money, as is due since the twenty-fourth of December, will be given now; for that will buy some horses, and levy some men.

ANNE *R.*

Instructions to our right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, David, Earl of Leven; Lieutenant-General, and Commander-in-Chief of our Militia, and of all our Forces, in that Part of our Kingdom of Great-Britain, called Scotland.

YOU are to repair to Scotland, with all convenient diligence; and to take the advice of our privy-council, in all things, you shall judge necessary, for preserving the peace of that part of our united kingdom.

And whereas we have intelligence, that there are preparations at Dunkirk, for invading that part of our kingdom of Great-Britain: you are to oppose their landing, as much as you can; and in case they shall land, you are to hinder, as much as possible, our subjects, from joining them; and to fall upon, and disperse any, who shall tumultuously rise in arms, and endeavour to join them.

You are to make such a disposition of the troops, as you shall judge most for our service in this present juncture.

You are to take care to put Edinburgh-castle, in such a posture of defence, as your time will allow; and provide provision for the garrison, for three months; and to advise with the other governors of garrisons, that they be in like manner provided, and put in an order of defence.

You are to dispose of the ammunition, you are to receive, to the garrisons and troops; as you shall judge most for our service.

You are to apply to our privy-council in Scotland, for giving the necessary orders for providing of horses, both for the baggage and for the train of artillery, in case you shall be obliged to take the field.

You are empowered to call councils of war as often as you shall think fit, and to take their advice, in any manner of difficulty.

You are to advertise us from time to time, either by express or the ordinary pacquet, of the posture of affairs there; and of what intelligence you shall receive of the designs and condition of the enemy; and obey such further instructions, as we shall think fit to give therein.

You are, upon the first appearance of any squadron of French ships upon the coasts, to send to Ireland to ————, to advertise him thereof, who has orders to send troops to your assistance.

Given at our court, at Kensington, the fourth day of March, 1707-8; and of our reign, the sixth year.

Counter-signed, MAR.

ANNE *R.*

The Queen's Letter to the Council, concerning an Invasion.

RIGHT Trusty, &c. Whereas we have intelligence, that there are preparations at Dunkirk for fitting out a squadron of ships; and that these intelligences do likewise give an account of embarking some troops, arms, and ammunition, which may be designed for invading and making disturbance within that part of our kingdom of Great-Britain called Scotland: we have therefore thought it necessary to acquaint you of this; and we do expect that you will use your utmost care and diligence for the protection of our subjects, and the preservation of the public peace there.

We are unwilling to believe that any of our subjects will give assistance or encouragement to any such invasion; which would prove of such dangerous consequence to their religion and liberties, and make their native country a scene of blood and confusion: however, we doubt not but that you will take all the necessary measures to discover and

disappoint any such bad practices and contrivances, and to secure such as you shall find concerned therein.

We are hopeful, with the assistance of God, to prevent and defeat this design of our enemies, and for this end nothing shall be wanting on our part: we have fitted out a fleet superior to any they can have in those parts; we have also given orders that some of our troops in Flanders be ready to embark, in case the embarkation at Dunkirk shall go on; and our troops in England and Ireland are so disposed as to give you what assistance may be necessary. In the mean time, we hereby authorize and empower you to give such orders as are proper, to put our forces, forts, and garrisons there, in the best order.

We shall continue to inform you from time to time of what further intelligence we may receive; and therefore we think it necessary, that you appoint all our privy-counsellors there to attend at Edinburgh, for receiving and obeying our orders, except such as you judge more useful for the public service to be in the country; and having entire trust and confidence in your loyalty and conduct, in this juncture, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our court at Kensington the 25th day of February 1707-8, and of our reign the sixth year.

By her Majesty's command.

Counter-signed, LOUDON.

An Account of the late terrible Earthquake in Sicily; with most of its Particulars. Done from the Italian Copy, printed at Rome.[1]

London: Printed for Richard Baldwin near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1693.

[Quarto; containing thirty-six pages.]

The TRANSLATOR to the READER.

THIS account of the late terrible earthquake in Sicily, I thought, deserved to be put in English. The author, who is a priest, has wrote it in a very plain style; and I have ventured to leave out several things that are in the original, especially that relate to miracles, and other fopperies his profession leads him to believe. As to the rest, I have translated it as near the Italian as I can, and with the same simplicity of expression; which is more to be valued in accounts of this nature, than flourishes of rhetorick.

THE late Earthquake, that fell out in Sicily, is of so astonishing a nature, as can be easilier imagined, than expressed; and such a one as can hardly, if at all, be paralleled in any preceding age. It is true, that island has been often the scene of such kind

[1] [The account of this earthquake by Mr. Hartop, Fa. Alessandro Burgos, et Vin. Bonajutas, is given in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 202—7. It was of the second kind mentioned by Aristotle and Pliny, viz. a perpendicular pulsation or succussion. It was impossible, says Bonajutas, for any body, in this country, to keep on their legs, on the dancing earth; nay, those that lay on the ground, were tossed from side to side, as on a rolling billow: high walls leaped from their foundations several paces, &c.]

of tragedies, and the irruptions of mount Ætna have been no news in the world for near two-thousand years past: but whether, as an effect of the anger of Heaven, or of the craziness of this globe of the earth, (which seems to begin to yield to the injuries of time, as all other things do,) certain it is, that this last earthquake, for the suddenness of it, and the mighty desolations it has produced, is the most astonishing one that ever was.

Philosophers will be inclinable to search for the natural causes of such a phænomenon, in the quality and temper of the summer that went before: and I am willing so far to humour them, as to suppose, that the many great rains and intense heats, succeeding so often one another this last summer in all the southern parts of Sicily, might contribute to this affrightful irruption. For the imperceptible chasms, thereby made into the bowels of the earth, might probably give room for the vapours of the atmosphere, to insinuate themselves into those subterraneous cavities, which afterwards dilating themselves, and requiring greater room, must needs force their way through all obstacles that penned them in.

But leaving this disquisition to others: it would seem this earthquake carried along with it some more than ordinary marks of an immediate stroke of Heaven. And as seldom the Divine vengeance exerts its power upon us mortals in any national calamity, without giving us some previous warnings; so this late stroke was ushered in with unwonted presages, of which it were hard, if not impossible, to give any natural cause; though perhaps, I be as little a votary to superstition, as any man can be, notwithstanding the world is pleased to tax our order with it: yet the strangeness of one or two omens, that preceded this earthquake, may justly prevail with me, to give here a short account of them.

Passing over that mighty loud warning from mount Ætna, that happened for three days together in June last; which is always remarked as a forerunner of some irruption, either of the mount itself, or of some part thereabouts; this following strange phænomenon fell out at Syracusa, on the fifteenth of May before.

About two hours before sun-setting, the atmosphere being very clear, the heavens appeared, on a sudden, all on fire; without any flashes of lightning, or the least noise of thunder; which lasted about a quarter of an hour. About which time were seen in the air, as it were perpendicularly above the city, two rainbows (after the usual manner), with points towards the earth, and a third transversed; the colours of all three being extremely bright. This was by all spectators thought the more supernatural, that during the whole time these rainbows appeared, there was not one single cloud to be seen in any part of the horizon.

In July thereafter, at Catanea[2], the nearest town to mount Ætna, there fell out another as surprizing presage. In the church of the Minims there, one father Baletti lies buried; a man who was believed by the people of that country to have, by his prayers, stopped the progress of that fearful irruption of Ætna, which happened about a hundred-and-twenty years ago. The story goes, that a flood of bituminous matter, like burning oil, being thrown out of the mountain, was carried down with a mighty rapidity, to the very gates of Catanea, bearing every thing before it in its way. Every body expected to be immediately devoured by this sulphureous inundation; when this holy man, by his exorcisms and prayers, in presence of all the people, put a stop to its career. Now this tomb being ever since held in the greatest veneration by the people of Catanea; and not-

[2] [The city of Catanea is the ancient Catana, which Thucydides says was founded seven years after Syracuse, by the Chalcidians, from Naxus. In the 17th century this place was twice demolished; and yet in the course of the last century it has revived with great splendour. Much labour and expence was employed by the prince of Biscaris in digging down to the ruins, among which were found baths, sepulchres, an amphitheatre, and a theatre; the materials of the buildings being principally lava. Nothing less than the fertility of its territory could have inspired the inhabitants with the courage, or rather the obstinacy to build and rebuild in a situation which derives no advantages from the sea; which is without a river and without fortifications; exposed to all sorts of natural misfortunes, and continually threatened with the dreadful calamities which have already proved so destructive.

Vide Swinburne's Travels in the two Sicilies, vol. iv.]

withstanding his name was never in the calendar, yet daily prayers and offerings ceased not to be offered at his shrine. It fell out, as I have said, in July last, that one morning when the doors of the church came to be opened, the statue of the saint, that was placed upon his monument, was fallen down, and lay flat on the ground. This was at first thought to be but an ordinary accident; but the statue, every time it was set up upon its basis again, for seven or eight nights together was constantly found fallen down to the ground in the morning, and at last was forced to be laid flat upon the tomb; in which posture it lay till this late destruction both of it, and the town itself.

A third presage, that seemed to foretel this earthquake, happened in a little village, within three miles from Catanea, named Alari, where used to grow as good wine as any in Sicily. In February last, about sun-setting, all the people of the country about saw, as they thought, this village all in flames. The fire, they imagined, began from less to more; increasing for about a quarter of an hour together; and then all the houses of the villages appeared as in one flame, which lasted for about six minutes, till it seemed to decay, for want of more fewel. A great many people, that lived near the village, when they saw the fire first begin, came running to it, to do the friendly office of helping to extinguish the fire; and, all along the road, till they were almost within the very village itself, they imagined they saw the fire extend itself more and more; but, being entered, they found all was a deception of the sight, if not a presage of that calamity that, some months after, befel the place.

But I come to the dreadful Earthquake itself; a greater than which we read not of, in either ancient or modern history. It is here indeed, that I can neither give myself nor others the satisfaction I could wish; there being so many little places, and even some considerable towns destroyed, where there are no inhabitants left to give us an account of the manner how these places were swallowed up: so that, of these, we can have no other narrative, but what people at a distance, and in a hurry themselves, (for fear of sinking into the same ruin,) have been able to give us.

This earthquake diffused itself into all these three districts, or divisions, into which the island of Sicily is ordinarily divided; which are, 1. Valli di Noto, comprehending principally the eastern parts of the island: 2. Mazaro, containing the western and southern parts: and 3. Mono, which confines itself to the north and north-east parts of the island. The greatest shaking reached, from mount Ætna, all along to cape Passaro; the Pachynus of the ancients. In all this vast tract of land, nothing stood the shock, but all fell under the weight of a general ruin.

It was on the seventh of January, 1693, about ten at night, that mount Ætna began to utter those hideous roarings, which commonly usher in some tragedy of the nature of what followed. Those loud bellowings continued till the ninth; when, about twelve of the clock, they began to cease, or rather to fall lower. Within an hour after, the inhabitants of Catanea (which was the next town to the mountain) began to perceive a shaking under them, about three minutes together. This did little other hurt, than affright the people, and give them fears of some further hurt. It was remarkable, that during the three minutes this shake continued, and an hour before, there was not the least noise heard from mount Ætna; but, within less than a minute after the shake was over, not only did the noise redouble, infinitely more terrible than it had been before, but the whole top of the mountain appeared all in flames, which, the wind blowing from the westward, carried with it a vast quantity of burnt ashes, which have always been found to be the ordinary attendants of those flamy irruptions. It is not certain how far this shake of the ninth diffused itself, but it is probable, that more or less of it was felt through most of the south parts of this island; for the inhabitants of the cities of Mineo, Palaonia, Ragosa, and the town of Licodia, felt all of them the same shake, and at the very same minute of the day, as Catanea had done.

All this was but the forerunner of the horridest shake of all, which fell out on the eleventh. This affected the whole island, but very unequally; and, by the exactest com-

putation that can be made, the whole period of it lasted not above six minutes, from Messina northwards, to cape Coio; the farthest point of Sicily to the south.

Catanea is thought to have been the first that fell under the weight of this heavy calamity. This city, which is as ancient as most in Sicily, seated in a pleasant and rich soil, inhabited by several of the gentry thereabouts, endowed with an university, and containing about twenty-four thousand soûls, was sunk out of sight in a moment. There happened some fisher-boats to be at that time in the bay that lies south of the town, and within a league's distance, who give an account, "That they saw the city sink down, with the noise, as it were, of some thousand pieces of great ordnance discharged all at once."[3] After it was thus vanished out of their sight, the fishermen say, "That, some minutes thereafter, to the eastward, near where the city stood, there rose up a little mountain; which, lifting itself several times a considerable height above the ordinary level of the ground thereabouts, sunk at last likewise out of their sight." The fishermen do likewise declare, "That during all this horrid tragedy, which they saw befall the city Catanea, they themselves were every moment expecting to be swallowed up in the bay, by reason of the strange violent agitations of the sea: and scarce was this heaving up of the imaginary mountain on the south side of Catanea over, but they felt the sea calm." It is thought there have not escaped, of the inhabitants of Catanea, above two-thousand in all. Those, that escaped, came away either after the shaking of the ninth, or the morning of the eleventh; and the hideous roaring of mount Ætna, which uses to be the forerunner of some calamity on that side, gave them warning to flee: but they were the better sort of people only, that had the opportunity to make so happy an escape; the rest falling under the universal ruin. In the place, where Catanea stood, appears now at a distance a great lake, with some great heaps of rubbish appearing here and there above the water.

I had almost forgot one circumstance very remarkable, which the fishermen, that were in the bay of Catanea, at the time of this last shake, do positively affirm. They say, "That both before and some minutes after the earthquake happened, mount Ætna appeared more than ever in flames, and the noise was greater than it had been since its first irruption of the seventh: but, a few minutes after Catanea was swallowed up, there was neither flames to be seen, nor the least noise to be heard for the space of five or six hours together. And then the mountain began a-new again to roar and throw out flames more duskish and smoky than at any time before."

The same shake, that utterly destroyed Catanea, did lay in heaps more than half of *Saragosa*, the ancient Syracusa. This city, once the greatest of Sicily, and (if we will believe some ancient historians, particularly Strabo,) the largest once in the world, may contend with any in Europe for antiquity; having been the seat, for a great many ages, of a flourishing commonwealth, and the scene of a great many warlike actions. It retained still some marks of its ancient greatness; and with the advantages of a rich soil, and pleasant situation, and a strong castle to defend it, might contain about sixteen-thousand people. This ancient city suffered much by the shake of the ninth; most of the best buildings, and the greatest part of the castle being rent in several places. Upon the tenth at night, it underwent another considerable shake with a mighty tempest of wind; so that the great bell in one of its churches was heard several times to make a sound, through the violent trembling of the steeple. A great many were killed by the fall of houses at the time this shake and tempest happened; and most that were able,

[3] [Serrovita's account is something similar. Being on his way to Catania, and at the distance of a few miles, he observed a black cloud, like night, hovering over the city; and there arose from the mouth of Montgibello, great spires of flame, which spread all around. The sea all of a sudden began to roar, and rise in billows: and there was a blow, as if all the artillery in the world had been at once discharged. The birds flew about astonished, the cattle in the fields ran crying, &c. His and his companion's horse stopt short, trembling; so that they were forced to alight. They were no sooner off than they were lifted from the ground two palms; when Serrovita casting his eyes towards Catania, with amazement saw nothing but a thick cloud of dust in the air. This was the scene of their calamities; for, of the magnificent Catania, not the least footstep is to be seen. Philos. Trans. No. 202.]

or had the opportunity, fled out of town that night; which was the occasion of their safety.

But the shake of the eleventh brought with it a sudden and inevitable destruction; throwing down, in a moment, more than two parts in three of the whole city; and burying in its rubbish above four parts in five of the people that were left. The least computation that can be made of the loss of the inhabitants of it, is above seven-thousand; the rest escaping (as I have said) the night before; and some hundreds were digged out of the ruins alive, but lame and bruised; so that few of them, it is thought, will recover. Most of the magistrates, and people of best fashion, ran into the great church for shelter; where they met with death by the fall of the stone roof and the steeple both together.

The city of *Noto* had yet a worse fate than Syracusa; scarce any part of it now standing. This place is one of the ancientest of Sicily, and once contended for the pre-eminence with Syracusa itself. It is situate on a very high rock, almost inaccessible on all sides, but by one narrow passage; having under the cape Passan, one of the best and largest harbours of the whole island, and being the key of Sicily on that side. The mighty hardness of the rock on which Noto stood, seemed to secure it from the hazard of earthquakes; but it felt that shake on the ninth, with more violence than any other place of the island. That of the eleventh laid it, in a moment, in heaps; the manner whereof we cannot attain; by reason none of the inhabitants are left, but some few that left the place on the ninth. There is seen yet standing a part of the church of a Benedictine monastery, and scarce any more of the whole town; the inhabitants being computed about seven-thousand souls.

Augusta,[4] a city well situated, having a large prospect into the sea, and adorned with very large and safe harbours, a place of good trade for corn; this place suffered considerably by the shake of the ninth: many of the inhabitants, to the number of about six-hundred, were bruised to death with the fall of the houses. On the tenth, there was another shake, which obliged most of the people of note to betake themselves to the castle for their security, which proved as unlucky to them, as the great church had been to them of Syracusa: for, there happening great flashes of lightning, which seemed to set the whole heavens on fire; one of them fell on the magazine of powder kept there, and blew up the castle and all the people within, amounting to about eleven-hundred. The shake on the eleventh put an end to the catastrophe, by overturning the town, and burying the rest of the inhabitants in it; so that there scarce remains any thing of the ancient Augusta, but the name. The inhabitants were reckoned near six-thousand, of whom we have account of none left.

Lentini, the ancient Leontium, (famous for the beautiful lake on which it stood,) a place of about three-thousand families, and a place of tolerable trade by fishing and salt-mines, underwent the misfortune of its neighbour, and ancient rival, Syracusa. The shake of the eleventh reduced it to ashes; and it is not known if any of the inhabitants be saved. There are now to be seen several great heaps of earth in the lake, where there was none before: and the peasants, who live on the other side opposite to the place where Lentini stood, have reported, "That since this earthquake, the lake, which was formerly clear and limpid, and wonderfully stored with all variety of fish, is now become brackish, and of a salt and bituminous taste; and vast number of fish are found every day dead upon the shore."

Some better fate had *Calata-girone*, a pretty town, containing above seven-thousand people, and well built, most of hewn stone. The shake of the ninth was very little perceptible there; and that of the eleventh was much less than any where within some miles

[4] [The town of Augusta, though scarcely yet recovered from the devastation of 1693, has been since rebuilt on a regular plan, with low houses to prevent injury from another shock if it should occur. The ancient town was built by the emperor Frederick II. near the ruins of the Greek city of Megara, and covered a small low peninsula, joined to Sicily on the north side by a long causeway.

Swinburne's Travels, vol. iv. p. 116.]

of it. It was not so little, but that it overturned about the fifth part of the town, and two monasteries; and, it is thought, destroyed in all no fewer than two-thousand souls.

Minco felt both the shakes of the ninth and the eleventh; and there seemed but little difference betwixt the violence of either, or the damage each did. At both times, several houses, and a pretty large church, were overturned, and it is thought near four-thousand of the inhabitants are perished. It was remarkable, that the time of the shake of the ninth, the heavens about this town were very serene; scarce a cloud appearing above the horizon: but that of the eleventh was attended with a mighty storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which lasted above six hours together.

Monreal, commonly called Morreal, received some damage in its buildings, and some few of the inhabitants perished by their fall. The shake of the eleventh did greatly shatter the cathedral-church; which is, indeed, one of the beautifullest structures in the world. The dome, which stands above the high altar, fell; and crushed in pieces four curious pillars of brass, with several statues of saints, of as good workmanship as any in Christendom. Neither was the archbishop's palace free; it being set on fire by lightning, and a considerable part of it burnt down.

Palermo, the seat of the viceroy, felt little or nothing of the shake of the ninth, though several small shakings they had had some days before: but that of the eleventh was almost as terrible as in any other place, except Catanea, Syracusa, and Augusta. A great many houses were shattered, and some fell to the ground. The cathedral suffered extremely in its roof; and a church, belonging to the Carmelite monastery, was totally destroyed. The viceroy, with all his family, and the archbishop, retired a-board the galleys in the harbour; where, by the violent motion of the water, they expected every moment to be swallowed up: some part of the great mole built of stone, that secures the port, being shattered within a few feet of their galley. It is said, there were not above one-hundred people in all killed at Palermo, and those mostly that lived in a suburb built of wood.

The town of *Pasceni*, it is not known whether the shake of the ninth, or the eleventh, destroyed it. It was a pretty place, consisting of about two-hundred families, and those thought the richest of any little town of Sicily; by reason of the goodness of its wine and silk exported thence to the sea in considerable quantities. Now there is not one single house left standing, nor one single person saved. A new lake takes up now that spacious valley on the east-side of the town, which was all, hitherto, covered with the best of vines; and the water thereof is of a blackish colour, and a bituminous taste.

Patuzolo, a bigger place than Pasceni, though not so happily situated, nor so rich, fell under the same fate with it. None of the inhabitants, for any thing is yet known, were saved; the number of which might probably amount to about one-thousand people at least.

Furla, a town about the bigness of Pasceni, and seated on a rising hill amidst quarries of stone, much of the nature of marble, was nothing more fortunate; we having no other account of its ruin, but what those, who saw it at a distance, could give. It may be worthy of remark, that in several parts of the mountain about Furla, the rocks, which formerly were almost as white as Genoa-marble, in the chinks that the earthquake made amongst them, the stones are now of a burnt colour, as if fire and powder had been used to rent them asunder. The fountains of fresh water, wherewith these mountains abound, have lost their clearness, and have both a sulphureous smell and taste. The inhabitants of Furla were reckoned to be near a thousand souls.

A town much greater than any of the three last, *Sciorti*, situated in a pleasant valley, and a rich soil, where the best rock-salt is digged, was likewise totally demolished by the shake of the eleventh, and now nothing but vast heaps of rubbish; and (which is strange) a church belonging to a Benedictine nunnery, yet entire, are to be seen, where Sciorti once stood. We know of none of the inhabitants that have saved themselves from this calamity; and they are reckoned to amount to two-thousand souls.

The same fate befel *Militello*, no inconsiderable town, whereof the inhabitants were esteemed pretty rich, by the means of one of the most considerable manufactories of silk

that was in Sicily. It is probable this place was destroyed before the shake of the eleventh; for the country people, who dwell on the neighbouring ridge of mountains, do affirm, that it was not to be seen upon the eleventh in the morning: but at what precise time it was swallowed up, they cannot tell; seeing, for three days before, they could not see so far as Militello, by reason of a thick fog, which continued from twelve of the clock of the eighth day, till the morning of the eleventh. It is scarce to be imagined what a surprizing change this place has undergone: for a considerable part of the mountain, that lay on the north side of the town, has been (through the violence of the earthquake) torn asunder, and the one half has overwhelmed the town: there being a vast chasm now to be seen betwixt it, and the other part of the mountain that remained still in its first posture. Militello might probably contain about six-thousand people, whereof no one is left to give tidings how its calamity came about.

Luochela had not altogether so bad a fate as the former. This place felt the shake of the ninth very severely, insomuch that a great part of the houses fell by it. The inhabitants over and above this, and some former shakes, had another prognostick of the ruin that was coming on the place; which influenced a considerable number of them to leave the town upon the ninth at night. There was an old castle, which stood upon a rising ground, about two miles from Luochela, said to have been built by the Romans in the time of the Punick war. This castle was, in the view of the people of Luochela, swallowed up in a moment, and no remaining vestige was to be seen where it stood; but, instead thereof, there gushed up a prodigious quantity of waters, which, in a few hours, made up a very considerable lake where the castle had stood: so that it is to the affrightful view of this castle's being overturned, that more than the half of the people of the town owe their safety, as having fled the town upon sight thereof. The rest of the town and inhabitants were utterly destroyed on the eleventh; and now there remains nothing but vast heaps of rubbish where the town formerly stood. Luochela might probably contain two-thousand people, whereof near the half are destroyed.

Palonia, a very pretty little town, very well built, and endowed with one of the beautifullest churches in the whole island, felt several shakes; of which those of the ninth and eleventh were the most terrible. The church was shattered in a thousand places, and the dome was on the eleventh thrown down; which broke the high altar to pieces, and crushed to death some three-hundred people, with the priest that was saying mass. There was little other damage done in Palonia; most of the people having betaken themselves to the fields, upon the accident that befel the dome of the church: so that the loss has not been so great, neither in the fall of houses, nor death of people, in Palonia, as it was in most other towns about it.

Buchino, a considerable village, escaped very near as well as the town of Palonia; most of the houses being thrown down, but scarce any of the people killed, though some much bruised.

Scodia, a burgh, about the bigness of the other, was greatly shaken on the eleventh; and about one-hundred and fifty people killed by the fall of the church in the time of mass. Within a mile of this village, there was a lake about two miles about, and very deep. The shake of the ninth was seen clearly to occasion the lessening of the water of the lake, so that it was dry for some paces round the banks. But so strange was the effect of the shake of the eleventh upon this lake, that near the midst of it, there opened a large chasm, which swallowed up all the water, and left the whole channel dry land, which continues so.

Another village, called *Chivramonte*, had yet a worse fate. The shake of the ninth shattered the houses; but that of the eleventh overturned them altogether, and buried the inhabitants in their ruins; which were computed to be between three and four hundred.

Monterusso was considerably shaken, both on the eleventh and ninth; but the only loss of the people was of about two-hundred that fled into the castle (standing upon an eminence) for shelter; who were, with the castle itself, buried in the ground, and the place where it stood is now a pool of water of a brinish taste.

The beautiful town of *Vizzini* underwent a fortune like that of Catanea. Scarce any place seemed more secure from such accidents than it; for it lay on a rising hill, made up of nothing but hardest stones, of the nature of marble: yet, on the ninth, and some days before, it felt several shakes, which did no great damage, by reason of the building being all of stone. However, the inhabitants began to fear the worst, and most of the people of quality and fashion went out of town, and settled themselves in tents upon the hill above the town. But thinking the hazard was over, as finding no shakes all the tenth, they returned home on the eleventh in the morning; and within some hours thereafter, they and the town were swallowed up. The inhabitants were reckoned to amount to three-thousand five-hundred souls.

The large village of *Modica*, containing about one-thousand four-hundred people, was so suddenly swallowed up on the ninth, that no one person escaped; and it was indeed the only place of the whole island, that received not its full ruin by the shake of the eleventh. This was not the first time that Modica has been laid in heaps by earthquakes: for within these hundred years, it has twice changed its seat; though, till now, the people were all so happy as to save themselves, and to seek for new seats.

Within two miles of this place, there runs a small river along a very narrow and fruitful valley, which in some places admits of high cataracts, through the great inequality of the channel. By the shake of the eleventh, there is a hill thrown over, or rather athwart one of these cataracts, for about twenty paces breadth; so that in that place, the river is not to be seen, but creeps under the hill, and comes out again in its own ordinary channel below. The same accident has happened to several rivulets in Sicily; the earth being torn from the brink, and thrown over the rivulet, as it were, in form of a vault, or natural bridge.

The village *Bisenti* felt all the shakes that happened, but received no other damage than the fall of some of the houses, and the bruising to death of about a hundred persons.

Francofonte, a very pretty town, and well inhabited, but built most of timber, received little damage by the earthquake, though it shook down some houses. But what the earthquake did not, the lightning and thunder did: for never was there seen so terrible a storm of both these last, than Francofonte felt for three days together. The spire of the steeple, which was built of wood, and covered with lead, was burnt down; and the nunnery of the Carmelites was almost utterly destroyed, and that so suddenly, that five of the nuns were stifled to death in their beds. If the wind had been high, as it was not, certainly the whole town had been burnt to ashes; but by reason of the calmness of the wind, and the care of the inhabitants, there were not above twelve or fourteen houses burnt.

Carlontini, a town of good trade and very well inhabited, was greatly shaken on the ninth; several houses being thrown down, and the people buried in their ruins. On the tenth, the bishop and magistrates exhorted the inhabitants to remove out of the town to the fields; for even then were some small tremblings of the earth felt almost every half hour. The people began to get out of town on the tenth, about four o'clock in the afternoon; and most were gone with the best things they could carry with them; when the shake of the eleventh overturned the whole town in a moment, with what remained of the inhabitants. The place might contain about four-thousand people; and, it is thought, about a sixth part have perished in the earthquake.

There scarce can be found in any part of the world a more beautiful town than *Ragusa*. Its situation, buildings, churches, monasteries, and territories about it, combine to make it a sort of terrestrial paradise. It felt a great many small shakings on the eighth, with a mighty tempest of lightning and thunder. The shake of the ninth did some, but no great hurt; but that of the eleventh overturned the town-house (a very superb edifice), two churches, and a great many houses. One street, the biggest of the town, and inhabited by the best merchants and tradesmen of the place, was overwhelmed in less than the second of a minute; the earth sinking down, and leaving a vast chasm where the street was. One of the churches sunk after the manner the street had done, but the other fell down. It is not yet known how many people perished in Ragusa; but the least calculation that has been made of them, amounts to eight-thousand souls; of whom the citizens

of the best quality make up a great part of the number. There are to be seen from the brink of the chasm I mentioned, the tops of some of the houses, a great way below the superfice of the ground; and out of this cavity there comes a sulphureous smell, like to choak any body that comes near it. One of the churches that are ruined was that of Sancta Barbara, famous through all Sicily, for the miracles done at the shrine of that saint; and in which was some of the best sculpture, especially that of the altar-piece, that could be seen in any place of the Christian world.

The town of *Scodia* felt the shakes of the ninth and eleventh, as fiercely as any. Yet, (which was strange) the town itself received no damage: but the bishop's palace, a very beautiful and new building, was overturned on the ninth; and about twenty-four persons perished in its ruins. The bishop had not gone out but an hour before; having held a meeting of his diocese in the chapel of his palace in the morning; so that he and they were all saved.

Specafurno, a town of a considerable bigness, lying on the south side of a hill, all planted with vineyards, and very well inhabited, fell under the common calamity. The shake of the ninth did it but little hurt; only the convent of the Capuchins was destroyed; but all the tenth, from morning till night, there never was heard so violent a storm of thunder and lightning; as if heaven and earth had been mixing together. By the lightning, the town-house (a very regular building) was burnt down to the ground, with several other houses. Some few of the inhabitants fled out of the town on the tenth at night, and so escaped the destruction that befel the rest upon the eleventh. That shake brought over the whole town in a moment's time; and there now remains nothing but vast heaps of rubbish where Specafurno stood. To the south-side of the town, about a mile, there lies a very pleasant fresh-water lake, abounding with fish, which now is almost all dry land: only what water remains in one end of it, is of a brinish taste, and of a black colour; the fish being all dead on the shore. It is remarked by the peasants that live on the hills about this town, that the thunder and lightning which happened on the tenth, has so far burnt all the vines, that they expect no grapes to grow on them next year. Not only so; but they smell a sort of sulphureous smell, and feel a kind of a bituminous dew upon the ground all thereabout. The people that perished in Specafurno, are computed to amount to three-thousand five-hundred, at least; there being about three-hundred only that saved themselves by a timely flight the day before.

Sicily could not brag of a better-built town, and a place of better trade, considering its distance from the sea, than the town of *Scichilo* was. This place seemed to be designed by nature to fall by an earthquake; for within these fifty years, it has been in hazard eight times. Five years ago it had a very considerable shake, which damaged several of the houses, and overturned a church dedicated to St. Roch. But all this was nothing to what befel it in this last earthquake. The trembling of the earth began to be felt on the eighth at night, and within twenty-four hours time, there succeeded above twenty shakes one after another; the last still exceeding the first in violence. At last, the shake of the eleventh, instead of overturning the town, as in most other places, the earth here sunk down, and in less than two moments, the town vanished out of sight. In its room, there is now a stinking pool of water, where the dome of the church of St. Stephen, with a part of the steeple of St. Salvator, stands above the water. It is thought there was no one saved of all the inhabitants of this pleasant town; and they are calculated to be about the number of six or seven thousand souls.

There stood a very strong castle, built after the Gothick fashion, on the east-side of the town, belonging to the family of *Cantelmi*; it is now all in heaps, and about thirty people buried alive in them.

Cefamero, a village, containing about two-hundred houses, and seated on a rising ground, was much shaken on the eighth, ninth, and tenth; but the shake of the eleventh overturned the church, whither most of the people fled for shelter, and to implore the aid of St. Catharine of Sienna, whose chapel there was held in the greatest reverence: they were all crushed to death with the fall of the roof, being of lead; and little other damage

done in the village itself. It is thought there were near two-hundred people perished in the church, and about twenty in the village.

Sainto Croce, another village, something bigger than Cefamero, was as ill shaken as the other, though there were not so many people killed. The church here stands entire, and only the houses that were made of timber have suffered, and, in them, near a hundred of the inhabitants; the rest having fled to the fields without the town.

The little town of *Giamontano* was greatly shaken on the eleventh; that whole quarter, that lay nearest the river, being quite overturned, and all the people killed; the rest of the town escaped, only a small hospital, near the south-gate, was sunk into the ground, with the people in it, which might amount to forty. Those that perished in the quarter nearest the river, were about three-hundred and fifty souls.

The tower of *Licodia* underwent very near the same fate. All the houses of timber were overwhelmed by the shake of the eleventh, and in them about three-hundred of the inhabitants. The houses of stone stand yet, though much shattered; and the dome of the church was burnt down by lightning the day before. There is one thing more remarkable fallen out near this town. About a mile and a half from it, there is a pretty high steep hill, famous for pine-trees of a vast bigness, that grow upon it: the lightning and thunder has burnt down and scorched most of those trees, and on the top of the hill there is a vulcano opened, out of which there ascends constantly a very thick smoke; which is the more strange, in that there was no such thing heard of in that part of Sicily before.

Jaci, a very big town, was greatly shattered; especially in the fall of two churches on the ninth, the time of divine service. Many of the houses of the town were overturned on the eleventh, together with two convents; and particularly that of the Minims, where was kept St. Peter's net, in which he took that vast quantity of fish mentioned in the Gospel. By the fall of the houses and churches, there perished in all about two-thousand people, whereof more than the half died by the fall of the two churches.

La Motta, a village, the most famous of the whole island, and the ordinary retirement in the summer-time of the citizens of Palermo, was totally overturned on the ninth; and now there remains no vestige of it, a salt-pool succeeding in its place. The inhabitants were reckoned to be about two-hundred people.

The last place of Sicily I shall name, that felt this earthquake, was *Messina*, a city of great trade, superb buildings, and great riches. The shake of the ninth was here felt so sensibly, that it struck a terror into the inhabitants; and more than half of them forsook the city, and betook themselves to the fields. Those that remained betook themselves to their devotions; and all the churches were thronged with the multitudes of people, young and old, that flocked to them. The archbishop of Messina had ordered forty-eight hours prayers to be said through the whole city; and several relicks to be carried in procession, to appease the wrath of Heaven. On the eleventh, the whole city was so terribly shaken, that twenty-six palaces were overturned, and a great many of the timber-houses. Every body expected immediate death, and in vast multitudes run to the cathedral, where the archbishop of Messina preached, and said mass, and thereafter gave absolution; as did all the priests through the rest of the city by the archbishop's command. After absolution given, every body made the best of the way they could to escape from the common danger, and betook themselves to the fields; where they were not out of hazard through the violence of the thunder, lightning, and rain, that continued three days together. The archbishop retired with the rest, and, at last, the people did set up tents to protect them from the injuries of the weather. There are but few people killed in Messina, but most of the churches are shattered more or less, and the chapel of the archbishop's palace overturned.

This mighty stroke of God was not only on the land, but was felt also on the sea. For several ships and smaller vessels were drowned all along the coast of the island, and even in harbours, by the violent agitation of the water. Neither was there ever seen so high, and so impetuous a tide as that of the tenth; being above three feet higher in most parts, than ever was heard of before.

In short, a more astonishing, a more universal, or a more swift destruction, was never

known: and Sicily, that was one of the beautifullest, richest, and fruitfullest islands in the world, is now a heap of rubbish, and a continued desolation.

It is impossible to make a computation of the immense losses of money, merchandise, houses, and lands. It may modestly be computed to at least six-millions of ducats; and it will take an age to repair the damages it has made. The number of the inhabitants, that perished in this affrightful calamity, may be safely reckoned to come to one-hundred and twenty-thousand souls, over and above a vast number bruised by the fall of churches and houses; whereof many are dead since, and some continue yet in hazard; which may amount to twenty-thousand more.

This terrible earthquake has communicated itself to the island of Maltha on the one side, and to Calabria on the other; and the desolations, it has made in both those places, are very great.

A Letter from Sir Henry Sidney, to his Son, Sir Philip Sidney; consisting of Rules, in his Conduct in Life.[1] (MS.)

Son Philip,

I HAVE reaceaved too letters from yow, one written in Latine, the other in French; which I take in good parte, and will yow to exercise that practice of learninge often; for that it will stand yow in moste steade, in that profession of lyf that yow are born to live in. And, since this ys my first letter that ever I did write to yow, I will not, that yt be all emptie of some advyses, which my naturall care of yow provokethe me to wishe yow to followe as documents to yow in this your tendre age. Let yowr first actyon be, the lyfting up of yowr mynd to Almighty God, by harty prayer; and felingly dysgest the woords yow speake in prayer with contynual meditation, and thinkinge of Hym to whom yow praye; and of the matter for which yow praye: And use this at an ordinarye hower, whereby, the time ytself will put yow in remembraunce to doe that, which yow are accustomed to doe in that tyme. Apply yowr study suche houres as yowr discrete master dothe assign yow, earnestlye; and the time, I knowe, he will so lymitt, as shal be both sufficient for yowr learninge, and safe for yowr health. And mark the sense, and the matter of that yow read, as well as the woordes: so shal yow both enriech your tonge with woordes, and yowr wytte with matter; and judgement will growe as yeares growyth

[1] [Two letters, the one in Latin, the other in French, which sir Philip Sidney addressed to his father while he was yet at school, and only twelve years old, produced the following valuable compendium of instruction, the original of which was found among the MSS. deposited in the library at Penshurst. Zouche's Life of Sidney, p. 20.

This pious, sensible, and affectionate letter is given with some slight variations in vol. i. of the Sidney Papers, published by Collins. It was likewise printed in 1591, in a small 8vo. tract, and intitled, 'A very godly 'Letter, made by the right honourable Sir Henry Sidney, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, lord-'deputie of Ireland, and lord-president of Wales, now xxv yeeres past; unto Phillip Sidney his sonne, then of 'tender yeeres, at schoole in the towne of Shrowesbury, with one M. Astone. Most necessarie for all yoong 'gentlemen to be carried in memorie: with an excellent epitaph of the life and death of the said lord-president; 'both which being put in print at the humble request of one William Gruffith of Coredaney in the county of 'Angles, sometime clarke of his kitchen. Printed at London by T. Dawson. 1591.' 8vo.

This tract, besides being very scarce, contains an additional Postscript, by Lady Sidney; which, as well as Gruffith's Elegy, will be found in the Supplement to these volumes.

In the former edition of the Harl. Misc. sir Henry Sidney's letter was very incorrectly printed from some unauthorized MS. copy, which has in the present been superseded by the original MS. itself, as given in Dr. Zouch's interesting Memoirs of Sir Philip Sidney.]

in yow. Be humble and obedient to yowr master; for unless yow frame yowr selfe to obey, yea, and feale in yowr selfe what obedience is, yow shall never be able to teach others, how to obey yow. Be curtees of gesture, and affable to all men, with diversitee of reverence, accordinge to the dignitie of the person. There ys nothing, that wynneth so much with so lytle cost. Use moderate dyet, so as, after yowr meate, yow may find yowr wytte fresher, and not duller; and yowr body more lyvely, and not more heavye. Seldom drinke wine, and yet sometimes doe, least, being enforced to drinke upon the sodayne, yow should find yowr self inflamed. Use exercise of bodye, but suche as ys without peryll of yowr yointes or bones: it will encrease yowr force, and enlardge yowr breathe. Delight to be cleanly, as well in all parts of yowr bodye, as in yowr garments: It shall make yow grateful in yche company; and, otherwise, lothsome. Give yowr self to be merye; for yow degenerate from yowr father, yf yow find not yowr self most able in wytte and bodye to doe any thinge, when yow be most mery: but let your myrthe be ever void of all scurilitee, and bitinge woords to any man; for an wound given by a woorde is oftentimes harder to be cured, then that which is given with the swerd. Be yow rather a herer and bearer away of other men's talke, then a begynner, or procurer of speeche; otherwise, yow shal be counted to delight to hear yowr self speake. Be modest in yche assemble, and rather be rebuked of light felowes for a medenlyke shamefastnes, then of yowr sad frends, for pearte boldnes. Thinke upon every woorde that yow will speake before yow utter hit; and remembre how nature hath rampared up, as yt were, the tonge with teeth, lippes, yea, and here[2] without the lippes; and all betokening for loose raynes or bridles, the use of that membre. Above all things tell no untruthe, no not in trifels; the custome of hit is naughte: and let it not satisfie yow, that for a time the hearers take yt for a truthe, for after yt will be known as yt is, to yowr shame; for ther cannot be a greater reproche to a gentellman, then to be accounted a lyare. Study and endevour yowr self to be vertuously occupied; so shal yow make such a habite of well doinge in yow, that yow shal not knowe how to do evell thoughe yow wold. Remember, my sonne, the noble blood yow are descended of, by yowr mother's side; and thinke, that only, by vertuous lyf, and good action, yow may be an ornament to your illustre famylie; and otherwise, through vice and slouthe yow shal be counted *labes generis;* one of the greatest curses that can happen to man.

Well my litell Philippe, this is ynough for me, and to much I fear for yow; but yf I shal find that this light meale of digestione nourishe any thing the weake stomake of your yonge capacitie, I will, as I find the same growe stronger, fead yt with toof her foode. [Farewel. Your mother and I send you our blessing, and Almighty God grant you his; nourish you with his fear, guide you with his grace, and make you a good servant to your prince and country!]

Your loving Father, so longe as yow lyve in the feare of God,

H. SYDNEY.[3]

[2] [Hair.]

[3] [At the end of Dr. Parr's Collection of Archbishop Usher's Correspondence, is a second letter ascribed to Sir Henry Sidney, as written by him to his Son. But it appears, from the best authority, that the writer of that letter was William lord Burghley, to his second son, sir Robert Cecil; afterward earl of Salisbury. Zouch's Life of Sir P. Sidney, p. 28.]

A true Copy of the Petition of the Gentlewomen, and Tradesmen's Wives, in and about the City of London; delivered to the honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, assembled in Parliament, on February the Fourth, 1641: together with their several Reasons, why their Sex ought thus to petition, as well as the Men; and the Manner how both their Petitions and Reasons were delivered. Likewise the Answer, which the honourable Assembly sent to them, by Mr. Pym, as they stood at the House-Door.[1]

London, printed for J. Wright, 1642.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

To the Honourable Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, assembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition of the Gentlewomen, Tradesmen's Wives, and many others of the Female Sex, all Inhabitants of the City of London, and the Suburbs thereof;

With lowest submission shewing,

THAT we also, with all thankful humility, acknowledging the unwearied pains, care, and great charge, (besides hazard of health and life,) which you, the noble worthies of this honourable and renowned assembly have undergone, for the safety both of church and commonwealth, for a long time already past; for which not only we your humble petitioners, and all well affected in this kingdom, but also all other good Christians are bound now and at all times to acknowledge: yet, notwithstanding that many worthy deeds have been done by you, great danger and fear do still attend us, and will, as long as popish lords and superstitious bishops are suffered to have their voice in the house of peers; and that accursed and abominable idol of the mass suffered in the kingdom; and that arch-enemy of our prosperity and reformation lieth in the Tower, yet not receiving his deserved punishment.

All these, under correction, give us a great cause to suspect, that God is angry with us; and to be the chief causes, why your pious endeavours for a further reformation proceed

[1] [Dr. Perincheif, speaking of some concessions made by the king to the popular faction about this time, says, —'But all this would not content them who had immoderate desires, and they were more disconcerted that they 'could not usurp the king's rights, than if they had lost their own privileges; therefore to bring the lords to a 'concurrence with them, the hitherto prosperous art of tumultuous petitions was again practised; and great 'numbers from several counties were moved to come as earthquakes, to shake the fundamental constitutions of 'their house, and to require that neither the bishops nor the popish lords should continue in their ancient right to 'vote amongst the peers.'——'Such petitions as these were likewise from the several classes of the inferior 'tradesmen about London, as porters, watermen, and the like; and that nothing of testifying an universal impor- 'tunity might be left unattempted, women were persuaded to present petitions to the same effect.'

The Royal Martyr. Lond. 1727. 8vo. p. 68-9.]

not with that success, as you desire, and is most earnestly prayed for, of all that wish well to true religion, and the flourishing estate, both of king and kingdom: the insolencies of the papists and their abettors raiseth a just fear and suspicion of sowing sedition, and breaking out into bloody persecution in this kingdom, as they have done in Ireland; the thoughts of which sad and barbarous events make our tender hearts to melt within us, forcing us humbly to petition to this honourable assembly, to make safe provision for yourselves and us, before it be too late.

And whereas we, whose hearts have joined cheerfully with all those petitions which have been exhibited unto you, in the behalf of the purity of religion, and the liberty of our husbands, persons, and estates; recounting ourselves to have an interest in the common privileges with them; do with the same confidence assure ourselves to find the same gracious acceptance with you, for easing of those grievances, which (in regard of our frail condition) do more nearly concern us, and do deeply terrify our souls: our domestical dangers, with which this kingdom is so much distracted, (especially growing on us; from those treacherous and wicked attempts,) already are such, as we find ourselves to have as deep a share, as any others.

We cannot but tremble at the very thoughts of the horrid and hideous facts, which modesty forbids us now to name, occasioned by the bloody wars in Germany. His majesty's late Northern army, how often did it affright our hearts; whilst their violence began to break out so furiously, upon the persons of those, whose husbands or parents were not able to rescue? We wish we had no cause to speak of those insolencies, and savage usage and unheard-of rapes, exercised upon our sex in Ireland: and have we not just cause to fear, they will prove the fore-runners of our ruin, except Almighty God (by the wisdom and care of this parliament) be pleased to succour us? Our husbands and children, which are as dear and tender unto us, as the lives and blood of our hearts; to see them murdered and mangled, and cut in pieces before our eyes; to see our children dashed against the stones, and the mothers' milk mingled with the infants' blood, running down the streets; to see our houses, on flaming fire, over our heads: oh how dreadful would this be! We thought it misery enough (though nothing to that we have just cause to fear), but few years since, for some of our sex, by unjust divisions from their bosom-comforts, to be rendered, in a manner, widows; and the children, fatherless: husbands were imprisoned from the society of their wives, (even against the laws of God and nature,) and little infants suffered in their fathers banishments: thousands of our dearest friends have been compelled to fly from episcopal persecutions, into desert places, amongst wild beasts; there finding more favour than in their native soil: and in the midst of all their sorrows such hath the pity of the prelates been, that our cries could never enter into their ears or hearts; nor yet (through multitudes of obstructions) could never have access, or come nigh to those royal mercies of our most gracious sovereign, which we confidently hoped would have relieved us. But, after all these pressures ended, we humbly signify, that our present fears are, that unless the blood-thirsty faction of the papists and prelates be hindered in their designs; ourselves here in England, as well as they in Ireland, shall be exposed to that misery, which is more intolerable than that which is already past; as namely, to the rage, not of men alone, but of devils incarnate, as we may so say; besides the thraldom of our souls and consciences, in matters concerning God, which of all things are most dear unto us.

Now, the remembrance of all these fearful accidents afore-mentioned do strongly move us (from the example of the woman of Tekoa) to fall submissively, at the feet of his majesty, our dread sovereign, and cry, "Help, O king! help, O ye, the noble worthies, now sitting in parliament!" And we humbly beseech you, that you will be a means to his majesty, and the house of peers, that they will be pleased to take our heart-breaking grievances into timely consideration, and add strength and encouragement to your noble endeavours; and, further, that you would move his majesty (with our humble requests), that he would be graciously pleased, according to the example of the good king Asa to purge both the court and kingdom of that great idolatrous service of the mass, which is

tolerated in the queen's court. This sin, as we conceive, is able to draw down a greater curse upon the whole kingdom, than all your noble and pious endeavours can prevent; which was the cause that the good and pious king Asa would not suffer idolatry in his own mother; whose example, if it shall please his majesty's gracious goodness to follow, in putting down popery and idolatry, both in great and small, in court and in the kingdom throughout, to subdue the papists, and their abettors; and by taking away the power of the prelates, whose government, by long and woeful experience, we have found to be against the liberty of our conscience, and the freedom of the Gospel, and the sincere profession and practice thereof; then shall our fears be removed, and we may expect, that God will pour down his blessings, in abundance, both upon his majesty, and upon this honourable assembly, and upon the whole land.

For which your new Petitioners shall pray affectionately, &c.

The Reasons follow.

It may be thought strange, and unbeseeming our sex, to shew ourselves, by way of petition, to this honourable assembly: but the matter being rightly considered, of the right and interest we have, in the common and public cause of the church; it will (as we conceive, under correction,) be found a duty commanded and required.

First, Because Christ hath purchased us, at as dear a rate, as he hath done men; and therefore requireth the like obedience for the same mercy, as of men.

Secondly, Because in the free enjoying of Christ, in his own laws, and a flourishing estate of the church and commonwealth, consisteth the happiness of women, as well as men.

Thirdly, Because women are sharers in the common calamities that accompany both church and commonwealth, when oppression is exercised, over the church or kingdom, wherein they live; and an unlimited power hath been given to the prelates, to exercise authority over the consciences of women, as well as men: witness Newgate, Smithfield, and other places of persecution, wherein women, as well as men, have felt the smart of their fury.

Neither are we left without example in Scripture: for when the state of the church, in the time of king Ahasuerus, was, by the bloody enemies thereof, sought to be utterly destroyed; we find that Esther the queen and her maids fasted and prayed, and that Esther petitioned to the king, in the behalf of the church; and though she enterprized this duty with the hazard of her own life, (it being contrary to the law, to appear before the king, before she were sent for,) yet her love to the church carried her through all difficulties, to the performance of that duty.

On which grounds, we are emboldened to present our humble petition unto this honourable assembly; not regarding the reproaches, which may and are by many cast upon us, who do, well weighing the premisses, scoff and deride our good intent. We do it, not out of any self-conceit, or pride of heart, as seeking to equal ourselves with men, either in authority or wisdom; but according to our places, to discharge that duty we owe to God, and the cause of the church, as far as lieth in us; following herein the example of the men, which have gone in this duty, before us.

A Relation of the Manner how it was delivered; with their Answer, sent by Mr. Pym.

This petition, with their reasons, was delivered the fourth of February, 1641, by Mrs. Anne Stagg (a gentlewoman, and brewer's wife,) and many others with her, of like rank and quality: which when they had delivered, after some time spent in reading of it, the honourable assembly sent them an answer by Mr. Pym; which was performed in this manner.

Mr. Pym came to the commons-door, and called for the women, and spoke unto them in these words: "Good women, your petition and the reasons have been read in the house, and is thankfully accepted of, and is come in a seasonable time. You shall (God willing) receive from us all the satisfaction, which we can possibly give to your just and lawful desires. We intreat you to repair to your houses, and turn your petition, which you have delivered here, into prayers at home for us: for we have been, are, and shall be, to our utmost power, ready to relieve you, your husbands and children; and to perform the trust committed unto us, towards God, our king, and country, as becometh faithful Christians and loyal subjects."

The Quakers' Remonstrance to the Parliament, &c. touching the Popish Plot, and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Murder. Much of which being not unseasonable at this Juncture, it is now reprinted: As also to shew, that the Quakers were formerly as zealous against Popery, as any others; notwithstanding they have so much appeared to the contrary of late. Licensed, the Fifteenth of June, 1689.

London, printed 1689, and sold at several Booksellers.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

IT is not a time now to dispute, but to act; and that vigorously too, or England's lost. Popery, that enemy to God, by setting up idols; to Christ, by its new-found mediators; to the Holy Ghost, by putting a pope in his place; to the Scriptures, by its legends and corrupt traditions; to reason, by its imposed absurdities; to common sense, by its most foolish but most idolized transubstantiation; to all tender dissenting consciences, by fire and faggot; and to all civil governments, that refuse to be subject to it, by plots, assassinations, and horrid massacres, its usual and notorious steps to worldly advancement. This monstrous popery, this common enemy to mankind, (that hath so often contrived our ruin, and several times been at the very point of effecting it,) has once more attempted us, and with that violence and design, that it looks like the last time: nay, the great sticklers of it are got within our works, and promise themselves the garrison; because, they say, they have friends in disguise among us. It is true, they have lost some men in the attempt, but they are not much daunted at that; for the whole papal world, they brag, have conspired their success, and the air rings with the thousands of masses, that are daily said for the prosperity of the design; as if their intention were to convert the world, and not to kill the king, garble the parliament, shamble all good and sober Protestants of every party; fire and plunder cities; and, finally, change the government and religion of the kingdom; which is the plot.

Nor will the more impudent of them deny the thing in general, but much the contrary; insulting us with Tertullian's *Implevimus omnia* against the old Pagans. We fill your courts, your armies, your navies; it must take, you cannot avoid it; it is a just cause to extirpate hereticks, root and branch.

But one (and may be the worst) part of the plot has failed them: they resolved to surprize you, to make a night's work of it, to let you and your's never see day more, (for such deeds become darkness,) as they did in France and Ireland, in those most bloody massacres of poor harmless Protestants. But God, the infinitely good and gracious God, that hath always watched over this poor Island (an hundred times designed to destruction), and whose eye pierceth through the secrets of men; hath, notwithstanding the greatness, as well as multitude of our sins (not to be equalled by any thing but his patience and compassion) discovered this impious conspiracy, we hope, too early for the plotters' purpose. He has beaten up our quarters, and given us the alarm, if we will take it: methinks we should, when the noise of fire and sword is in our ears; when we cannot walk the streets without danger of being stabbed, nor sleep in our houses for fear of being burned: witness the dreadful fire of London, the fire of Southwark, and that (the other day) of Limehouse, where three poor souls were burned quick; to say nothing of forty attempts they have made in other places. To which let me add the design, in general, of massacring all the best people in the kingdom, begun, and amply confirmed, in the most barbarous murder of that worthy knight, and judicious magistrate, sir Edmundbury Godfrey: and here I must stay a while.

Murder is a great sin against God and our neighbour; but, alas! what induced them to it here? Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was one of the mildest men to these bloody papists, that was in commission for the peace: for, though he hated arbitrary power, and popery, as the cause or effect of it; yet a man, for a due liberty to all sober people, pretending tenderness of conscience, and saved them from many a pinch on that score; hoping, as many more did, that after an hundred years' experience, intermarriages, conversation, and large indulgence, they were grown wiser, if not more christian, than to cut their way to government through blood, and kill for religion: (pardon me the use of the word about popery, that has nothing of religion, but the name;) but gratitude restrains not men of this stamp; their principle knows no kindred, no obedience, no obligation, that stands in the way of their conspired dominion. Well, but was it that they would be revenged of him, for having courage (courage I say, as the world goes) to take depositions, upon oath, of their devilish plot? But where is the crime here, which can properly give their act the term of revenge; since examination is neither judgment nor execution? Even a saint is not injured to be examined, much less a papist. Innocency gets on trial, if falsely accused: but that is not the case; for truth seeks no corners, nor yet ditches to lay a murdered man in, after having strangled him in the house for the purpose. What then can be the plain English of the business but this, that they concluded, his former kindness, thus abused, would for ever disingage him for the future; and that, since he could not be prevailed upon to stifle the evidence he had, and might yet have produced, (for he acknowledged to some, he had been both tampered with and menaced) they would strangle him: which is such a demonstration, that their folly, as well as malice, hath given of the whole to be true, that none can now deny it to be a plot, but those that are of it, or will lose by the discovery.

But some say, "He killed himself." That is a likely business indeed. For what, I pray? a sober, charitable, judicious man. "O, but he was melancholy:" that is, he was a serious man. But why now more melancholy than ever? "Because he had wronged the innocent papists." Is that it? Where is the wrong? Is it, that he heard what persons, upon oath, declared of the most horrid conspiracy that ever was on foot in the world; but the murdering of the Son of God? But, be this deposition true or false, it was his duty and place to take it, he was sworn to do it; it was a great, and the best part of his office; he had deserved a plotter's punishment to have refused the thing. Here is no virulency, suborning of evidence, condemning, or murdering them, in all this. Where is the sin then, that should trouble his conscience?—But they that will murder, will lye to cover it.

Besides, it is plain that he was strangled, and his neck broke before stabbed; because he could neither strangle himself, nor break his neck, after he was stabbed through his heart,

nor stab himself after he was strangled, and his neck broke. Moreover, had he been stabbed before dead or soon after, blood would have appeared on the hilt of his sword on which he lay, or on the ground, (it being a dry place,) or on his clothes; but no blood was to be seen: and when the sword was drawn out of his body, (which his murderers put in, to palliate the butchery,) nothing issued from him but a dark water, as is usual, where blood is congealed; as his doubtless was, before he was stabbed: for, we are of opinion, there was a good time betwixt strangling and stabbing him, and that the latter was upon great deliberation, and that on purpose to hide the actors, and cast the murder upon himself. O Lord God! that ever men should be so much the children of the Devil, as first to murder, then charge it upon the innocent soul murdered. But the Devil was ever a fool, and so in this: for, besides what we have observed, this further is to be said; they that killed him would have us think it was himself, because neither clothes, nor money, nor rings, were taken away. True; but though they that are concerned in the plot wanted neither his clothes, nor money, nor rings, to carry it on, yet they took what they wanted; and they wanted what they took with a witness, and that was his pocket-book of depositions and examinations; which puts it out of doubt, that they that were so much concerned in them, both murdered him and took it: for none can think that father Conyers, the duke of Norfolk's confessor, taking the air over hedge and ditch to Primrose-hill, dropt just upon him, and picked his pockets of the book.

"Well, but why may he not have hanged himself; and his kindred (to save his estate) stabbed him afterwards, and carried him thither? This is deadly cunning. But why was his pocket-book only wanting, wherein the plotters were concerned? Tricks will not do here. Furthermore, why did they not keep his gold, silver, and rings, that were found in his pocket, but expose them? Why not strip him in some degree, make wound in his sword-arm, and hack, bend, or break his sword, that it might look like robbery? But, last of all, why should they carry him out exactly as he used to go, quite dressed, and want a band; especially since they were so punctual as to take his sword, belt, gloves, and stick, with them? He went out, in the morning, with a great laced band, (none was found,) as well as the book of examinations: of that we have already spoke; for the band, it is a plain case they strangled him, and being a long-necked man, and wearing an high strong collar, he struggling to save himself, and they striving to dispatch him that way, the band was torn in the fray; and, to have let it go so, had been to have told the story too plainly: that is, that the man was strangled to death by violence, and that the stab of his own sword was an after-trick, to cover the business.

Thus this poor gentleman, but worthy and brave patriot, ended his days, by the assassinating hands of papists, whose butchery made him the common martyr of his religion and country, and his death is to us the earnest of their cruelty. In him they have massacred us all: we must take it to ourselves; and can no more be unconcerned in his death, than disinterested in the cause of it. The plot is opened, the tragedy is begun, our wives are affrighted, our children cry, no man is sure of his life a day; the choice is only, what death we shall die, whether be stabbed, strangled, or burned. This consternation and insecurity must needs obstruct all commerce, scare people from following their lawful occasions, deter all officers of justice from their duty; and, in fine, dissolve human society, and reduce the world into its first chaos.

For the Lord's sake, let us consider our condition; let us all turn to the Lord with unfeigned repentance, let us look and cry to him for help, that he, who has discovered, would confound this bloody conspiracy, and shew mercy, and bring us deliverance; that we may yet see his salvation, and serve him all the days of our lives; and, in order to our security, these things are earnestly requested of you.

1. Take effectual care to preserve the king: they say, and we believe, he is not for their turn; we would not have him, for his sake and ours. In order to this, pray find out the Ahithophels, the dangerous men about him: you know who they are, be free and bold; prize your time, the conjuncture is great.

2. Vote an address to the king, to banish all Irish papists out of the army, navy, and

kingdom, by such a day; and all papists out of the city of London, whose gross ignorance, and base desperateness, renders them the fittest men for assassinations. Besides, it is a shame, that the children and kindred of Irish rebels, (if not some of them the very men themselves that were actors in that horrid massacre, in the year 1641, about thirty-seven years since; in which above three-hundred thousand Protestants were murdered in the kingdom of Ireland, without regard to age or sex,) should be employed either in the English army or navy; but more scandalous is it, that St. James's should be their head quarters, and the park turned into an Irish walk. What do so many Irish papists, teigs, and rebels, do swarming there? No good to be sure: their parts, courage, and skill, can invite no man of any worth to entertain them; it must only be their ignorance, and cowardly cruelty, which makes them instruments of mischief, and fit to be used by those that love foul play. But, that poor dissenting Protestants should be daily molested and pillaged, for the sake of their peaceable consciences; whilst teagues, and Irish rebels, go by whole droves under the nose of king and duke, in their royal-park, and walks of pleasure, is almost insupportable. Is this to maintain the Protestant religion, and discountenance popery? *Ex pede Herculem.*

3. For God's sake, call for the plot, look thoroughly and strictly into it, fear, nor favour no man *(fiat justitia,)* but fear God: do what you do, as in his presence, to whom you must render an account; it is the great action of your life, discharge your trust, and quit yourselves now like men. This has been the perpetual troubler of our Protestant Israel: as you would see God with comfort, and secure your posterity from civil and spiritual tyranny, slip not this opportunity God has so wonderfully cast into your hands; be not found despisers of his Providence, neither be you careless, or fearful, of improving it: now or never. Had they you on this lock, and at this advantage, you nor yours should never see day more. What once you could not have so well done, they have now made easy and necessary for you to do; and, what before you scarcely might do, is now become your duty. Be not cheated by a sacrifice; let not the lives of two or three plotters be the ransom of the rest, or your satisfaction: it is not blood, but security, prospect, future safety, an eternal prevention of the like miseries for the future; otherwise, we shall only sit down with the peace and joy of fools, and fat ourselves sacrifices with more security against their next slaughter. Therefore,

4. Raise the trained-bands, and let them be put not so much as into the hands of men popishly affected: for those men, that would pull off the vizard, in case popery prevailed; that otherwise keep their credit by not discovering themselves, are the most dangerous to be trusted: I fear popery thus entering, more than any other way. Examine the counties well; for some of base principles are intrusted.

5. Let there be power given to raise auxiliaries; that such honest Protestant gentlemen, as are willing, at their own charges, voluntarily to serve their country, by raising troops or companies, or serving in them, may be permitted and encouraged so to do.

6. Let every Protestant family be well armed, and every popish family be utterly disarmed: they have tried our usage of arms with ease, we theirs with cruelty enough.

7. Let there be an act, with a strict penalty, that after such a day, no gun-smith shall sell guns or pistols; cutlers, swords or daggers; and dry-salters, gunpowder or bullets; without license of the aldermen of the wards in London, or some chief officer, if in any other corporation; and that the person so buying them shall, before the said officer, subscribe a sufficient test against popery; but, more especially, that no papist be suffered to make or sell any such implements of war.

8. That care be taken to prevent fraudulent conveyances of estates by papists, to escape the law, where they have done mischief: for this is to cheat the government, and invalidate the law.

9. That it shall be treason for any papist to entertain a priest, jesuit, or seminary in their house; because mortal enemies, by principle and practice, to the civil government. Consider of the Swedish law, or some other way to clear the land of all of them; let us buy them out to be safe.

10. That in all schools, particularly in universities, care be taken to educate youth in a just abhorrence of Romish principles, especially the jesuits' immoral morals; shewing the inconsistency thereof with human nature, reason, and society, as well as pure and meek Christianity, of which there has been great neglect.

11. That our youth be not suffered to travel abroad, but between twelve and sixteen, and that under the conduct of approved Protestants: for the present way of education is chiefly in pleasure and looseness, which makes way for atheism or popery, no religion or false religion.

12. That speedy care be taken to release all oppressed Protestants in this kingdom: and since the papists mark all Protestants out for one fate, and esteem them one body of hereticks, that they may be as one body of Protestancy against that common enemy. This is the language of God's present Providence: those that withstand it, are such as love Rome better than London; every Protestant, Dissenter or not, has the same thing to say against popery. Agree then so far; and let a general negative creed be concluded upon, and from thence let some general positive truths be considered of, in order to a better understanding among them. For this purpose, let there be a select assembly of some out of all persuasions, in which these two proposals may be duly weighed; that whosoever believe, and own what shall be therein contained, shall be reputed and protected as true Protestants.

Lastly, and more especially, let all the laws in force against immorality be speedily and effectually executed. It is sin, which is the disease and 'shame of the nation:' we have forgotten God, and cast his law behind us, and we deserve not this beginning of deliverance. Our pleasures have been our gods, and to them we bow, and have little or no religion at heart; therefore it is, that iniquity abounds, and in that variety too, and to such a degree, as no kingdom can parallel. Blush, O heavens! and be astonished, O earth! A people loved of God, and so often saved by his wonderful providences, are become the Tyre and Sidon, the Sodom and Gomorrah of the world. Let us repent in dust and ashes; let us turn to God, from the bottom of our hearts, with the fervent love and good works of our martyred ancestors; or their life, doctrine, and death will rise up in judgment against us, and God will yet suffer their and our enemies to 'swallow us up quick.' And be assured, as looseness and debauchery were designed by the papists as a state-trick, to dispose the minds of the people to receive, or at least suffer popery; (that, to say true, cannot live with better company;) so the discouragement of it, and cherishing of all virtuous persons, with a serious and hearty prosecution of the fore-mentioned proposals, will stop, and in time wear it out of the kingdom: for popery fears nothing more than light, inquiry, and sober living. Hear us, we beseech you, for Jesus Christ's sake! take heart; we will never leave you, do not you leave us. Provide for the king, provide for the people: for God alone knows, when we lie down, if we shall ever rise; or when we go forth, if we shall ever return. Remember the massacre of Paris, in which so many thousands fell; and with them, that brave admiral, Coligni. Infamy enough, one would think, to shame the party, did they know such a thing: but instead of that, it was meritorious; yea, it is a subject of triumph. Look into the Vatican at Rome, and among the other rare feats performed by christian kings against infidels, this massacre of Paris (now about an hundred years old) is to be found; and so careful was the designer to do it to the life, that he has not omitted to shew us, how the noble admiral was flung dead out of the window into the street; to be used as people use cats and dogs in Protestant countries, but good enough for an heretick, whom the worse they use, the better they are. But, (to shew they own the plot, and glory in the action,) for fear one, not read in the story, should take Coligni for Jezabel; they have gallantly explained the action upon the piece, and writ his name at large.

But there is a cruelty nearer home, no less barbarous, the Irish massacre in 1641; nay, it exceeded: first, in number; there were above three-hundred thousand murdered: next, in that no age or sex was spared: and, lastly, in the manner of it. It was general, thooughout the kingdom: and, as they were more savage, so more cruel; they spared not

either sick, or lying-in women; they killed poor infants, and innocent children; tossing some upon their swords, skeens, and other instruments of cruelty; flinging others into rivers; and, taking several by the legs, dashed their brains out against walls or rocks. O Lord God! avenge this innocent blood: it still cries. But, that these actors of this tragedy, or their bloody-minded off-spring, should swarm in England, be pensioners here, as if they were the old soldiers of the queen; men of eighty-eight, cripples of loyalty, laid up for their good services, and St. James's their hospital: this scandalizes us. We think them the worst cattle of their country, and pray, that there may be an exchange; that you would prohibit their importation, instead of more useful beasts. For the bloody massacre of Piedmont, you have it at large described by sir Samuel Morland.

But we must never forget the horrid murder of Henry the Third, and of Henry the Fourth of France; our king's renowned grandfather. And would to God, our king would consider, that all his humanity to them can never secure him from their stroke; they were both better Catholicks, and yet both assassinated: the first a bred papist; yet because he would not murder all the Hugonots or Protestants of his kingdom, and his known best subjects, they did as much for him: the last was their convert, all they seemed to desire of him, and all they can expect from our king; yet how did they use him? They did twice assassinate him; and, the last time, killed him. What security then can any prince promise to himself from men, that make not the profession of the same religion a protection to them that own it; but upon humours or suspicions of their own, or to introduce another person or family, more immediately under their influence, and disposed to their turn, will make no scruple of killing him? What slaves are kings with such men, and under such a religion? Let not the mildness of our prince be thus abused; shew yourselves his great and best council in this conjuncture, and deliver him from these men of ingratitude: men that will never be contented, but with that which they must not have; of such qualifications, that what may be esteemed ambition, revenge, or interest, in all other parties, is a settled principle with them. This their greatest doctors tell us; and to excite men in the pursuit of it, they declare all such acts more than ordinarily meritorious. But what hold can we have of such men, that have no conscience? This conclusion looks hard, and besides their practice; for if that were always to cast the scale, it would go hard with many Protestants too: it is their avowed doctrine, they glory in it, and make it our reproach to have any such thing.

I say, that papists have no conscience, or no use of conscience in their religion, which is the same thing: for what is conscience, but the judgment a man makes in himself of religious matters, according to the knowledge given him of God? But this is out of doors with them, it is heresy: authority rules them, not truth; as if a man were to be credited for his age, not for his reason. Conscience is a domestic and private judge, dangerous to the chair, the pope; for it rather hinders than helps subjection: the less there be of it, the sooner men turn captives to their mysteries: so that putting out the eyes of our mind, and a blind before our understanding, best fit us for popish religion; as if religion had not so great an enemy as reason, nor faith as knowledge. It is strange, that a man cannot be a papist, without renouncing the only distinction of a man from a beast: therefore it is, we pray to be secured from papists, because at best they unman us, and are not their own men. It is true; as Protestants do not always live up to their good principles, neither do papists to their bad ones. Breeding, good humour, generosity, (and a better principle they know not of,) may bias some of them to worthy things; but this is not according to their principles. For if they will be true to them, they must abandon choice, and obey their superior, right or wrong; and every immorality he commands is duty, upon damnation: the more contrary to their reason, and averse to their nature, the greater the merit. Hesitation is weakness; dissent, schism; opposition, heresy; the consequence, burning.

From this religion, O Lord God! deliver us: O king and parliament! protect us: it is your duty to God, and your obligation to the people. We beseech you, excuse us, and take all in good part: our fears are great, we fear justly, and our desires are reasonable. Remember our dreadful fires, consider this horrid plot, and think upon poor, yet worthy,

sir Edmundbury Godfrey: let not God's Providence, and his blood, rise up in judgment against you. God of his great mercy animate you by his power, and direct you by his wisdom; that the succession of his deliverances, from queen Elizabeth's days, may not be forgotten, nor his present mercy slighted: let us do our duty, and God will give us that blessing, which will yet make England a glorious kingdom, the joy of her friends, and terror of her enemies; which is the fervent and constant prayers of yours, &c.

A Voice from the Dead: Or, The Speech of an old noble Peer. Being an excellent Oration of the learned and famous Boetius, to the Emperor Theodoricus.

London, printed and sold by Richard Janeway, 1681.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

SIR,

I am not ignorant, that we are in a time, wherein it is, as it were, much easier to fly, than to speak of the state of this empire without offence to any; and that all discourse, which at this present may be framed, will ever be suspected by those, who have made even our thoughts criminal to your majesty.

Yet, must I needs say, it is a matter very hard to be silent in so great revolutions of affairs; since nature hath not created us like crocodiles, who are said to have eyes to weep, and not a tongue to complain. I perceive we lose, as it were, all that which we have of Roman in us; and that in this universal disaster, where all the world should strengthen their arms against violence, men are contented to do, as in thunder; every one prays the thunder-bolt may not fall upon his own house, and very little regards the danger of his neighbour. So likewise we see many senators, whose dignity ought to put into their mouths good and forcible words for the defence of justice, satisfying themselves to avoid the blow, and expecting safety in common ruins.

As for myself, I freely protest, that being born of blood which never learned to flatter any man, and seeing myself in a rank where my silence may prove injurious to the public; since I cannot uphold liberty (already too much leaning to its ruin), I will, at least, support the image of it; and in so general a servitude, speak something, wherein I will either discharge my conscience for the present, or comfort my ashes for the time to come.

Alas! sir, when I behold you sitting upon the throne of glory, whereunto the hand of God seemeth to have raised you by a miracle; fortified you by discretion, and blessed you with so many prosperities; I cannot choose but remember, with the most tender resentments of my heart, the calms of the first years, when you took into your hand the stern of this large empire. Who ever saw divers metals so happily commixed, as we then beheld different nations united into one entire body under your authority? What consent in affections? what correspondence in all orders? what vigour in laws? what obedience in subjects? what agreement in the senate? what applause amongst the people? what policy in cities? what good fortune in arms? what blessing in all the success of your affairs?

Seemed it not, that God had affixed to your standards and edicts some secret virtue, which made the one triumph in war, and the other become prosperous in peace; with so much terror and reputation, that even things opposite of their own nature, knit themselves firmly together for your benefit?

O, sir! what is become of that great golden face of your government? Who hath metamorphosed it into this leaden visage? Perhaps, you thought it was a part of the greatness of your majesty, to hold a senate under; to whom all the good emperors have so much ascribed, that they esteemed them as necessary for their greatness, as leaves about the rose to set out its beauty.

I could tell you, sir, how much these counsels are pernicious; were it not that the experience of the years of your reign hath taught you more than all the malignity of men can deface. If you will be pleased to call as yet to counsel your wit and understanding, which God hath replenished with so many fair and noble lights; believe me, you shall find this people is as the herb Basil, which rendereth a good savour (as it is said) when gently handled, and createth scorpions when rudely chased. Hold us in the estimation and condition, wherein you have hitherto retained us; and you shall see nothing more tractable than the Roman people: but, if you proceed with these violences, by which some daily pervert your good-nature; it is to be feared, lest this severity produce not rather poison, even for those who hope out of it to derive sweetness.

Our enemies cease not to exasperate you, upon want of respect due to your majesty; and yet (God knows) we have so regarded royal authority, that seeing it in most unjust hands, where it lost its lustre; we suffered it not to lose the fruit of our obedience.

Allow, sir, the liberty, which ever hath been the most precious inheritance of this empire: you have placed men over our heads, who, to become great, and unwilling to seem any thing less than what they are, seek to smother in our miseries the baseness of their own birth; and believe the means to justify their own carriage, is to take away eyes from those who have them, and to render tongues mute, lest they may learn a truth. Now-a-days, to be born rich is to become a prey; and to arrive at government, with some super-eminencies of wit, is to raise enemies: all great actions are suspected; and it seemeth, that to find safety, we must seek it either in ignorance or idleness.

We have so learned to obey, that we would not, hitherto, so much as enter into consideration of the distribution you made of your favours; leaving them more free, than are the sun's rays, and contenting us to honour the character of your majesty, as well on rocks, as marbles and silver. But now, when we see the precious interests of the kingdom, in hands less pure than we wish; what else can we do in so public a calamity, but here most humbly remonstrate, *that* which the subtle dissemble, the miserable suffer, the good deplore, and even the very stones relate?

Where is the time, sir, when we heard those noble words to proceed from your mouth, 'That the flock may be sheared, not flayed; that a body overcharged, sunk to the 'ground; that there was no tribute comparable to the precious commodities derived 'from the love of subjects.' Now, all the cities and countries bewail the rigorous concussions they feel, to satisfy, with their sweat and blood, the avarice of some particulars; who are, notwithstanding, as greedy as fire, and more insatiable than the abyss.

I exasperate not here our miseries, by an application of words. I have, sir, made you to see, when you pleased to hear me in your cabinet, the tears of provinces: which softened your heart to compassion, and opened your hands to liberality: so that if your good affections be not altered by some, you are capable enough to discharge Heaven of all promises, which it hath made unto us; by the happiness of your empire.

Unseal those eyes, which you so often have opened for the comfort of your poor subjects; and in what part soever you turn them, you shall behold nothing but miseries. Is it not a strange thing, that slaves being sometimes sold to courteous masters, sweeten the sharpness of their condition by some gentle usage; and that there should be none, but the people of Rome, who yearly buy out their bondage? None but the people of Rome,

who were made accountable for the goods pulled from them; and tributary for the shipwreck of their poverty?

From thence the way is taken to the oppression of magistrates, and some are persuaded, that, thoroughly to mow the meadow, you must humble the heads of plants most eminent. Paulinus is dispoiled, Albinus is guilty of treason: they are culpable enough, since they are rich and powerful. It is said, there can be no safety found but in their disgrace: and who seeth not, that these proceedings tend to the ruin of that most noble body, which almost thirty years maintained your royal crown?

But, alas! sir, if we exclaim against witches, who poison fountains; how can we be silent, seeing endeavour is used to invenom the soul of the prince, who is the source of all counsels; to the end we may hereafter find poison, where we hope for remedies?

Sir, only behold and imitate yourself; reassume that spirit, which made you reign in our hearts, as well as in your provinces; distinguish flatterers from true friends; hearken to those, whose loyalty you have known in the success of so many prosperities.

Remember yourself, that you were made to reign over men, not as a man, but as the law; to bear your subjects in your bosom, and not trample them under foot; to teach by example, and not constrain by force; to be a father of citizens, and not a master of slaves.

Remember yourself, kings are given by Heaven, for the use of people; and that they ought not to have so much regard to the extent of their power, as not to consider the measure of their obligations. Handle the matter so, that the greatness of your majesty may appear in its goodness; and that this word, which you heretofore had in your mouth, may stick eternally in your heart, when you said, 'A good prince ought not to fear any 'thing so much, as to be too much feared.'

BOETIUS, who made this oration, was author of that incomparable philosophical discourse, '*De Consolatione*;' being consul of Rome, under the said Theodoricus, the first emperor of the Gothish race, about the year of our Lord 500. And this speech was first published long since in Causin's Holy Court, (fol. 290.) in these very words; as any person may find, that pleases to examine it. But, *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit;* the upshot of the business was, that the emperor was much offended at this his freedom; and, being spurred on by his three mischievous favourites, (Trigilla, Congiastus, and Cyprianus,) first banished, and afterwards murdered the wise and faithful Boetius; who had served him many years with an intire and irreproachable loyalty. And soon after Theodoricus himself died distracted; and the empire, in a very few years, was snatched from his successor, by the victorious arms of Justinian, emperor of Constantinople.

A Narrative of the late Proceedings at White-hall, concerning the Jews: Who had desired by Rabbi Manasses, an Agent for them, that they might return into England; and worship the God of their Fathers here in the Synagogues, &c. Published for Satisfaction to many in several Parts of England, that are desirous and inquisitive to hear the Truth thereof.

London, printed for L. Chapman, at the Crown in Pope's-head Alley, 1656.

[Quarto; containing sixteen pages.]

To the READER.

BECAUSE many good people in divers parts of this nation, who have often prayed heartily for the Jews' conversion, have heard a rumour of a late debate at Whitehall, about the Jews having a liberty to return into England; and are very desirous to know the truth of things in those proceedings, and what is the issue of those debates; and hence from several parts, letters have been written up to their friends in London, desiring more fully to be certified herein. For their satisfaction, and for help to others that would send the narrative to their Christian friends, this collection thereof, by one that was present at all the debates, is yielded to be published.

BY letters from Oliver (the lord-protector), several doctors, and other preachers, godly men, and some merchants and lawyers convened with him, and others of the council, (the fourth of December last, 1655, and so on two or three days weekly, to the eighteenth,) to consider of proposals in behalf of the Jews, by Rabbi Manasses Ben-Israel; an agent come to London in behalf of many of them, to live and trade here, and desiring to have free use of their synagogues, &c.

The things being spoken unto *pro* and *contra*, at several meetings, some more private, and some more public, at Whitehall, and elsewhere: the most did fear, that if they should come, many would be seduced and cheated by them, and little good would be unto them. Hence, divers of the preachers judged, that though never such cautions to prevent those evils were prescribed, yet they would not be observed; and therefore they could not consent to their coming.

2. The major part judged that there might be such pledges or sureties, &c. to keep due cautions, (*viz.* against their blaspheming Christ, and the Christian religion, and against seducing, and cheating, &c.) as they may be observed; and then they may come.

3. Some judged, that due cautions warranted by holy Scriptures being observed; it is a duty to yield to their request of coming hither: considering,

1. It is God's will there be dealing courteously with strangers, and persons in affliction; Exod. xxiii. 8. 9.

2. Especially respect is to be had to the Jews; Isa. xiv. 3, 4.

1st. Because, 'their debtors we are;' Rom. xv. 27. as the Gentiles, Macedonians, and other Gentiles, were in the Apostles' days, (which was not, because those believing Jews at Jerusalem administered spiritual things to those believing Gentiles, which they did not,) but because we partake of the Messias, and promises, and salvation, that was to the Jews; as 'natural branches of the olive-tree:' Rom. ix. 4, 5. Eph. iii. 8. Rom. xi. 17, 24.

2dly, Because, their brethren we are; of the same father Abraham: they, naturally after the flesh; we, believers after the spirit.

3dly, Because we believe those natural branches shall return: and it shall be 'great 'riches and glory to the Gentiles,' especially to such where they are, and who deal kindly with them; Rom. xi. 12. 18. 25, 26, and we hope the time is near.

Because many Jews are now in very great streights in many places; multitudes in Poland, Lithuania, and Prussia, by the late wars by the Swedes, Cossacks, and others, being driven away from thence. Hence their yearly alms to the poor Jews, of the German synagogue, at Jerusalem hath ceased; and of seven-hundred widows, and poor Jews there, about four-hundred have been famished; as a letter from Jerusalem to their friends relates.

Also, the Jews in France, Spain, Portugal, and in the Indies, under the Spanish, &c. if they are professed Jews, must wear a badge of it, and are exposed to many violences, mocks, and cruelties; which to avoid, many dissemble themselves to be Roman Catholicks: and then, if in any thing they appear Jewish, they forfeit goods, if not life also. Now, some of these entreated rabbi Manasses to be their agent, to entreat this favour for their coming to England, to live and trade here, &c.

And it seems to some, that it would be very acceptable to the Lord, if favour be shewed them, so far as is lawful herein: as it was very displeasing to the Lord, when for their sin he cast them out of Canaan, that others added to, or 'helped on their affliction;' Zach. i. 15, 16. And that Edom 'looked on,' and was as one of their enemies; Obad. ver. 12. 14; and did not hide, and entertain his 'outcasts,' as he charged Moab to do; Isaiah xvi. 3, 4. Now England hath as much cause as any nation, if not more, to favour and relieve the Jews in this their suit: considering,

1. The Jews that dwelled in England under Richard the First, and king John, Henry the Third, and Edward the First, suffered very great injuries, cruelties, and murders, by kings, by the barons, by Londoners, Yorkers, people of Norwich, Stamford, &c. as our own Chronicles shew: especially Stow's Survey of London, and Annals.

And if, after Saul's death, the Lord plagued Israel year after year, till some satisfaction was given to the surviving Gibeonites, for Saul's slaying many Gibeonites in his zeal for God: it is feared it may offend the Lord, if we yield not to the Jews this courtesy which they desire; and it may be accounted some kind of satisfaction to them.

2. In no nation, there have been more faithful, frequent, and fervent prayers for the Jews, than in England.

3. None are more likely to convince them by Scripture, and by holy life, than many in England. And Gentiles, being called a foolish nation, must provoke Jews to jealousy, or emulation; and happy is England, if it be instrumental in blessed a work.

The person, that spoke to that effect, had written thus: many of the Jews in Jerusalem being now very cruelly dealt withal, and persecuted by the Turks, (as there letters thence, desiring relief from other Jews in Germany, Holland, &c. sent thither by the hand of rabbi Nathan Stephira, their messenger, do manifest;) other Jews in several nations persecuted by papists, unless they will turn papists: many of these desiring by their letters to rabbi Manasses Ben-Israel, (as he said he had shewed to the lord-protector,) that he would entreat favour of our state;

1. That Jews might have leave to come into England, to live and trade here: and,

2. That here they might have their synagogues, &c. provided that due care be had in respect of these, as much as is, or ought to be, in respect of our own, and other nations, to prevent—Blaspheming the Lord Jesus Christ; adoring the Law; seducing others; all unrighteousness, &c. Some of us do thus believe upon Scripture-grounds:

1. That it is not sinful or unlawful to suffer their coming hither, their living and trading here, and worshipping the true God here, and hearing his holy law and his prophets read unto them every week, publicly.

First reason, Because this is against no law, neither of the land (as the lawyers here affirmed), nor of God; as not being forbidden in the Old and New Testament. And, therefore, it is no sin nor transgression. 'For where there is no law, there is no transgression;' Rom. iv. 15.

Second, That it is so far from being a sin, that it is a duty, in such case, to receive and harbour them.

This may appear thus:

First reason. It is a duty commanded, and commended of God, in general, to be kind to strangers, harbouring them; &c. Exod. xxii. 21. and xxiii. 8. Levit. xix. 34. Deut. x. 19. Gen. xviii. 1, 2, 3. xix. 1, 2, 3. 1 Tim. v. 10. Heb. xiii. 2. Such favour we permit and grant to other strangers.

Second. The Lord requires this duty, as well, or more, towards Jews, even when for their sins the Lord had cast them out, as to any other strangers; for, concerning these, he thus gives a charge in Isaiah xvi. 3, 4. 'Hide my banished ones, bewray not him that 'wandereth. Let my outcasts dwell (or sojourn) with thee Moab: be thou a covert to 'them from the face of the spoiler.'

Third. Yea, even after their rejecting Jesus Christ, and the Lord's rejecting them, yet the Apostle saith of them, that 'They are beloved for their fathers' sakes;' Rom. xi. 28. And for the Lord's covenant-sake with their fathers (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,) after this sin and scattering, the Lord will restore them; as he saith, Levit. xxvi. 41. 44, 45. Micah. vii. 19, 20.

Fourth. When for their sins the Lord was displeased with the Jews, yet he hath a special eye to them; observing all the unkind carriage of others towards them, and is sore displeased against all such as 'help on their affliction;' Zach. i. 15. By 'speaking proudly' against them, or 'looking on' as one of the afflicters, or that 'deliver them up' to such; &c. Obad. ver. 11, 12. 14.

3. That the Lord may require and expect this kindness towards distressed Jews, as much of this nation, as, or more than, of any other nation: considering,

1st, That the Lord hath exalted England in spiritual and in temporal mercies and deliverances, as much as, or more than, any other nation under heaven: and all this only for the sake of our Lord Jesus, who, 'concerning the flesh,' came of the Jews; Rom. ix. 5. and by whom the covenants and promises made to the Jews, are made over to us that are faithful; Rom. xi. 16. 18. 24. Eph. iii. 6. Eph. ii. 12, 13. 19.

2d, In our nation, the good people generally have more believed the promises touching the calling of the Jews, and the great riches and glory that shall follow to Jews, and us Gentiles; and have, and do still, more often, and earnestly pray for it, than any other nation that we have heard of.

3d, Many of the good people here, being persecuted in queen Mary's days, and under the prelates since, have been kindly harboured as strangers in other lands; and, therefore, should the more pity and harbour 'persecuted strangers,' especially persecuted Jews; Exod. xxiii. 8, 9.

4th, Many cruel and inhuman injuries have formerly been done in our nation against the Jews, (that intruded not England, but had been called, and invited to come and dwell here;) cruelties by several kings, by lords, and by occasion of the merchants urging their banishment, multitudes of them were drowned in the Thames, or in the sea.

Cruelties by Londoners, especially at Richard the First's coronation; and soon after by Yorkers, by people of Norwich, Stamford, &c. as Stow's Survey of London, and his Annals, and Hollinshed, and other English Chronicles fully shew.

For such gross injuries, the Lord may be very sore displeased with England, as sometimes he was with Israel in general, for the injuries that had formerly been done by Saul their king, in his zeal against the Gibeonites; until such satisfaction was made, as the sur-

viving Gibeonites desired of David; 2 Sam. xxi. 1, 2. And then (and not till then) the Lord 'was intreated for the land;' ver. 14.

Now if the favour of harbouring the afflicted Jews, which now they entreat, be granted to the surviving Jews; it may be accounted as some kind of satisfaction. But if this be denied them, it is feared the Lord may shew his displeasure to be great against England: that this denial may also occasion the more hardship unto them, by others that shall hear thereof.

Another of the preachers said to this effect: Though the Jews are now in hardness of heart, and worthy of punishments; yet we had need beware, lest we be occasions of hardening them, or instruments of punishing them. It is very remarkable what worthy Beza saith, in his notes on Rom. xi. 18. on those words, 'Glory not against the branches.' He saith thus: 'To glory in the Lord (that is, for God's benefits to rejoice) we ought; but 'not so that we despise the Jews, whom rather we should excite to that excellent emula-'tion. And for the neglect of this duty, without doubt, they are and shall be punished, 'that at this day call themselves Christians; and moved only by wickedness, and per-'verseness of mind, do by all means vex; and proposing examples of so many filthy ido-'manies, do more and more harden them. But as for me, willingly every day I pray for 'the Jews, thus: 'O Lord Jesus! thou, indeed, justly revengest the contempt of thyself, 'and worship, upon this ungrateful people; whom thou punishest most severely. But, O 'Lord, remember thy covenant, and respect them now in misery for thy name's sake. And 'grant this to us (the most unworthy of all men, to whom yet thou hast vouchsafed thy 'mercy) that we, going on in thy grace, may not be instruments of thine anger against 'them: but rather, both by the knowledge of thy word, and by the examples of holy 'life, by the powerful virtue of thy Holy Spirit, we may recall them into the right way; 'that by all nations, and peoples, thou mayest once be glorified for evermore. *Amen.*'

This is Beza's prayer, that he expresseth in his notes: it is a remarkable digression, that he would not have this left out. There is not the like in all his notes, shewing his great affection for the Jews' conversion.

Some others, though desiring heartily the Jews' conversion, yet feared greatly it would prove the subversion of many here, if Jews were suffered to return hither; because so many here are soon carried aside to new opinions.

Some answered, that now persons are carried away under a notion of further light, or of new discoveries of Christ, or the Gospel: but are not like to be taken with the Jewish religion, that deny Christ, and deny the Gospel: and have nothing in their solemn worship that is so taking, but rather much that is very ridiculous: therefore they are not so like to seduce others.

To this it was replied, that the offering children to Moloch, and other idolatry, might seem not to be taking; yet how it took with the Jews. And the opinions of the Quakers, and of the Ranters, are not so taking to some, yet many are carried away by them.

One humbly proposed this, as a medium; that seeing, if the Jews' coming hither be denied, we seem to deal more hardly with Jews, than with Turks, whose coming hither to trade and converse we deny not; and if they do come upon terms and agreements, there may be inconveniences, and offending of many: that, because the lawyers say, there is no law against their coming, there may only be a connivance and permission of them; and, if afterwards there be inconveniences, there may be proceedings against them, and no just cause of exceptions.

Some questioned whether the Jews' conversion shall be of the nation; or but here and there one, as of French, &c. or not until Christ appear unto them, as in converting Paul: and though we should shew mercy to Jews, yet begin at home, and not so infect ourselves, or wrong our merchants. The merchants said, such an inlet would be to enrich foreigners, and impoverish English merchants. (Merchants, especially, had caused the

Jews' departure from England, whereby some thousands of Jews perished in the Thames, by the cruelty of a ship-master, that was to transport them; partly otherwise.)

Some judged, seeing the Jews deal chiefly in way of merchandise and not in husbandry, nor buying houses, nor in manufactures; that the Jews coming, and so trading, might tend to the bringing lower the prices of all sorts of commodities imported; and to the furtherance of all that have commodities vendible to be exported; and to the benefit of most of our manufactures, where they shall live, by their buying of them. And thus, though the merchants' gains were somewhat abated, it might tend to the benefit of very many in our nation, even in outward things, besides the hopes of their conversion; which time, it is hoped, is now at hand, even at the door. (This last was spoken of at a more private meeting.) One of the lawyers rehearsed, from records, the history of the Jews in England, and many of their sufferings here in the time of Constantine the Great, and of some kings before the Conquest; and then of William the Conqueror's calling them to England, and their sufferings; and other proceedings since that time, until Edward I's reign, when many thousands of them were urged to leave England, and a great part of them were drowned in the Thames, or in the deep waters. And, now that they are gone, they wished not their return hither again. Also, the lawyers said, that there is no law that forbids the Jews' return into England.

All having been heard, the lord-protector on the eighteenth of December, and before, professed "that he had no engagement to the Jews, but only what the Scripture holds forth; and that he had hoped by these preachers to have had some clearing of the case, as to conscience: but seeing these agreed not, but were of two or three opinions, it was left the more doubtful to him and the council; and he hoped to do nothing herein hastily or rashly; and had much need of all their prayers, that the Lord would direct them, so as may be to his glory, and to the good of the nation."

And thus was the dismission of that assembly.

The preachers sent unto, that met, were these:

1. Dr. Tuckney of Cambridge, and Dr. Whichcock; Mr. Newcomen of Essex, Dr. Wilkinson of Oxford, and Mr. Rowe of Westminster.

2. Mr. P. Nye, Mr. Carter, Mr. Caryll, Dr. Cudworth, Mr. Bridge, and Mr. Ben of Dorchester.

3. Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Jessey, and Mr. Dike near Essex.

Of merchants: the lord-mayor, the late lord-mayor, and the two sheriffs of London; alderman Tichburne; Mr. Cresset, master of the Charter-house, and Mr. Kiffen.

Lawyers: the lord chief justice Glyn, and the lord chief baron Steele.

The protector shewed a favourable inclination towards our harbouring the afflicted Jews; professing he had no engagements, but upon Scripture-grounds, in several speeches that he made. So did some of his council, though some inclined not to their coming hither. 'The counsel of the Lord, it shall stand.' What shall be the issue, the most wise God knows, and he will order all for the best.

Rabbi Manasses Ben-Israel still remains in London, desiring a favourable answer to his proposals; and, not receiving it, he hath desired, if it may not be granted, that he may have a favourable dismission, that he may return. But, other great affairs being now in hand, and this being a business of very great concernment, no absolute answer is yet returned unto him, unto this present day of the conclusion hereof, being vulgarly the first of April, 1656, old stile; but, according to the holy Scripture, the fourteenth or fifteenth of Abib, the first month, (called also Nisan, Exod. xiii. 4. Esth. iii. 7.) at which time the Jews' feast of Passover was to be kept; Numb. xxviii. 16, 17.

Many Jewish merchants had come from beyond seas to London, and hoped they might have enjoyed as much privilege here, in respect of trading, and of their worshipping the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob here in synagogues publicly, as they enjoy in Holland,

and did enjoy in Poland, Prussia, and other places. But, after the conference and debate at Whitehall was ended, they heard by some, that the greater part of the ministers were against this; therefore they removed hence again to beyond the seas, with much grief of heart, that they were thus disappointed of their hopes. Jews must be planted into their own olive, and great riches shall that be to the believing Gentiles; Rom. xi. 12. 15. Isa. lx. 1, 2, 3. 'Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper, that love it;' Psal. cxxii. 6.

Here followeth Part of a Letter, written at Leghorn, 1652, and sent by the Preacher in the Phœnix Frigate to a Friend in London.

Dear Brethren, Leghorn, a-board the Phœnix, 19 of the 1, 1652.

WE have great cause to rejoice, that the Lord carrieth on the endeavours of his people to long after the good of the poor blind Jews. Some of us were desirous to see their synagogue; and, coming, they were at their service: but their glory we forbear to mention, their lamps, their candlesticks, their mitres, their bells; Aaron's bells they say.

We spoke to one that could speak a little English, a very grave proper man, and asked him the meaning of such and such things; and we, as we durst, spoke of the Messias, and his actings. But he said, "The Messias was not come; moreover, that the Jews are naughty men now, but they shall be good." We asked, "When?" They answered, "It is about ten years first."

They long to hear that England would tolerate them: surely, the promises of Jehovah will be performed, and he will give them favour in all nations. O that England may not be slack herein! Shall they be tolerated by the pope, and by the duke of Florence; by the Turks, and by the Barbarians, and others? And shall England still have laws in force against them? When shall they be recalled?

Truly, we are persuaded, the antichristian state must have a great fall before their conversion. O that the poor Jews might have toleration to come into England, out of her, that they may be succoured in that terrible day!

A POSTSCRIPT, to fill up the following Pages, that else had been vacant: Containing,

1. The Proposals of Rabbi Manasses Ben-Israel, more fully.
2. Part of his Letter, written *Anno* 1647.
3. The late Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England.

SECT. I.

THE substance of the late proposals by Rabbi Manasses Ben-Israel was to desire these favours:

1. That the Hebrew nation may be received here, and be protected from all wrongs; as the English are, or should be.

2. To have public synagogues allowed in England, &c. to observe their religion as they ought.

3. To have a burying-place out of the town, without being troubled by any about their burials.

4. To traffic as freely in all sorts of merchandise, as other strangers.

5. To the end that the Jews that come over may be for the profit of this nation, and prejudice or offend none; that a person of quality may be assigned by the lord-protector, to receive their passports, and their oath of fealty to him.

6. To prevent trouble to our judges and others; that matters of differences amongst the Jews, may be accorded and determined by the heads of synagogues, and others with them, amongst themselves.

7. To repeal any laws, if any such be, as are against Jews, for their greater security.

This was the substance of the proposals.

The protector, when the proposals had been read, said, " If more were proposed than it was meet should be granted, it might now be considered, 1. Whether it be lawful at all to receive in the Jews. 2. If it be lawful; then upon what terms is it meet to receive them?"

His further speaking in favour of that nation, and the expressions of others, *pro* and *contra*, are before related.

SECT. II.

Here followeth Part of a Letter written by Rabbi Manasses, from Amsterdam, in September, 5407, or 1647, to one in England; whilst the Sword in our late Wars consumed many Thousands.

Senhor,

No puedo enar: that is, Sir, I cannot express the joy that I have, when I read your letters, full of desires to see your country prosperous, which is heavily afflicted with civil-wars, without doubt, by the just judgment of God. And it should not be in vain to attribute it to the punishment of your predecessors' faults, committed against ours; when ours, being deprived of their liberty under deceitfulness, so many men were slain, only because they kept close unto the tents of Moses, their legislator, &c.

SECT. III.

Of the Proceedings amongst Indians in New-England.

In 'Martin's Vineyard,' (southerly from Boston and from Cape Cod,) the fourth book, published by Mr. Whitfield, 1651, the Lord began with one Hiacome, 1643, whom his king did strike on the face, because he spoke for the English. Hiacome was patient, and said to one afterwards, " I had one hand for injuries, and the other laid greater hold on God."

1645, and 1646, Indians observed, that God's hand, by a sickness, was far more on them, than on Hiacome's house and friends: and met, and would know things of religion. He spoke of one God, &c. A great Indian said, that had thirty-seven gods, " Shall I throw away thirty-seven gods for one?" Hiacome said, " I have done it, and you see I am now preserved." That Indian said, " I will throw away all my gods too, and serve that one God with you."

1647, Sagamar Towanquatick, turning from paganism, was shot by a devilish Indian in the night: the next morning Mr. Mahew, that preacheth to those Indians, found him praising God that he was not killed.

1649, many Indians came to Hiacome to learn more of God, and were encouraged not to fear their Pawaw witches.

1650, by Hiacome's means, Humanequem turned from paganism.

In the fifth book, called 'Strength out of Weakness,' Mr. Mahew relates, 1651, three converted from being Pawaws, losing those gains, friends, &c. there is a conference with an Indian.

In the sixth book, called 'Tears of Repentance,' 1653, Mr. Mahew sets down the covenant to serve Jehovah, that those Indians made, 1652; and that about thirty Indian children were then at school. These praying Indians were shortly to be gathered into one town.

Mr. Elliot relates the confessions and repentance of about fifteen Natic Indians, in New-England Bay: their own words Englished, and the hopeful words of two Indian children, under three years of age, before they died, as, " God and Jesus Christ help me; God and Jesus Christ bless it;" before it would eat: the other, when its bawbles were brought it, being in pain, putting them away, it said, " I will leave my basket, for I am going to God; I will leave my spoon and my tray, for I am going to God."

In the seventh, and last book, called 'A late and further Manifestation of the Gospel's Progress amongst Indians in New-England,' Mr. Elliot relates the examination of the Indians at Rocksbury, the thirteenth of the fourth month, 1654, before an assembly of the elders in and about the bay, and others, concerning their knowledge in the grounds of the Christian religion: the narration whereof is judged fit to be printed, that God may have praises for his free grace wonderfully manifested; as it is attested by,

H. WHITFIELD, SIMON ASHE, and
ED. CALAMY, J. ARTHUR.

The BRITISH BELLMAN.

Printed in the Year Of the Saints Fear.

Anno Domini 1648.

[Quarto; containing twenty-four pages.]

ORDERED,

That a competent number of these books be forthwith printed, for the service of the king and kingdom, and be dispersed through all counties, cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, and all other market-towns whatsoever, within this realm of England, and dominion of Wales; and that all, who love their king and country, and hate rebellion and treason, do forthwith make all provision and speed that may be, to rise, and take by force, or otherwise, all garrisons they can, in all parts of the kingdom; and summon in the country to them, for the speedier suppression of these abominable malicious rebels and traitors, this prevailing party in the parliament houses, and their army; who, by wicked craft and subtlety, have undone three flourishing kingdoms already, and yet would again engage us in another war with our brethren of Scotland. It is also desired, that our brethren of the association would keep their men in the field, and, when Cromwell is gone for Wales, fall upon the other part of the army, remaining in the country near us, with all the power of horse and foot they can make; and we will endeavour, in the city, to second them to the utmost of our power. Now is the time for us to free ourselves from slavery, and put an end unto taxations; we shall never have a settlement else.

O Yes, O yes; If any one can give me notice of four great ships, laden with money, lately at Gravesend, to be passed without search, by ordinance of parliament; and can help to take them, he shall be well paid for his pains, and have many thanks.

O yes, O yes; If there be any more fools or knaves, that will go soul and body to the devil, for an heretical, perfidious piece of a parliament, incendiaries, boutifeus, Faux's of faction and sedition, with brazen faces, and seared consciences; having nothing but perjury and lyes in their mouths; falsehoods, treasons, and mis-religions in their hearts; daily murders, robberies, and oppressions in their actions; let them repair to the red-nosed rebel, theiftenant Oliver or his black general Tom. Who helps to disthrone the king, to change monarchical government, to subvert the Protestant religion, and laws of our land, to cry down presbytery and crown; the kinglings, the buffoons, the mountebanks of Westminster? Who saves the lordly lurdanes[1], after seven years misrule, undoing of the king-

[1] [Or *lordanes*: a term of contempt for idle dolts, said to have been derived from a Danish usage in England. See Bailey.]

dom, imprisoning, and abusing of the king, and suffering Haman to strike him, from taking leave of their allies at Tower-hill and Tyburn?

O yes; Who sacrifices the city and country another seven years to their insatiable avarice? Who helps them to pill and poll them by their ravenous implements, the committees and their substitutes, for more money to send beyond sea?

O yes; Who buys bishops, malignants lands? Who buys Paul's steeple? Who buys the king's cast shoes and boots? Who buys his guards coats? Who buys sun and moon?

O yes; Who sends them thanks for their ordinance, for forcing taxations for their four last bills, and declaration against the king? Who beats the boys from cats-pellet, and stool-ball? Who fights with Poyer, with the lord Inchequin, with colonel Jones, of Dublin, and our brethren of Scotland? Who; and they shall have new snap-sacks in hand, blue bonnets, and capon-tails, when the Scotch and Welch be conquered; promises enough for the present, and as much pay at last as those that have been turned off with nothing.

In the beginning of this hell-spewed sessions, we had as large promises of happy accruements to this church and nation as subtle treason could in sly and specious language possibly suggest. We had them ushered in with a protestation in the first place; in which our religion, our laws, our king's honour, his parliaments' privileges, our own liberties and properties, were the common themes. We had them waited upon with an oath after, and a covenant, which nevertheless were only to be as the passages at which Jephtha's soldiers tried the lisping Ephraimites in their Sibboleth. Witness your answer of the twenty-sixth of May, 1646, unto our City-remonstrance, in the latter end of page 2.

We had many pamphlets commended daily unto us, The integrity of a parliament; how that it could have no sinister end: as if a multitude could be void of knaves to contrive, and of fools to concur in mischief. Many plots were discovered daily against our religion and our laws, in which ye Machiavels of Westminster, ye Malevolos might have claimed the chiefest livery, as Beelzebub's nearest attendants in that kind: but they must be fathered still upon our old justicers; and indeed they can do little, that cannot bely an enemy. Ye thought it best to cry whore first, that in them you might by little and little undermine our king and us; and sacrifice our religion, our laws, our goods, our lives and liberties; yea, our very souls too; for ye have silenced almost all our able guides, and daily burn their escripts unto your own boundless lusts, ambition, pride, covetousness, and pleasure. These were the originals, the springs of your after-acted villainies; not that candour and zeal so often dissembled in your glossy declarations; it is now sufficiently manifest by your actions, the truest interpreters of men's intentions. How would you have us think you really intend as you pretended, when the courses you run conduce to the very contrary ends? Whilst the king and his faithfuls retained their places of dominion, we enjoyed such golden days of peace and plenty, as we must never see again, so long as you harpyes, you sucking purse-leeches and your implements be our masters.

Were we not enough damnified with your soldiers, during the time of the war; but you must still burden us with them, now it is ended? Did not taxations then light heavy enough upon us, but you must continue them still? How could you consume more than twenty millions of money upon such slender armies in so few years? The soldiers have had little else, save bread and cheese, which have come from the country, over and above those vast sums: oh! your coffers are not yet full enough; some of your monkey brats are not yet provided for. But hye you hence, it is best, you urchins, you caterpillers of our commonwealth, to New-England and the Spaw, after our gold you have sent away; lest on a sudden we send you to Styx without a penny in your mouths to pay your passage to your god Pluto. Our brethren of Scotland, and the lord Inchequin, will find you more work than the boys in Moorfields and the Strand. Your goodly glossings and rabble-serving collusions have been but like watermen upon the Thames, looking one way and rowing another: and now you see your holy cause will not succeed by opposition, you come up, and would close (since money will not work upon our brethren of Scotland,) with our city in the Presbyterian government, in the restitution of the militia and Tower: but for the Protestant religion, and our old rubrick, you still wave them.

I pray you let me ask your honesties a question? Could Say and his confederates have their nocturnal meetings so frequently, and not have some treasonable designs, which the rest of the houses and ourselves might not be privy to? We may see now the reason of your bill, to sit as long as you listed: we trusted, such rare men were you in leading our faith and belief so in a string, the ground thereof had been the redressing of the many grievances of the kingdom, and transaction of the Irish affairs, as was pretended; but it proves otherwise. That which, had you been honest, would have made this nation the happiest under heaven; you have made the bane and ruin of all good people: you have demeaned yourselves meet as an aged gentleman said of you, when he heard the king had signed you that bill: "You would (said he) grow so ambitious, that you would set all the kingdom on fire; and when once you had got your fingers into its purse, you would become so insatiably covetous, that you would never seek the settlement of peace." Whether this man guessed aright or no, let any who hath his five senses judge.

We likewise call to mind your other bill for his majesty's referring the choice of his privy-council unto you, coloured by your outcries against those his old faithfuls, and your dishonest proceedings against them; your framing scandalous petitions amongst yourselves, and sending them abroad for hands: a notable way to work upon exasperated minds, and to exasperate minds to work upon against them; but a way which may destroy any innocent man. While the shepherd had his dogs, you wolves could not raven his flocks; but since you supplanted them, what pranks you and your creatures, your substitutes have plaid, we have seen and felt; and you or they, or all of you, may one day answer for. We may say now, as no kingdom or state ever yet could, "there is scarce one honest man in office amongst us:" but no marvel; we know the proverb, 'Like 'master, like men.'

Oh, but we wrong you, you are special patriots; it is you Presbyterians may be no further trusted, you be the honesties, there is no nay, and take it as granted, though nothing more questioned, or so questionable. We thought your exclusion of bishops out of the upper house, and bedaubing them with the goodly habiliments of Arminianism and popery, had been for some other end, than that for which you expelled the eleven members: to paucify the number of those you conceived would countervote you, that you might easily do what you lusted, and lead the left shallowlings, *nolens volens*, in the trace of darkness; and that you might unquestioned, *adhinnire* after fresh maidenheads, and neighbours beds. Ill courses cannot endure good discipline; for this very cause, had the prophets and fathers of old, nay, our blessed Saviour and his apostles, lived here in England in these days; they had certainly been made new papists by this quintessence of villainy, this wicked piece of a parliament, and their hellish helpers. We thought your votes against pluralities had been for promotion of the Gospel, not division of the clergy; and to make the wiseakers, the look-like geese, the naughty part of them (that will be any thing for preferment, *omnium horarum homines*) for you: neither did we, till now of late, imagine your possessing yourselves of his majesty's shipping and Cinque-Ports, (so finely shadowed with the remembrance of the late spoiled Spanish fleet, and your desires of the kingdom's safety,) had been the prologue to this treacherous tragedy you have since acted, much less ourselves should be the last scene thereof; yet herein we must needs acknowledge heaven just in our punishment; for it was we, Presbyterians, that enabled you to your impious illegal courses of slaughter, plunder, and sequestration, contrary to the known laws of this realm, (yourselves know it very well,) against the king and his servants; who, I am now persuaded in my conscience, being farther discerning than ourselves, aimed at nothing, but bringing you to the trial of the law for your treasons, that we might enjoy the benefit of the laws of our land, and the Protestant religion, as it stood established by our law. God forgive us our amissnesses.

I pray you, if a man might ask your high and mightinesses a question, What meant your displacing of the earl of Essex, and your after poisoning him: (for it is certain you did so, many of us know it, deny it as much as you will;) and your putting of your scoundrel army and their mechanick captains, under the command of Fairfax and Cromwell; two

atheistical independents? What meant your late force done upon our city, and the eleven members; your displacing and imprisoning our lord-mayor and aldermen? For it was you that went away to the army that set on them; though now you say, you knew nothing of the last plot. Had those that were cavalierish plaid us such tricks of leger-de-main, we would have cast in their teeth——What not?

But you, our dear brethren, are men of another stamp; yet it is hard to say, whether barrel better herring. I hope you did it out of simplicity, with a good, charitable, pure intent, to promote and set forward the holy cause. You would fain say something for yourselves, but I know not what: you meant well; but the ape hath discovered himself to be so, by cracking of nuts. Thus doth malice, ambition, and indiscreet zeal, make many men lose their wits, they know not where. Indeed, such tricks befit well your independent cause, not to be promoted, but by collusion; but your transported saucy spirits may haply, in the end, be taught to be more submiss, and sparing in abusing them, from whom you had your power. You would fain come off with us now; but stay a little, good Mr. Mufties: you thought it easy to inslave us English to strangle in the birth our classical projects, our consistorial practices, and conventual designs of zealous brethren in the land; such illuminates you counted us; you sure thought our brains made of the pap of an apple, and our hearts of aspen-leaves. Religion, which should be the rule, must be only a result of policy, a stalking-horse to catch fools, and be pretended only to serve Babylonian turns. But go you, serve Baal and Ashtaroth, if ye like it; we will no popular cantonings of dismembered Scripture; none of your missives prophetical determinations in their heretical conventicles: we will not build our salvation upon the facing impudence of such light skirts, such hellish impostors; let the truth they teach, and your parliamentary proceedings, come to scanning; the Turkish Alcoran, and Cade's, and Ket's, and Piercy's, and Nevil's actions, will be as warrantable, as suitable with the word of God, and law of this land. Though you have eclipsed the lamp of light, you must not think us as geese, which, when they are driven on by night, and a long staff held over them, will go without noise or reluctancy, holding down their heads. We, Protestants, are not so crest-fallen, as that we shall go on, as you Independents would dispose us. If your gifted men, with their new learning, (for old they have none,) can teach us more than yet we know; or you, with your new policy, can contrive us better laws than those we have; we will yield, and thank them for such instructions, you for such legislations.

I beseech you, will your wisdoms, or common sense, or understanding, or what you will call it, approve of nothing in our common-prayer book, that you present us with an *inane nihil*, a new directory of a noddy synod; or find you so many deficiencies in monarchical government, that you should seek to introduce an ochlocracy, a people-sway? You know the king can do no wrong; and we know, that by him we had redress, which very few could obtain from you or your officers, of wrongs: why then sought you to depose him, and to change the regal government? O, it was to crown yourselves, and undo us. But hear ye, *Sequitur superbos ultor à tergo Deus*, (if you believe there is one); pride will have a fall. Lo! even the very touching of the crown hath already crushed you, hath made the people every where forsake you, and all the wiles and flatteries in your bosoms will not regain them. Would you not give the maker leave to dispose of his creature? Shall not he govern by what substitutes he pleases, but they must be supplanted by you? Behold, ye misborn elves of Lucifer, your impious actions: in this very thing ye join yourselves unto Apollyon, ye encamp against God that made you, and know assuredly, that though ye may escape punishment in this life, ye must die, and rise, and come to judgment: but we hope our brethren of Scotland will shew you the suburbs of hell in this world. Our people see enough now your jugglings, and how you turn cat in the pan, and shift off things from yourselves to your army. Yet, the while ye seemed to look and run two several ways, and now ye do so again; but, like Samson's foxes, ye joined together in the tail. We observed, how that the army, when the kingdom murmured at the surprisal of the city, professed themselves your servants, and your carriage of those businesses; and that you, and the heads of your army, have since taken an oath,

to live and die together; and that you shift off the imprisonment of our lord-mayor and aldermen from yourselves to Fairfax, and he to you again: but they must lie in prison howsoever, they must not be restored unto their places. I pray you, whose hands then will the militia and Tower be in, if they be restored, Presbyterians or Independents? Take notice, my fellow citizens, of this slur; if we should assist them in another war, we should again be baffled and muffled by them.

We remember that ordinance of yours, in or about August last, wherein you threaten imprisonment, plunder, and slaughter, (by Fairfax and his army,) unto those that shall refuse to pay any of your illegal, and (now that the war is ended) unnecessary impositions; by way of excise, loan, mizes,[2] weekly and monthly assessments; though, to go after the rest of levies, the advancement of yourselves and implements, and your brats, not public service of the kingdom. I pray you, may I ask your knaveships, neither better nor worse, but even so,) how stands that ordinance with our liberties and properties; the two wonted sons of your former declarations? And you have, the other week, stopped the payment of debentures, and pensions, to those that have lost their limbs and husbands in your service; to let us see which way our monies must go, and your soldiers what they shall have at last from you.

We guess the reason of your sending away the king to the Isle of Wight: the people's hearts were too much hazarded, when he was near; yourselves, and your taxations, could not be long enough lived; you feared petitions and impeachments, if he should get power to call you to his bar, and that your accounts should be reviewed. You have carried yourselves well in your places the while, have you not? Or thought you to tutor him, with a bit and a bob, into observance of you; as men do apes? When you had him there, and mued up in a stinking new-built room, under seven locks, and made him his own scullion; when his fire wanted repair, and Haman bestowed some buffets on him, and all appearance of succour kept from him, you thought he would, for his enlargement, do any thing; but know you, we take notice what it was you would have had him done, and of these your subtle ways to bring it to pass; that which you solicited him for, was the signing of the four bills; which had been, if you could have forced it from him, the utter ruin of us all, and of our posterity after us: you would have brought us into a worse condition than Turkish slaves; you would have had more power from the king to abuse (now you have a rascal army in readiness to inforce) than himself, or any of his predecessors, had to use over this free-born nation. What Mordecai's would not have bowed to you? Or whoever should impeach you of evil, should have been straightway made more miserable than Job; the Sabæans, your committees, should fall upon his oxen, his cows and sheep; your sequestrators should fall upon his rents, and the Chaldeans should fall upon his camels; your troops should fall upon his horses, and you yourselves would starve him in prison; you would find some public use for his private estate. We thank you heartily for your good projects: are these they you have been these seven years in hatching? If the king had signed you those bills, how should any man make his will, and bar you from being his executors? But we hope God, in his due time, will release us, and pay you the wages of your wicked ways: our king's suffering for us shall for the future teach us our duty better towards him. We know what offers of gracious acts he hath from time to time proposed; but, because they were conducing to our good, not your ambition and avarice, therefore you refused them, and say they were not fit for you to receive. We think yet upon your late declaration against him, (when you had before-hand traduced him all over the countries, by your miscreant imps of the father of lyes, trooping Independents,) as guilty of his late father's death, and shut him up; not giving him leave to answer it, or so much as notice of it, but bidding Haman tell him you would try him for his life. This was an honest part in you, was it not? Yes, like as honest as your other dealings: you drew low upon the lees of malice, when you had nothing left but a recapitulation of former lyes and slanders; you shall have thanks for it, yes marry shall ye.

[2] [Or *mises*, taxes. Mise-money, says Bailey, is money given by way of composition or agreement to purchase any liberty, &c.]

Send again your petitions to Taunton-Deane, in Somersetshire, and Rumford, in Essex, or somewhere else; happily somebody may thank you now. Will you take my counsel, and thank one another: so shall you not go without thanks. You rake-shames, hot burning coals be your portions, when you deal so basely and treacherously with your king. What justice may your fellow-subjects, a little while your slaves, look for from you? But what may men expect from impudence and wickedness in the abstracts: from men, (do I say men?) from devils; from things worse than devils; so often guilty of perjury, murder, robbery, oppression, and treason? You cursed caitiffs, how suits this with the law of God or of the land, with your protestation and your covenant? You would seem to alledge many reasons for that declaration, but those, that moved you thereto, were much otherwise than those you lay down; they were the final accomplishment of your first intended treasons, the extirpation of monarchical government, the coronation of yourselves, and our slavery; which to bring about, now that you had lost yourselves in our opinions, you devised this recapitulation of your pristine forgeries, with which you had formerly befooled us all: confiding, it would put out of our memories the late seals of your leger-de-main dealings, and reprint in us those jealousies and disaffections towards our gracious sovereign, which in several they did before.

But stay, since he chooseth rather to endure your disconsolate prison, than pass you such bills as may be ours and our children's ruin; you must (rake you hell for lyes, and skum the devils) never more look again to divide our hearts from him; you have discovered yourselves too far, to regain any interest in our affections; we would enjoy our religion and our laws, which we must not look to do, until we get you to the block and gallows. When we looked for a settlement of our king and kingdom, lo! you false your words, and break covenant with our brethren of Scotland; you provide arms and snap-snacks, and prepare for more wars. Never were rakehells, buffoons, rebels, vermin, so desperately set to undo their own native soil, and church in which they were baptized: but we know the reason, ye live too well, ye fare too full, ye can have your feasts, each day, of all the dainty cates our city-cookery can devise; ye grow too fat in bag and body, by fishing in troubled waters, to desire peace; neither regard ye the empty purses, and hungry bellies, that ye have made in the city; especially since your lurching it out of the Presbyterians' command. Ye may see if ye would (but ye will not) multitudes of thousands, who formerly had trading and work enough for subsistence, now sit hunger-starved in chimney-corners, without employment to get them bread. Ye know, that since ye took the Tower and militia from us, and sent away our king, the city hath had no trading, and yet ye send not for him home; but ye can send for your taxations, as if our trade were good. Ye have made this famous city of London not only poor, but the very scorn and mock of all the world, by your force done upon it in August; and, as if ye had not then enough wronged our honour, ye must, the other day, triumph and lord it through our streets with a handful of your scummy army; and, in derision, as ye passed along, bid us go buy more swords for our apprentices. Had ye not meddled in the business, but made use of us, we could have ruled them without slaughter, and would; but, so ye may peer it, ye weigh not our dishonour, nor their blood.

I may seem a new Britannicus for thus phrasing you, but it was ever held lawful to call a spade a spade; it is good to uncase such imps, that they may be known what they be; it is good to discover such panthers, lest, when you have allured more with the sweet scent, and party-colouredness of skin (I mean your calumnies against our friends, and your sugared declarations) you, as these beasts, prey upon them with bloody tallons; as already you have done upon us. St. Paul gave not Elymas any gentle terms, nor did St. Peter speak butter and honey to Simon Magus; our Saviour himself, that man of meekness, called Herod a fox, and Judas a devil, when they deserved it. Since you aim not at peace, but make it your whole endeavour, your special study, day and night, by all kind of iniquity, to keep faction and sedition on foot, and maintain opposition, even where it needs not; ye are to be curried in your kind, and rubbed as ye deserve; not to be smoothed

or sleeked over, lest ye please yourselves too well in your impiety, and our oppression never have redress. Ye talked much in the beginning of your sessions, that ye would open obstructions of law, not stop the course of justice and equity; but hear a little your own falsehood, and go chew the cud, as when ye receive letters from Scotland.

Give us leave to let our neighbours understand the suits late in Chancery, betwixt one Wilkes, and one Dutton of the neighbourhood of Nantwich in Cheshire; and two knaves, providers of your Independent faction there, one Becket, and one Gellicorse. The business was thus: Wilkes and Dutton, good honest Presbyterians, had much cattle and cheese taken from them in the time of the war, by Becket and Gellicorse, without any order from the council of war there; and the goods not converted to the use of the publick, as was pretended, but embezzled by the two providers: now, since that the courts were opened, Wilkes and Dutton repair to the Chancery, for relief; the exchequer at Chester being not as then open, or not daring to meddle with any of yours, for fear of a snub; and Becket, for himself and Gellicorse, hasteth to sir William Brereton, goodly sir William Brereton, who forthwith makes relation of the matter unto you, his brethren, of the two houses; and you (all of you apprehensive enough, of what might betide yourselves, and your honest committees, as well as the providers, if such suits had audience,) presently dispatch a private ordinance unto all the courts, then open in the kingdom, commanding that no lawyer should plead, nor judge determine in any such cause: whereupon, the plaintiffs were sent home with double loss, cast thus unjustly in charges, and many threats for desiring justice; and their sollicitor forced to fly the court, for looking after the business. Was this honest dealing? Was this an opening or obstructing of law? Tell now, and call yourselves knaves. Ye are brave men to steer a state, are ye not? The city and kingdom both have known enough of such like seizures; but we shall straight find a way to strip Æsop's magpy out of her plundered plumes.

You made out many ordinances, that your under-officers should not wrong the publick, by virtue of any act, order or ordinance of parliament, or without warrant; by taxing, levying, collecting, or receiving; by seizing, selling, disbursing, or disposing any monies, goods, debts, rents, or profits of friends or others; or by setting or letting to farm delinquents lands and tythes. But you never held them to the observation of such your rules, nor punish any frauds or misdemeanours in any such kind, though justice were required; but would send away the plaintiffs, as you would have done the Warwickshire gentry, had they not been so many, and so earnest, as that you feared the revolt of that country; with threats bedaubing them with the notions of malignancy, and desires to divide you amongst themselves. For whereas there was a great subsidy granted about November, 1642, for the then present affairs of this kingdom, and of Ireland; the one moiety of the said subsidy paid, at least in most places, by the several counties, to commissioners, according as the same act appointed: nevertheless, there have since warrants issued forth, which are kept safe to be produced, (if time once serve, for such accusations,) signed with the proper hands of some of your members, amongst the other your committees, for the re-collecting of the said money paid before, and much more by colour of the said act. And whereas you made an ordinance, bearing date, October the sixteenth, 1644, for the supply of the British army in Ireland, ordering a weekly pay, to last for the space of a year; and the one moiety of the assessment to be in corn (at least in many places so), the other in money; the same ordinance was not put in execution, (I could tell you where) according to the tenor thereof: but about July, 1645, warrants were sent out by some of your members, (then in the countries, and councils of war,) for the raising of divers great sums of money; amounting to more than twice as much, as was limited by the said ordinance: and immediately, upon the former collections, new warrants sent abroad, for vast sums to be paid weekly, without any orders from you; and yet you neither can find any law for your taxations; and, in default of payment, our goods and chattels by violence, as well to the person, as goods of the party, have been distrained, detained, and sold without speedy payment, according to the collectors' demands; with a command to the high-

sheriff, delegated by him to the under-sheriff, not to grant any replevin for our goods and chattels so violently taken away, contrary to the liberty of the subject, and the known laws and customs of this kingdom.

You talked of calling for accounts, and seemed to do so: but we are certain, that the revenues of delinquents' estates would have defrayed all, or the greatest part of the charge of the war, without any so great burthens to the country, as have been laid upon it; had they been faithfully and really disposed of, to the best advantage, and benefit of the publick: but you have all made up your accounts honestly, it must needs be so; and indeed where one thief must account before another, who thinks any great discoveries will be made? But let me tell you, and I will tell you truly, how accounts were made: you nominated committees for examination (men as much in fault as the accountants), who put their hands to all reckonings, as they were presented; without looking, if they were just and straight, or no: met thus, you tried accounts. Who may think that those broken-fortuned and beggarly knaves (of which sort of people, for the most part, your officers consisted,) would compass such estates, as they have done in so short a time, and bring in just and true accounts? I trow, no man. Nay, your own accounts, if they were examined as they should be, would prove no juster than the others; else, how come you by all that money, you have, from time to time, sent beyond sea? We remember how vehemently you startled and exclaimed, when some of our city would have had an account of the proposition-plate.

You made an ordinance, that your sequestrators and their under-officers, the collectors and prizers, should occupy no sequestered farms: but the most of them did hold very good demesnes of two or three-hundred *per annum*, and paid not a penny rent to the use of the publick for them; neither wanted they their pay from other levies.

You likewise made an ordinance, that they should sell malignants' goods, at the best rate, for the advantage of the publick: but they have been suffered to take what they pleased to themselves; and the rest they have sold to their favourites, many times, for less than half so much as others would have given for them.

You made an ordinance, that they should take no bribes; and yet neither they, nor you, would ever do any courtesy, or act of distributive justice, without a bribe.

There were (in many cities and towns taken in) booties seized, worth better than two-hundred thousand pounds, in money and plate, and jewels, and household furniture; (I could tell you where:) and yet, your committees, your appraisers, and men that sold them, have not been ashamed to say, they made but thirteen-thousand pounds of such vast booties; though it hath been publicly known they have had nineteen thousand pounds, in money and plate, out of one house; and fifteen-thousand pounds-worth of one man's goods out of another. But, truly, how they should put things to the best, I cannot see; running the way they did: for they would first proclaim a day of sale, to fetch in the country chapmen, and (when they were come) put the day off again, to weary them out of the towns with expence; and then the non-fighting officers would take the best and most of the prey unto themselves; besides selling Robin-Hood's pennyworths for bribes. This was the deportment of many of them. Ye should have summoned in the country, and the cavaliers, to have shewed what money, and goods, and provision, was fetched from them from time to time, and by whom; and have compared their notes with your accountants. Ye should have examined the musters of your men, and so ye might have found out receipts, and guessed what disbursements might have been; and this would soon have been done by many officers, and many divisions of the counties: and who, but such as are altogether void of honesty and shame, would carry themselves thus unrighteously, or bear with it? These things ye could not choose but know, (for those of you, that were abroad in the wars, were eye-witnesses of the same,) and yet ye never minded to redress them.

After this manner have you ever looked to the public welfare, and no otherwise. Besides, it was usual for your Independent faction (though no fighters) at taking of towns, to

get orders from committees (by scraping legs and crouching) for cavaliers' houses; and then take goods and all for their own use, without payment of a penny for them to the publick. This is not unknown to many: and (as if you would leave no tricks unpractised, by which you might beguile and abuse the country,) ye devised another trick to get more of their monies: Your committees must lend you, but what? The monies they have gathered from the country by loans and mizes, and the country must pay eight *per cent.* interest, for loan of the same. Thus do ye daily only consult how to delude and abuse the country; thus do ye continue your sitting for no other end, but that ye may suck up the fat of the kingdom: but ye shall see, now it hath found your knavery, it will shortly turn you over another leaf; it hath provided a trap to catch your foxes. Ye cried out upon the king for heavy taxes, which nevertheless, by your own computation, amounted but to seven-hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, in the whole, throughout the city and kingdom; which was no great sum to build and maintain so many ships and soldiers, as his majesty then had for the defence of his kingdoms; and ye quarrelled at the manner of his levying such monies, forsooth, because there was no statute-law for the same; as if the *pater patriæ* might not (where the letter of the law falls too short) make use of his own and his council's discretion for his people's preservation. Oh! but, had he made you the collectors, that you might have licked your fingers, (as ye have done since ye put yourselves into offices,) all had been well enough; but, for the mass of money levied, if your proposition-money, your fifths and twentieth parts, your continual loans and mizes, and your other innumerable taxations; your sequestrations of goods and lands, your plunder and pillage, your soldiers free-quarter, and provisions for your stores were, or could be cast up, they would be found valuable to buy twenty times seven-hundred thousand pounds *per ann.* Thus have your good state-physicians medicined your diseases: yet we cannot deny you to be cunning doctors, ye have kept our purses so long in physick.

And I pray you, had ye any precedent in the law to imprison men unconvicted of vice, and make them ransom themselves with great sums of money, as ye did (when ye sent the propositions through the country) those that refused to furnish you according to your demand? I trow not. Ye know it is a breach of the law, and an infringement of the *Magna Charta;* both which ye, forsworn wretches, swore to maintain. Ye accuse the king of neglecting Ireland, and lo! since the war was ended here, what care have ye taken to relieve it? Ye have sent sometimes handfuls of men over, to be cut off as soon as they came there: ye might as good have hanged them here, before they had gone, as sent them thither by such inconsiderable companies. This is the great care ye take of those plantations, and of this people of England. O, but now you will mend in that point: ye are beating drums all over the countries, for soldiers for Ireland; but the truth is, it is to recruit your army here: ye mean to send them into the West to fight (you will tell them, when they come there) with Irish rebels newly landed; ye have not men enough to spare hence; and, "If we should (says Cromwell) draw our army off this city, it would follow us in the rear; and, being but such a handful, as we now are, they would cut us all off." We are in a pitiful case now; to stay or go we know not: stay, and the Scots and the lord Inchiquin come in upon us; go, and the city follows us. I smell a rat; the blazing comets are going out with a filthy stink; an ordinance of parliament to pass four great ships without search, laden with money, and now at Gravesend, or newly put to sea. Nay, but your soldiers a raising are for Ireland: ye have a while ago made an ordinance for the levying of twenty-thousand pounds *per* month for their maintenance; so ye made out before, in August 1644, for the promotion of that service; but the cavaliers took sixty-thousand pounds of that money at Leicester. Dublin ye had not then: I pray you, was that the way to Cork and Kinsale, or Youghall? Ye blame the cavaliers of Cheshire for stopping some clothes bound for Ireland; and yet, the apparel given by those of the city for those soldiers' use, was all (which was worth any thing) sold to the brokers in Long-Lane: only a few rags, that would not make money here, were sent away. A man might here go far enough to put you out of your own practice; who, if ye had not so much

honesty, as to forbear calumniating your enemies, should have had so much discretion, as not to accuse another of that which, had ye had that good sign of a bad cause in you, blushing, might ashame you; being by recrimination retorted upon yourselves.

We have heard much of your outcries against the whore of Babylon, and your charging, with much bitterness and vehemency, of her vices upon the see of Rome, and its disciples, whose footsteps ye trace in your seditious courses; but if ye would look a little into the signification of the word, and into yourselves and your proceedings; what towers of Babel ye are erecting; what imaginations, what anarchy and confusion ye are setting up; what missionaries ye send abroad to broach all sorts of damned heresies, those locusts of the bottomless pit, your gifted men, as ye call them; your suppression of godly and learned divines and their writings; and your countenancing and licensing any thing that savours of the Stygian lake, ye would find something reflecting upon yourselves. The word *Babel* signifies *confusion;* and that, which is chiefly observable of a whore, is her prostitution of herself to all; her wiles, by which she inticeth her lovers, and wherewith inticed she retains them to her. Now, whether ye have not prostituted yourselves unto all, let England judge. In the beginning ye sollicited, by five or six several letters, sir Arthur Aston, a known papist, before his majesty entertained him; and yet you cried out against the king for accepting his service. Ye sent five-hundred Jews (enemies unto the Christian faith) in your army to Newberry; there were an hundred of them slain upon the ground, known by the mark of circumcision: ye have pleased, and run on with the rude multitude, the frothy scum of the people, in their worst and wickedest humours. Ye have suffered them to deface the earthly beauty of God's earthly houses; to rend and tear in pieces our Common-prayer-book, and the priest's surplice, a badge of innocency; to pull down crosses, the proper cognisance, by which the world might know to what master this kingdom did belong; and now at last ye invite men to deny the master too. Ye countenance atheists and hereticks, and frown on them that desire to quell them; nay, ye fight with them, and kill them. Ye have continually, during the whole time of the war, (and since too, now ye might better have restrained them,) suffered every rapscallion, that bore arms amongst you, to abuse and trample on, as he pleased, the free-holders of the country; to lord it over them; to beat and command them and their houses, where they quartered, or passed by. Rogues, that before mended pots and kettles, or begged with butter-milk canns about the country, must now call for rost, and beat all the house, if it be not to be had. Neither, when such grievances were made known unto you, did ye curb or check the sauciness of your soldiers herein, but rather deride the plaintiffs. How stood, think ye, such abusings with the freedoms of the English farmers, and with the national covenant and protestation? And, as a whore hath ever her sleights, by which she inveigles her lovers, so have ye had yours. As the Venetian courtesans, at their first coming to the city to serve their duke, send out a crier through the streets, to proclaim their beauties, and the price thereof; so ye, in the beginning of your sessions, sent abroad your declarations in the specious notions of liberty, property, and privilege; and the price, some proposition-money, or some place: and, even as whores, when they have drawn in silly shallowlings, will ever find some trick to retain them, till they have brought them to a morsel of bread, especially if they doubt their starting; so have you still drawn our apprehensions off your perfidious actions, and kept our brains busied and deluded with your diurnals and your ordinances, which you have ever studied for, and set forth to this very end, not that which you express in the front of them, 'the satisfaction and right in-'formation of the kingdom.' When you had discovered your cloven feet in August, and saw the people's grumblings, you thought an ordinance for making up accounts would be a piece of satisfaction for the present; and you knew the vulgar's brains retain not long the phantasms of things: but what performance was of that, I have before in some part, as I could, shewed.

You have moved rumours likewise oftentimes, and tell us again so every day, of sending for the king, and settling the kingdom; only to keep the people in suspence, and by vain hopes of you, to retard our endeavours for our own relief: by that you may still, by disarming

towns, get more power to continue your tyranny, now growing towards an end. For you never intend it; you are such notorious abominable traitors, you have so much abused his majesty, his late royal mother, and his royal spouse, his children, and us his people, that you dare not do it. How often, of late, have we heard, that Hampton-Court hath been making ready, and that Cromwell hath been gone to fetch him this day, and that, and the other; and it is nothing so.

Your diurnals buzzed us in the ears with much good news of many victories (lest we should have set from Dan to Bethel towards the temple) even the first year of the war, when our armies went to wreck every where; and we had soon found it, had not our brethren of Scotland come in to our assistance: yet you send them, you say, to prevent misinformation. But when they began to speak against you, (as after your taking away the militia of this city of London, a thing I never heard nor read before, that any parliament had to do withal) they must be silenced till the people's thoughts were drawn aside. We have been often flattered in the country with easement of our taxes, and free-quarter, if we would pay one small weekly payment, and quarter but a little longer: and, lo! presently you have sent (I am sure to many places of the kingdom) for whole multitudes of vast sums, one in the neck of another, that we have almost nothing left. Thus have you, in your consultations, (even from the beginning of your sessions, even unto this very day,) devised nothing but how to delude and beggar us all, and how to keep war on foot: else, why accepted you not those many fair offers of a gracious king; but still, as you got more power, incroached both upon him and us? Why send you not for him home, but still delay us? It is not far to him. We will study a way henceforth to ease ourselves of such magistrates, such sheepclad wolves. It is not your going back to the articles presented at Hampton-Court shall now make your atonement with us: you never took a way yet to make him a glorious king, or to reform, but deform religion; or to settle us under our ancient laws, or in our native liberties. Had you power, we know your minds: we give you no thanks for your pretending to settle presbytery, since you wanted power to hinder it; nor for your late ordinance against hereticks. Put on your considering-caps somewhat closer to your cocks-combs, and see now if you can re-ingratiate yourselves with our city: see if it will thank you to transfer its militia and Tower (out of these in whose they now be) into other Independents' hands, and yet you did not that till very now: see if you can engage your brethren in the city, and us in a new war; and we shall observe who be ready in the same: see if you can or dare force us presbyterians, or our apprentices, to accompany you; and they shall carry away your weapons, and join with our friends your enemies. You must no more look to force or mugle men with the name of a parliament (being but a prevailing party), and fill your coffers by deceit. We will believe you no further; nor Fairfax, though he goes again to hear the lord-primate preach at the Temple, or proclaim for king, or king and parliament. Carry you the king captived along with you which way ever you go: as strictly as you have watched him, he hath given the prince power to contract for him; we are got before-hand with you in that. Counterfeit his seal, and make what proclamations you will hereafter in his name; none will believe you. We have been told the ends of your laying open Rochester: but, if our brethren of the association cannot get into a readiness to stop your passage, the power of three kingdoms shall shortly follow you.

We heard of your late designs against our city, before we took notice of them; and we hear your intentions are to proceed, and to draw up both horse and foot to atchieve the same. I saw some of their leaders here the other day, and their men not far off: it is not denying and seeming to over-run your said designs, that shall make us negligent of our own safety. If ye knew not thereof, why do ye (to obstruct discoveries) refer the examination to men accused; *viz.* Ireton? How can you daub over this? Or why (if you set not on Fairfax, in August last, against our city) did ye go from the houses to him? And why did ye not since vote him a traitor, as ye did the lord Inchiquin? My brethren, look over diurnals, and ye shall see him ever acting in relation to the houses. Our brethren of Essex came but peaceably with a petition, and this prevailing party derides them

gone, calling them Essex-calves; but, thanks to fate, yet delays; that if they can quiet them a-while, they may after make them the spoil of the Independent army they declare against. Look to it, gentlemen; disperse not yourselves till ye see it disbanded, and the king settled.

Ye must ever have some cloke for your knavery. When your late design against our city grew ripe, your mayor (a very horse and a traitor to our city, as many others of the common-council and captains are) must quarrel with the boys at their recreations, that ye might get another colour to draw your army again upon the city, and do that which then ye durst not, get down our chains; that when the time of your necessity came, ye might disarm us, command our purses, and force us and our servants, against our consciences, though now again ye are forced to pull in your horns. And bring ye up your country soldiers, as we hear ye have; we shall make you aking hearts, ere ye obtain your wills. Ye are loth to leave us; but, since we know your good-will, we shall look to you as we can: we trust our brethren of the association will be ready to assist us. We have heard now of your private compliance with Irish natives, and your letters lately taken at sea; wherein ye promise liberty of conscience, and many immunities, if they will let you alone.

Thus have I given you a little sight of the Babylonian Bel-like idol, a brazen parliament; and of the collusion and veracity of the idol-attendants, (this prevailing party of both houses,) who have so long deluded you with devices; and, like Bel's priests, wasted upon themselves and theirs, those vast contributions and levies which should have been expended on the public service: and do desire, (now time is like to serve for it,) ye would endeavour your own freedom from the yoke of these men.

God save the king and kingdom!

The Character of a Fanatick. By a Person of Quality.

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[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

HE is a person of a more exercised faith than understanding: one governed by instinct, not intellect; and who, like those of old, never thinks he has enough of the Deity, till beside himself. You may call him, if you please, a perpetual motion, or a restless whirligig, ever turning from bad to worse; or the *ignis fatuus* of divinity, carried about with every wind; least considering whence it cometh, or whither it goeth: as even such, likewise, is every one that is born of him. It may be thought, the prophet had something like him in his eye, in that wheel (of his) within a wheel: for of himself he never was, but ill split from another; like those imperfect, dough-baked creatures, produced by the sun on the banks of Nile; so that his generation is founded in corruption, and his extraction of the same parentage with monsters, not intended, but produced. His principles are like the chaos; a confused lump of every thing and nothing; or a gallimawfry of negatives; nor this, nor that, nor the other: but what he is, no man knows; no, not the angels in heaven, nor himself to boot; this only excepted, that he is more party-coloured than Joseph's coat, and patched together of more pieces than a taylor's cushion. Nor is his practice much unsuitable to his principles; he puts on religion as a cloke, not a garment, and varnishes his impostures with holiness to the Lord. Thus Absalom pretends

a sacrifice, when his business is rebellion; and Herod a worship, when his design is murder: nor with much wonder Machiavel, the Florentine, had taught him, he that would gain by deceit, must first acquire a credit, by, at least, a shew of integrity; and he, that would practise upon the people, must follow the old rule of *finge Deum*—such influence have solemn looks, and verily, verily, upon the multitude; who have little else to pass them for men, but speech and figure. Hence it is, that he puts off his tinsel for standard, and the maggots of his own brain, for divine inspiration: that he obtrudes his enthusiasms for visions, and justifies Homer, that even such dreams are of God: that he takes a holy pride to himself, and says to the rest of the world, Stand off: that he calls the common infirmities of mankind, crying sins, national sins, bow-dyed sins; and his own mormos, but slips and failings: that he can see no sin in Jacob, nor iniquity in his Israel of God: that he calls them the only holy, only chosen, only godly, only precious, only spiritually discerning people: that he puts a discriminating Schibboleth on others; as formalists, carnalists, dry moralists, withered fig-trees, outside-men, negative-holiness-men, *Opus-operatum*-men, will-worshippers, Laodiceans, and what not: that he talks of nothing but new light and prophecy, spiritual in-comes, in-dwellings, emanations, manifestations, sealings, and the like gibberish and canting; to which, also, the zealous twang of the nose adds no small efficacy: that he runs counter to all things in power, and treads the antipodes to every thing commanded; and for no other reason, but because commanded: for it may be observed, that the Lord's prayer was not so absolutely thrown out of the kirk, till recommended by its own directory. In short, that he calls subjection, in matters of religion, a tying up the spirit, and all injunctions, even in things indifferent, a manifest invading the *sanctum sanctorum*.

And now the great cry is persecution for conscience; nothing in his mouth, but 'de-'stitute, afflicted;' and, the common corollary, 'but not forsaken.' Alas! alas! the habitations of Jacob are swallowed, and the places of the assembly taken away: a bow is bent against the daughter of Judah, and the breach of the virgin of Sion is like a great sea: whereas, on the other hand, let him be but as in the years passed, and the sun once more shine on his tabernacle: this success new-models his conscience, and like Aaron's rod, he swallows up every thing that lies in his way. Even princes must lay their hands on their mouths, and the nobles not speak again to his words: the poor distressed is become Hogan-Mogan, and the *servus servorum, dominus dominantium:* the little flock claims a kingdom *in condigno*, and the chosen generation sets up for a royal priesthood. In short, this little horn takes a mouth to himself, speaking mighty things, and his language is, 'Overturn, Overturn, Overturn.' And now he makes his doctrine suitable to his text; and owns, above-board, that dominion is founded in grace, not nature: that the goods of this world are properly the elects': that himself and his hyperdolins are the only Israelites, and all the rest Egyptians: that the new Jerusalem must be propagated (as the second temple was built) with the sword in one hand, and the trowel in the other: or, as the abbot (in Henry the Third's time) gave it in absolution to the earl of Leicester, *Gladium spirituale sine gladio materiali nihil posse.* What shall I add? He declares that *quis suscitabit eum?* was personally meant of his tribe: and yet this man has his followers; and these of the honourable women too, not a few: for, to say truth, his conversation is much after the rate of that before the flood, the sons of God among the daughters of men; devotion in all places, whether true or false, being most natural to that sex. It was the devil's policy to our first parents; for well he knew that to beguile Eve was the ready way to hook in Adam: and thus he proves a stumbling-block to the wives, and a rock of offence to the husbands. In brief, like the dragon in the Apocalypse, his tail draws a third part of the stars, and casts them to the earth: the reason is obvious, *Fortitudo ejus in lumbis ejus, & virtus umbilico ventris.*

But, to proceed: his profession is like his allegiance, a mere *fucus;* yet so well laid on, one, at first sight, could not but swear it were natural: his common-place, Polyanthea, and concordance, and the height of his school-divinity, the Assemblies-catechism: his prayer, a rhapsody of holy hiccoughs, sanctified barkings, illuminated goggles, sighs, sobs,

yexes,[1] gasps, and groans; not more intelligible than nauseous. However, to give him his due, he prays most heartily for the king; but with more distinctions, and mental reservations, than an honest man would have taken the covenant. From hence, as out of the third heaven, he falls by head and shoulders into his preachment; which what other is it, than a wild career over hill and dale, till the afternoon chimes stop him? Ῥῆματα ἀῤῥητα, ἀῤῥητα ῥῆματα; Thump upon thump, yelp upon yelp, doctrine upon doctrine, rule upon rule, reason upon reason, text upon text, proof upon proof, direction upon direction, motive upon motive, sign upon sign, token upon token, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little; effect upon effect, and uses more than innumerable: and here likewise he cries up obedience to magistrates, but with such a *salva gloria Dei*, that he had better let it alone: as also, that they ought to be defended by their subjects, in defence, nevertheless, of the true religion; of which himself must be judge. And, for his grace at meat, what can I better compare it to, than a Canterbury rack, half pace, half gallop: so his, an odd hobbling shuffle, between a grace and a prayer, and a prayer and a grace. Lastly, as to virtues (for it cannot be denied, but he has somewhat of that which Tully calls *adumbrata virtutum specimina*) I wish it might be said of them, that they were other than masked hypocrisy; the poet hit it:

——— *Da justum sanctumque videri,*
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem:

And, like an apt scholar, he has gotten his lesson by heart, and can wrap the Philistine's sword in an holy ephod. From whence else is it, that he can crave a blessing to the design, though never so ungodly; and give thanks for the success, be it never so wicked? that he will not swear, but can dispense with the profitable sin of lying: that he will not be drunk, to be seen of men; but yet can take a brotherly rouse in a corner: that he walks as though he had made a covenant with his eyes; and yet *si uxor non vult, aut non si possit, veniat ancilla*, is wholesome doctrine with him: that he is a zealous observer of the Sabbath, and yet can make less conscience of schism than a surplice: that he cries, *Væ mihi, si non evangelizo vero!* and yet allows no imposition of hands, but broken pates: that he abhors idols, and yet can commit sacrilege; which, what is it, but to burn the idol with a coal from the altar? that he exhorts his beloved to constancy under persecution; and yet, come what will, he can lick himself so whole, it will be hard to tell where he had been hurt. In short, that he is a perfect Samaritan: for let the Gentiles prevail, and he is of the race of Ishmael; and let the Jews get the upper hand, he had Abraham to his father.

To conclude: he is a glow-worm, that shines best in the night of ignorance; one whose faith has eaten up his charity: one that has torn the seamless coat into rags, and tacked them together, to cover his nakedness: one that, having 'forsaken the fountain, has 'hewed to himself but broken cisterns:' one that swallows all things unchewed, and brings them up again as raw and undigested: one, whose eyes are at the end of the earth, and yet would be thought not to mistake his way. In short, one that has an excuse for every thing that he should not do, and a *salvo* for every thing he should do: and all this by Scripture; *adeò nihil est quod S. Scriptura torqueri non possit, modò torqueatur.* In a word, he is one of whom it may be said, (as Heraclius of the bow,) Τὸ μὴν ὄνομα βίος, τὸ δὲ ἔργον θάνατος; And, but that I find him so well cut out by Horace, I had not yet taken off my hand from so everlasting an argument;

Mala quem scabies, aut morbus regius urget,
Aut fanaticus error, aut iracunda Diana;
Vesanum tetigisse timent, fugiuntque—
Qui sapiunt——

And not without reason: for, though his distemper lies not in too much learning; yet (to my unenlightened understanding) he speaks not the words, either of soberness or truth, but darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge.

[1] [Hiccoughs.]

The Last Will of George Fox, the Quakers' great Apostle; as it was all written by his own Hand, and is now lying in the Prerogative-Office, by Doctors-Commons, London; attested by three eminent Quakers, whose Names are undermentioned. With a Copy of the Administration in Latin, taken out of the said Office, signed by Thomas Wellham, Deputy-Register, containing two Columns: that on the Left-Hand, being the Original, in his false English and Spelling; the other, on the Right-Hand, put into true English; the Original being unintelligible. Published to convince the World, That he who made this Will, and could not write one Line of true English (and yet pretended high Skill in the Learned Languages, witness his 'Battledoor,' and 'Primer to the 'two Universities;' who said, in his Battledoor, 'All Lan-'guages were no more to me than Dust, who was, before 'Languages were,') is not the Author of any one Page in all those Books, which the Quakers have impudently published under his Name.

[Printed on a Broad-side.]

E Registro Curiæ Prærogativæ Cant. Extract.

[1] I. JDOE give to Thomas Lover my sadell, (the ar at Jhon Nelsons,) and bridall, and sporg and bootes, inward letherethd, and the Newingland Indan Bible, and my great book of the signising of names, and my book of the New Testement of eight langves; and all my fisekall things, that came from beyand the seay; with the ovt landesh cvp, and that thing that people doe give glisters with, and my tov diales; the one is an eknocksa diall: and all my over pvesh bookes to be devided amovng my 4 sones in law: and also all my other bookes, and my hamack, I doe give to Thomas Lover, that is, at Bengamin Antrvbvs his closet; and Rachall may take that

A Copy of the Will of George Fox, in true English, the Original being unintelligible.

I DO give to Thomas Lower my saddle and bridle, (they are at John Elson's,) and spurs and boots, inward-leathers, and the New-England Indian Bible, and my great book of the signifying of names, and my book of the New Testament of eight languages; and all my physical things, that came from beyond the sea; with the outlandish cup, and that thing that people do give clysters with, and my two dials; the one is an equinoctial dial: and all my overplus books to be divided among my four sons-in-law: and also my other books, and my hammock, I do give to Thomas Lower, that is at Benjamin Antrobus's closet; and Rachel may take that which is

[1] Endorsed on the first paper, Numb. 1, "For Thomas Lover, this."

which is at Swarthmor: and Thomas Lover may have my walnvt eqvnockshall diall, and (if he can) he may geet one cut by it, which will be hard to doe; and hee shall have one of my prosspect glaseses in my trovnk at London, and a pare of my gloveses, and my seale G. F. And the flaming sward to Nat. Mead, and my other 2 seales J. Rose, the other Dan Abraham: and Thomas Lover shall have my Spanesh lether hvd, G. F. And S. Mead shall have my magnifing-glas, and the torkellshell com and cace.

[2] II. And all that I have written, consaring what I doe give to my relashons, ether mony or other waes, Jhon Loft may put it up in my tronke at Jhon Elsones, and wright all things downe in a paper, and make a paper out of all my papers, how I have orderd things for them; and Jhon Loft may send all things dovn by Povelesworth carrer, in the trovnke, to Jhon Fox, at Povelesworth in Warickshcr; and let John Fox send John Loft a fvll receat and a discharge, and in this matter, and non of you may be consarned, but John Loft only. And my other lettell tronke, that standeth in Bengmin Antrubes is cloeset, with the ovtlandesh things, Thomas Lover shall have; and if it be ordered in any other papers to any other, that must not stand soe, but as now orderd, G. F. And Sary, thou may give Sary Frickenseld half a gine; for shee hath bene sarvesable to mee, a honest carfvll yovng womon, G. F. Make noe noves of thes thngs, but doe them in the life, as I have orderd them: and when all is don and cleared, what remenes to the printing of my bookes, Bengmin Antrvbves and Mary hath 100 pound of mine; take noe yoves of them for it, when yov doe recve it. And in my cheast, in Bengamen Antrvbs chamber, ther is a letell gilt box, with som gould in it; Sary Mead to take it, and let it doe sarveses amoung the rest, soe far as it will goe: the box is sealed up, G. F. And let Thomas Docker, that knoeth many of my epeseles, and wrten books, (which hee did wright,) com vp to London, to assist frends in sorting of my epeselas, and other writings; and give him a gine, G. F.

[4] III. I doe orde Wm. and Sa. Mead,

at Swarthmore: and Thomas may have my walnut-equinoctial dial, and (if he can) he may get one cut by it, which will be hard to do; and he shall have one of my prospect-glasses, in my trunk at London, and a pair of my gloves, and my seal, G. F. And the flaming sword to Nath. Mead, and my other two seals, J. Rouse, and the other, Daniel Abraham: and Thomas Lower shall have my Spanish leather hood, and S. Mead shall have my magnifying-glass, and the tortoise-shell comb and case, G. F.

And all that I have written concerning what I do give to my relations, either money, or otherways, John Loft may put it up in my trunk at John Elson's, and write all things down in a paper, and make a paper out of all my papers, how I have ordered things for them; and John Loft may send all things down by Poulsworth carrier, in the trunk, to John Fox, at Poulsworth, in Warwickshire; and let John Fox send John Loft a full receipt and a discharge, and in this matter none of you may be concerned, but John Loft only. And my other little trunk that standeth in Benjamin Antrobus's closet, with the outlandish things, Thomas Lower shall have; and if it be ordered in any other papers to any other, that must not stand so, but as now ordered, G. F. And Sarah, thou may give Sarah Freckleton half a guinea; for she hath been serviceable to me, an honest careful young woman, G. F. Make no noise of these things, but do them in the life, as I have ordered them: and when all is done and cleared, what remains to the printing of my books, Benjamin Antrobus and Mary hath one-hundred pounds of mine; take no use[3] of them for it, when you do receive it. And in my chest, in Benjamin Antrobus's chamber, there is a little gilt box, with some gold in it; Sarah Mead to take it, and let it do service among the rest, so far as it will go: the box is sealed up, G. F. And let Thomas Dockra, that knoweth many of my epistles, and written books, (which he did write,) come up to London, to assist friends in sorting of my epistles, and other writings; and give him a guinea, G. F.

I do order William and Sarah Mead, and

[2] On the second, Numb. 2. "This is to be put up among George Fox's sealed up papers, that pacquet that Sarah Mead hath."

[3] [Usance, interest.]

[4] On the third, Numb. 3. "For George Fox, to be laid in the trunk, W. M. the eighth month, 1688."

and T. Lover, to take care of all my bookes and epeseles, and papers, that be at Benjmin Antrvbses, and at R. R. Chamber, and thoes that com from Swarth mor, and my jornall of my life, and the paseges and travells of frends, and to take them all into ther hands; and all the over pluch of them the may have, and keep together as a libary, when the have gethered them together, which ar to be printd: and for them, to take charge of all my mony, and defray all, as I have ordered in my other papers: and any thing of mine the may take, and God will and shall be ther reward.

The 8 mo, 1688.

Thomas Lover, and John Rovs, may assist yov, G. F. And all the pasiges and traveles and svferings of frinds, in the beging of the spreading of the trouth, which I have keept together, will make a fine histery, and the may be had at Swarthmor, with my other bookes; and if the com to London, with my papers, then the may be had, ether at Wm. or Ben Antrubs closet; for it is a fine thing to know the beging of the spreading of the Gospell, after soe long night of apostace, since the aposeles dayes, that now Christ raines, as he did in the harts of his people. Glory to the Lord, for ever, Amen.

G. F. The 8 mon, 1688.

Thomas Lower, to take care of all my books and epistles, and papers, that be at Benjamin Antrobus's, and at R. R. Chamber, and those that come from Swarthmore, and my journal of my life, and the passages and travels of friends, and to take them all into their hands; and all the overplus of them they may have, and keep together as a library, when they have gathered them together, which are to be printed: and for them to take charge of all my money, and defray all, as I have ordered in my other papers: and any thing of mine they may take, and God will and shall be their reward.

The 8th month, 1688. G. F.

Thomas Lover, and John Rouse, may assist you: and all the passages, and travels, and sufferings of friends, in the beginning of the spreading of the truth, which I have kept together, will make a fine history, and they may be had at Swarthmore, with my other books; and if they come to London with my papers, then they may be had either at W. M. or Benjamin Antrobus's closet; for it is a fine thing to know the beginning of the spreading of the Gospel, after so long night of apostasy, since the apostles' days, that now Christ reigns, as he did in the hearts of his people. Glory to the Lord for ever, Amen.

G. F. The 8th month, 1688.

The Date of the Administration, the Thirtieth of December, 1697.

Tricesimo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini millesimo, sexcentesimo, nonagesimo-septimo emanavit commissio, Margaretæ Fox, relictæ & legatariæ nominatæ in testamento Georgii Fox, nuper de Swarthmore in comitatu Lancastriæ, sed in parochiâ Omnium Sanctorum, Lombard-street, London, defuncti habentis, &c. Ad administrandum bona jura & credita dicti defuncti juxta tenorem & effectum testamenti ipsius defuncti (eò quòd nullum omnino nominaverit executorem) declaratione in præsentiâ Dei Omnipotentis, juxta statutum parliamenti in hâc parte editum & provisum de benè & fidelitèr administrando eadem per dictam Margaretam Fox priùs factâ.

Tho. Wellham, *Registrarii Deputatus.*

The Persons hereafter named, (by their solemn Declaration, subscribed under their Hands,) did affirm the above-written to be wrote with the proper Hand of the said George Fox deceased; they being acquainted with his Hand-writing.

S. Mead, wife of W. Mead, of the parish of St. Dyonis Back-Church, London, citizen, and merchant-taylor of London.

W. Ingram, of the parish of St. Margaret, New Fish-street, London, aged about fifty-seven years; he knew George Fox, about forty years.

G. Whitehead, of the parish of St. Botolph, without Bishopsgate, London, gent. aged about sixty years, knew George Fox above forty years.

N. B. In this will, the pride and vanity of the deceiver is as notorious, as the credulity of his deluded followers: for what else could make him think, that his nasty comb and clyster-pipe would be such acceptable relicks among his friends? But this is he who first deluded them, their infallible pope; and who, to his death, continued their admired idol. This is he who taught them to renounce their baptism, and the hope of a resurrection after death; and notwithstanding all their sly equivocations, by this his will is manifest, that he neither believed nor expected it. The reader is not to wonder that here is no confession of sin. Pope George, alas! was all perfection and sinless; and his disciples have ever since so conceited of the sufficiency of their own merit, that no true Quaker was ever known to die, with a 'Lord have mercy upon him' in his mouth.

THE END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

HARDING and WRIGHT, Printers, St. John's Square, London.